

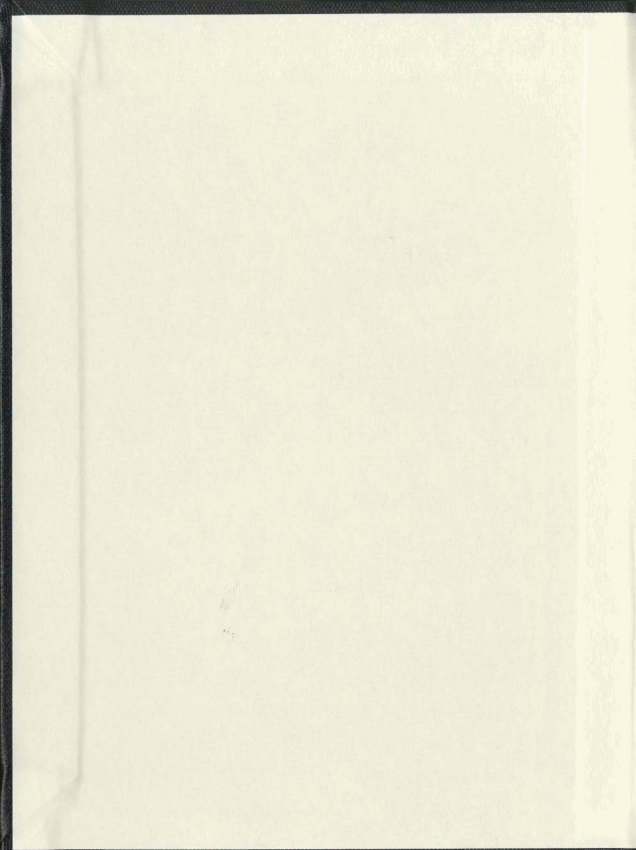
BALLAD WORLDS:
STRUCTURE, MEANING, AND THE FICTIONAL
LANDSCAPES IN CLASSICAL AND BROADSIDE
BALLADS IN ORAL TRADITION

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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JAMES HENRY MOREIRA



**BALLAD WORLDS:
STRUCTURE, MEANING, AND THE FICTIONAL LANDSCAPES
IN CLASSICAL AND BROADSIDE BALLADS IN ORAL TRADITION**

by

© James Henry Moreira

**A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate
Studies in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
*Doctor of Philosophy***

**Department of Folklore
Memorial University of Newfoundland
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ABSTRACT

Taking as its source the notion of "the ballad world" as a recognizable generic construct, the study undertakes a comparative analysis of classical and broadside balladrics by exploring the spatial structure of their respective fictional landscapes. It begins with a survey of the academic concept of genre, showing a transition from previous static applications to current usage that considers the dynamic interplay between expressive forms and their cultural environments. A generic distinction between classical and broadside ballads is validated on the grounds that their styles, whose differences are widely acknowledged, reveal orientations in different cultural milieus, one oral, the other literate.

The study employs a radial model of spatial relationships, which enables the analysis of various strands of cultural and fictive space as both independent entities and interrelated wholes. Through regionally situated studies from Norway, Britain, and the eastern seaboard of Canada, the study suggests that the predominant metaphors of classical balladry are drawn from a cultural discourse about the relationship of humans to their natural environment, and reflect particularly a paradoxical nature that is both benevolent and destructive, while the spatial relations of broadsides reveal a far greater concern for the impact of social and bureaucratic structures on everyday life.

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Introduction

There are many faces to balladry -- oral, print¹, literary, medieval, modern, urban, rural -- and in its various guises it constitutes the most widespread and enduring form of narrative poetry and song in Europe and America. The present study explores two forms that have been of great interest to folklorists and whose histories occupy a central place in western popular culture. "Classical ballads," formerly known in English as "Child ballads" in acknowledgement of the seminal contributions to the scholarship by Harvard's Francis James Child (1882-1898 [1965]; see also Hustvedt 1930, 205-229), have roots that possibly lead back as far as the high middle-ages, though the genre flourished considerably later¹ and our most complete records of this tradition come from a relatively recent period, namely, from the mid-eighteenth century to the present. Paralleling and to some extent intermingled with the classical tradition is that of the "broadside ballad," which probably owes its existence to the popularity of the classical form, but which also has very strong connections to a pseudo-journalistic print tradition, and in its style, themes, and structure it has a character all its own.

¹ Fowler (1968) remains the best study of the early history of the classical ballad in Britain (see also Ker 1909, and Chambers, 1945), though considerably broader coverage of early tradition is to be found in the Scandinavian scholarship (Dal 1956, Jonsson 1962, Steenstrup 1968 [1914]).

The scholarship on the two traditions has tended to remain separate, to some extent with justification. In recent years, scholarship on orality (Buchan 1972; McCarthy 1989) and formulaic analysis (Holzapfel 1980; Andersen 1984) have provided the greatest insights into classical ballad poetics, and it is now widely recognized that the genre originated and was nurtured in cultures that were predominantly non-literate.² Scholarship on the broadside, which has become quite prolific in the last twenty-five years, has emphasized three main facets of the tradition. The seminal work stressed the history of broadside printing and production (Pinto and Rodway, 1957; Shepard 1978 [1962] and 1973; Goldstein 1964; Collison 1973; Thomson 1974; and Neuburg 1977), while more recent works have examined the distribution and sale of broadsides, exploring both the travels of the broadside peddler (Spufford 1984; and Neilands 1991a) and the way in which textual conventions were geared to assist the hawker in attracting and holding an audience in such public and transient contexts as street corners and fairs (Würzbach 1990). Lastly, because the broadsides were such an integral part of popular culture in the early modern city, they have also held great interest for social and literary

² The term "non-literate" indicates a culture in which reading and writing are unknown or known only by a select class of people (Buchan 1972, 2). In anthropological writings (see for example Goody 1977; Ong 1982), the term "oral" -- which has the added advantage of avoiding a negative definition -- denotes a similar cultural condition, and insofar as this specific cultural meaning is intended the two terms are interchangeable. In general folkloristic usage, however, since many of the artistic forms we study in modern, literate culture are communicated orally, the term "oral" must be applied with care, in order to maintain a necessary distinction between "oral culture" and the "oral transmission of cultural artefacts." Failure to do so can, at the very least, cause confusion and, more critically, it can misrepresent the nature and function of traditional art, for highly distinct aesthetic processes are involved in the different cultural milieux. Buchan himself used the term "oral tradition" to signify transmission in non-literate contexts and the term "verbal tradition" to signify transmission in literate contexts, but the discipline has been very slow to adopt these usages.

historians, who have seen in the genre a working class response to the upheavals of urbanization and industrialization (James 1963 and 1976; Vicinus 1975; Waage 1977; Murphy 1979; Williams 1976-81; Elkins 1980; Vincent 1989) and to the re-ordering of social structures in modern society (Dugaw 1986 and 1989).

But the urban view captures only one side of the broadside story. If a study takes production and sale as primary topics, it presents the reader with the broadside as ephemera; flimsy productions -- literally and figuratively -- designed to capture the audience's attention long enough to extricate a sale. From here, the broadside vanishes into the cultural void of the common man and woman, a netherland which as folklorists we want to illuminate but which too often lies beyond the reach of empirical methodologies, especially at this late date. In production histories, the purchasers of broadsides often have only an effervescent reality, appearing and dissolving without a trace, save for such crude markers as number of copies sold or the number of pennies Jemmy Catnach is alleged to have carted to the Bank of England at the close of a good week (Shepard 1978 [1962], 82). From where we stand, the broadside public is as ephemeral as the literature it bought. Even the social histories tend to assume rather than reveal the audience, which is a significant point given that we know absolutely nothing about what the repertoire of a non-professional urban broadside singer would be like.

The issue of repertoire is not an unimportant one, for again if we take print histories and the great broadside collections as our guide, our sense of broadside the tradition develops in accordance with our ability to see the output of the penny-

press in its entirety, or something close to it. A different picture emerges if we stop to consider the percentages of broadside output that actually entered and survived in oral tradition. Thomson estimates that as few as 15 percent of the broadsides printed have been recovered from tradition (1974, 23). When specific themes are considered, it is instructive to recall the stereotypical output of chapliture: political and religious upheaval, confessions of criminals, descriptions of sea monsters and other curiosities of nature. Yet Colin Neilands has found that in Ireland, only 6.6 percent of political broadsides survive (though they are the largest number in actual output); religious ballads, 3.4 percent; while ballads dealing with domestic relationships have a 22 percent survival rate (1991b, 123). Of the 115 warrior women ballads studied by Diane Dugaw, 48 (41.7 percent) have been recovered from tradition (1986, 23-24). Viewed from this angle, our assumptions about the thematic concentration of the broadside undergo a transformation, and the image of the genre as politically motivated, or as revelling in crime and the spurious wonders of nature becomes replaced by a domestic alterimage. Moreover, we are reminded that any attempt to understand the impact of the broadside, must grapple with the apparently oxymoronic issue of ephemera as tradition.

In the run-of neo-literate culture of the modern era, the classical and broadside ballad traditions merge, and by the early decades of the present century, they had done so to a degree where singers no longer acknowledged a difference between them. Yet such was not always the case (Buchan 1972, 66-67), and by studying the two forms in relation to each other, the present thesis attempts to

reveal that in addition to exhibiting differences in compositional processes, the narratives of the two genres evoke fundamentally different fictional landscapes, and that such differences reflect the profound changes in cultural outlook and worldview attendant with the coming of mass literacy and other modern developments to rural society. Following Goody (1977), the study tries to see oral and literate not in dichotomous terms, but as the ends of a spectrum, and correspondingly the alterations in popular taste, which accompany the transition from a predominantly classical to a predominantly broadside tradition, can be said to represent a marked shift in the centre of gravity along that spectrum. The approach taken in the thesis is essentially structural, and employs a model in which the landscapes of the ballad worlds are seen to radiate outward in concentric increments, with each layer representing relative degrees of security, exposure or confinement. In classical ballads, the model reveals a contained fictional universe that emphasizes interaction between domestic, natural, and sacred realms. Broadside ballads resolve to a similar paradigm but one that reveals a much more global range of movement as well as a greater involvement of institutional areas, which right away signals the expansion of the modern world in later tradition. The full significance of spatial relations, however, is seen through the relative degree of freedom with which characters may enter or leave a given space, and also in how tensions operate between spaces within the framework of individual narratives.

The study places great emphasis on the correlation between fictional and real-world landscapes. In so doing, it strives to consider ballad worlds in relation to

what cultural geographers term "perceptual space," which is "... the egocentric space perceived and confronted by each individual. This is a space that has content and meaning, for it cannot be divorced from experiences and intentions" (Relph 1976, 10; see also Tuan 1977 & 1990 [1973]). Basically, there is held to be a correlation, not a direct one but an essential one, between the fictive world of the songs and the experiential world of everyday life. Grounds for making this connection, at least for oral culture, are provided through the example of contemporary folk paintings in which fictive or exotic subjects are re-created using local concepts and motifs as models. This contextual embedding of the analyses offers the opportunity to show transitions in aesthetics, in worldview, and in political and economic social structure all coming together simultaneously, and concerns for those transitions finding an outlet in a single expressive tradition.

Though each analysis is contextually situated, balladry is taken as an Atlantic rim phenomenon that exhibits tremendous correspondences over a broad geographic area. The close relation between Scandinavian and particularly Scottish classical balladry has been recognized since the early days of the Romantic-National collectors (Hustvedt 1930, 57), but there are also very near correlations in broadside traditions (*flyveblader* or *skillingsviser*; see Nielsen 1912-1930; Pjøl 1974a and 1974b; and Eriksen 1981), and the Norwegian *rallarvisa* or songs of highway workers (Lund and Hanno 1934, and Lund 1950) are comparable in tone, style, and occupational focus to both the native American ballad (Laws 1964) and the Scottish bothy ballads (Buchan 1972, 255-270). A decision to concentrate on Nordic oral

tradition came as a result of an research opportunity that included a visit to the Telemark region of Norway where the vast majority of Norwegian ballads were collected, thus enabling me to experience first hand the topography and the structure of the farming communities in the area. Time and linguistic restraints prohibited fieldwork in any meaningful sense, but regional ethnologies and other secondary sources were used to provide the necessary background data for analysis.¹ The analyses of later tradition draw mainly on Anglo-American sources and communities, particularly in Atlantic Canada. Again, the emphasis results from my ability to observe the tradition from the closest vantage point.

Such diversity in regional scope might appear to break with the recent trend in folkloristic research to concentrate on regionally or ethnically discrete groups, but I would argue that expanding the contextual frame has many things in its favour. On the one hand, a narrowly synchronic approach, despite its obvious benefits, limits our ability to see broad transitions in culture that accompany such revolutionary movements as mass literacy, urbanization, industrialization, and the growth of capitalism. These cultural processes had a relatively uniform, though not necessarily simultaneous, influence throughout the area surveyed, and it is therefore valid, I believe, bearing in mind the correspondences in the song traditions, to

¹ In excerpts from Norwegian sources, including ballad texts, one will notice substantial variation in spelling. This is normal. There are two forms of contemporary written Norwegian: "bokmål" and "landsmål" (literally "book speech" and "country speech"). The former is very close to Danish, which was the literary and bureaucratic language of Norway prior to 1814 when the country gained independence. Throughout the nineteenth century, Norwegian scholars and writers strove to create a written language that reflected the language spoken by ordinary people; "landsmål" is by and large the result of those efforts. As in English, materials cited from manuscript or from folklorists' attempts to transcribe dialect exhibit considerable diversity in spelling.

regard the Atlantic rim area as a culturally interrelated whole. Inevitably, there are idiosyncracies unique to each part of the region, but by pulling back a notch or two and taking the material, the lore, rather than individual performances, as our primary object of study, we can see in strong relief the aesthetic developments that emerge from large scale influences in modern society. Moreover, rather than flying in the face of contextual research, this approach takes advantage of the recognition by Toelken (Wilgus and Toelken 1986b) and Bauman (1992b), that there are layerings of context that have complex ramifications for the appreciation of traditional art and its meanings. The exploration of any layer will thus offer insights into culture and into the workings of traditional art. The present study gives priority to the combined influence of what Toelken calls "social context, consisting of the general human surrounding," and "cultural-psychological context," which encompasses

. . . linguistic codes, traditional fears (for example, of death or pregnancy), images or commonplaces having emotionally charged meanings as understood among members of the various cultural groups and subgroups . . . and assumptions (including logical assumptions) underlying worldview. (Wilgus and Toelken 1986b, 36)

The thesis also places great weight on what ethnologist Pierre Smith calls the "literary context" (1974 296), a concept related to -- perhaps even a subset of -- Toelken's cultural-psychological context, and which directs specific attention to the prevailing artistic and aesthetic frames (genres) operative within a given milieu.

The first three chapters cover issues relative to genre as an academic construct, surveying general theoretical debates as they have emerged within the discipline and then proceeding to the more specific concern for genre as it relates to

balladry. In the fourth chapter, problems surrounding issues of interpretation are considered, with special emphasis on recent approaches to the analysis of oral poetry and song. This chapter also takes up briefly the question of the possibility of interpretation, and explores some of the achievements, limitations, pitfalls, and excesses of earlier approaches. Lastly, it looks to the work of Lévy-Strauss, Ong, and latterly, Jack Goody, to explore the cognitive implications of orality and their relevance to the reading of oral texts. The last three chapters present the structural and interpretive analyses of the ballad traditions themselves. Chapters five and seven take representative sub-genres of classical and broadside traditions, and show through a detailed analysis of narrative action the various functions of dramatic space in the samples. Over the course of the discussion, readings are provided to show how such action and the stages on which it unfolds correlate to the concerns and values of the singers and their communities. Classical ballads are shown to be particularly concerned with human interaction in and with the natural environment; broadsides reveal more worldly concerns, and their essential tensions tend to address economic and class conflict. Chapter six expands on the findings of the preceding chapter through an exploration of the function of natural imagery in classical balladry.

Although many of the broader influences and objectives of the thesis have been touched on in the preceding paragraphs, it may help to identify them concretely in order to set the proper framework for what follows and to demonstrate their relevance to general folkloristic discussion or to other scholarly fields of

interest. As a study that is unabashedly -- though not exclusively -- item-oriented, the thesis argues for the on-going relevance of humanistic, specifically literary, analysis within the field. It tries to achieve this objective methodologically through rigorous attention to recent developments in genre theory, which ask us to see generic frames not as static, classificatory categories, but as dynamic, polyvalent artistic processes that condition both the production and interpretation of artistic forms. This revised perspective enables us to understand classical and broadside traditions as distinct without arbitrarily ignoring their areas of interrelation. The surface features of plot, of "type," "variant," and "version," are of minimal use here. They reveal general differences but become problematic when they present us with clear affinities between such ballads as "Young Beichan" (Child 53) and "The Turkish Lady" (Laws O26). The significant differences emerge stylistically at the broader level of narrative method, which entails all the conventional devices habitually applied by a ballad-maker working within one generic frame or the other, and they also emerge conceptually through a characteristic fictive landscape that typifies each genre.

In its attempt to explore the interplay of these generic complexes, the study builds on three main bodies of current theoretical literature. First and most essentially, the appraisal of narrative method extends recent developments within ballad scholarship itself. Specifically, it tries to correlate Buchan's analysis of oral composition in balladry (1972) with the interpretive approaches of Toelken (1966, 1967, 1986, 1989, and 1991), Holzapfel (1978 and 1980a), Andersen (1984), and

others, arriving at an understanding of ballad poetics that is syntagmatic and paradigmatic simultaneously. Moreover, by expanding its examination of narrative method to a comparative analysis of classical and broadside genres, the study strives for a finely-tuned articulation of the aesthetically and culturally relevant differences between them; to the best of my knowledge, the only other analysis of this sort is Natascha Würzbach's context-oriented approach to a theory of ballad genres (1983).

The second body of theory relates to the analysis of fictional landscapes and the manner in which they emerge in relation to cultural perceptions of the actual world. The significant concepts here have been adapted from ideas presented in Tzvetan Todorov's *The Fantastic* (1973), Thomas Pavel's *Fictional Worlds*, and the recent criticism of "place" in ethnographic writing. It is this facet of the study that enables us to read fiction ethnographically as a constructed ideation of culture and as the outgrowth of worldview; by reading genres in terms of a symbiotic exchange or, in some respects, a negotiation between the world of fiction and the world of lived experience, we are led to an appreciation of the analytical value of the notion of a "literary context." The third theoretical area is the extensive scholarship on orality and literacy. Because poetics, worldview, and cognition, are all enveloped within its frame of reference, and because it approaches the material diachronically, showing each genre as the response to a particular cultural environment, the study again, brings together a number of lines of thinking on this topic: the oral-formulaic theory of Parry and Lord (Lord 1960, Parry 1971; see also Foley 1988); the ethnography of human cognition and communication (Lévy-Strauss 1966, Goody

1977, and Ong 1982); and the social history of literacy (Hoggart 1957, Graff 1987, and Vincent 1989).

The value of this multi-disciplinary approach should speak for itself, especially in light of the present concern for "cultural studies" and its desire to unify -- or at least draw reference from -- many disparate fields in the social sciences and humanities. By the same token, these areas of theory have not been chosen arbitrarily; rather, they have been chosen because collectively, at least insofar as my research stands at the moment, they offer the greatest insights into the complex workings of balladry in its popular forms. I do not believe, however, that the approach taken here is useful only for the study of ballads, for I feel it could be adapted and applied profitably to other folklore genres: the "migratory" and "contemporary" legends seem obvious candidates for the type of comparative analysis suggested here. For the moment, however, we are dealing with ballads, and regardless of all other theoretical and disciplinary concerns, our primary objective is to seek insights, by whatever means available, into the worlds of meaning illuminated by two of the most intriguing genres of verbal art in Western popular culture.

Chapter One

Genre: An Overview

Scholarship, like art, abstracts reality. Rather than producing a complete descriptive reconstruction of the forms or events observed, scholarly analysis results instead in a rendered version of the phenomena filtered through various processes we call methods. Regardless of discipline or approach, such is the case, applying in the Sciences as well as the Arts (Kuhn 1970). Clearly this is nothing new. Questioning the nature of knowledge constitutes an intellectual tradition going back at least to the classical separation of *episteme* and *doxa* (Goody and Watt 1968, 330) and following through the medieval distinction between realism and nominalism (Honko 1968, 57). Yet despite almost twenty-five hundred years of debate, challenges to the professed objectivity of researchers and the ability of their methodologies to describe reality remain unresolved and are at present most strongly advanced by schools describing themselves as "post-modern" or "post-structural," both terms themselves sufficiently ambiguous as to make their own point of contact with real world phenomena disarmingly elusive. The schools nonetheless perform

the valuable function of exposing the sleight-of-hand that transforms mere researchers into "those who know." In the ethnographic social sciences, the influence of post-structuralism has led to a concern for "reflexivity," which questions the cultural assumptions that researchers carry with them into the field and that may influence subsequent readings of native culture (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Alver, Bente 1991). The debate forces a necessary re-evaluation of what we know and how we come to know it. In folklore, even if we account for researcher bias (if such accounting is truly possible) the problems run deeper still. In his presidential address to the American Folklore Society, Bruce Jackson acknowledged that even our best fieldwork methods, our most advanced conceptualizations of folklore as human behaviour, cannot result in studies that are reproducible in the scientific sense, for the simple reason that the acts of artistic expression we study are not reproducible outside the fleeting moment of their performance (1985, 132; cf. Ives 1978, 372-373). As folklorists, we are not even able to capture data successfully let alone submit them to tests that others can repeat to their own satisfaction.

One can soon become lost in the implications of these issues, and while I do not want to undervalue their importance, I also have no desire to enter a maze that has no exit. Of immediate concern, however, are the challenges offered to the methods through which we, as academics, systematize cultural experience and the artistic encapsulations of experience, particularly those challenges directed toward the study of folksong and the generic principles commonly applied within that study.

Indeed, Dave Harker's recent and influential history of British folksong scholarship from Joseph Addison to A. L. Lloyd dismisses the whole concept of folksong as "intellectual rubble" and "conceptual lumber" (1985, xxii) on the grounds that it was stilted by class biases or aspirations inherent in all researchers. Even though Harker himself reproduces the problem of bias -- in his case a socialist one -- to a degree where he feels compelled to joke about it in the final lines of his introduction, he is nonetheless right, like Wilgus (1959) before him, to question the assumptions that have perhaps guided folksong scholarship to inevitable conclusions. There is not only room but a need for an evaluation of genre as an intellectual construct as well as of the specific genre dealt with in this thesis -- the ballad.

One of the more stimulating and at the same time problematic traits of folkloristics as an intellectual discipline is that it exists in a constant tension between the humanities and the social sciences, a division that Alan P. Merriam articulates as follows:

The social sciences . . . deal with man as a social animal and the ways in which he solves his social and biological problems in daily living, while the humanities take man beyond his biosocial living into his own distillations of his life experiences which he uses, in turn, as an expression of his basic sanctions and values. (1971, 95)

The tension between the two perspectives, however, rarely achieves a balance, for at various times and places, one pole or the other tends to dominate. In North America, for example, there is not simply a division of folkloristics into literary and anthropological camps, but more exactly the discipline perceives itself to have originated with a humanistic concern for the expressive artifacts of tradition and,

over the last three-quarters of a century, to have drifted increasingly toward a social scientific concern for the arenas in which such artifacts are created and consumed. In Scandinavia, one finds an analogous though not equivalent distinction between folklore and ethnology, which manifests itself to some degree on a regional level through the emphasis in Denmark on philology and in Sweden on *folkeliv*.

Within these frameworks, the study of genres is often held to be a legacy, if not the exclusive interest, of the humanistic perspective. To follow through using the American example, Rosemary Zumwalt's history of folkloristics in the United States distinguishes the literary and anthropological schools through a genre/culture split:

The literary folklorists classified folklore into genres which were further divided into major and minor genres. And certain literary folklorists specialized in one area: Child and Kittredge in the ballad, Thompson in the folktale, Taylor in the proverb and riddle.¹ The anthropological folklorists studied folklore as a part of culture -- a way of learning more about the culture history, as with Boas, or a way of learning more about cultural patterns, as with Benedict. (1988, 99)

¹ The limited range of literary folklorists suggested by Zumwalt is not entirely fair. Both Child and Kittredge were specialists in early literature, their interests extending from the classics to the period of the Restoration. In Kittredge's case folkloric topics form a very small part of his bibliography, nor are they confined to ballads. In fact, somewhat surprisingly, his published contribution to ballad studies consists only of the brief (albeit influential) introduction to the single volume edition of classical ballads that he co-edited with Child's daughter (Sargent and Kittredge 1904). His impact on ballad scholarship came through his teaching, as Zumwalt acknowledges, and through his editorial influence in the *Journal of American Folklore* and in the many regional collections produced by his students. His own published works on folklore include studies on witchcraft and farmers' almanacs, neither of them classificatory in nature. It is also worth recalling that Kittredge, Gummiere, Pound and others who we think of today as "literary" folklorists, at least acknowledged the traditional basis of the material, and that more exclusive literary positions were advanced by W. J. Courthoipe, T. F. Henderson, and J. H. Millar (Wilgus 1959, 35-41), names largely forgotten in contemporary folkloristics.

Genre in this light appears, from a literary perspective, to have little more than classificatory utility -- indeed Zumwalt rarely if ever employs the term in any other sense. From an anthropological viewpoint, it appears to have no utility whatsoever. The issue, however, warrants clarification, for the pairings literary/genre and anthropological/culture constitute tendencies within the field that hold at a general level, but which weaken as specifics are brought to bear. In addition, the model presumes a static notion of genre, an attitude that results from factors peculiar to early generic approaches to folklore, many of them stemming, as I shall argue shortly, from the awkward incongruence between *folkloristics* as a humanistic discipline within elite literate culture and *folklore* as the humanistic products of traditional and popular culture. Only with great difficulty could the one deal with the other on its own terms. Moreover, even within schools that give primary attention to context, group, and social process, the continued centrality of the aesthetic within definitions of folklore -- such as "artistic communication in small groups" (Ben-Amos 1972, 13) -- necessitates the ongoing relevance of many aspects of humanistic research, genre (along with interpretation and composition) perhaps foremost among them. The following discussion, which maintains the humanistic facets of the discipline as a priority, elucidates some of the rough areas of the past and emphasizes two revisions in current understandings of genre: first, genres are no longer held to represent categorically distinct types so much as polyvalent systems of thematic, formal, semiotic, and performance criteria that cohere as relatively distinct channels for artistic communication. Second, these systems are perceived to

exist in dynamic relation to context, and as a result genre remains not only a viable but a necessary construct even in performance or practice-centred approaches, providing key insights into the interplay between art and its cultural environment.

In order to study artistic products, which commonly emerge as very different responses to similar events and processes, humanities research requires a means of organizing its data, of bringing together meaningful units to form bases on which research can build. That is one function of genre. It isolates systems of relationships that enable contrast and comparison. What became a problem for the early humanistic study of folklore was that, as a subset of literary studies, it naturally tended to explore oral literature relative to the formalized products of elite written culture, and the doxastic -- aesthetic in the case of literature -- basis of humanism immediately precluded an equal and balanced treatment. Itself a keystone of literate culture and committed *a priori* to conventions that were bound to disfavour oral literature as art, humanism had to retreat from folklore as living, expressive culture, and confined its interests to historical problems. Depending on perspective, folklore tended to be seen either in evolutionary terms as the ancestor of more developed art forms or in devolutionary terms as the vestigial remains of earlier culture (Würzbach 1983, 37; Dundes 1969; Baker 1984, 53-54; Simonsen 1986, 50). Both perceptions tended to relegate the idea of folklore as art to an obscure past at a safe distance from the observer.

By way of an intellectual compromise, whereby the dynamism of tradition could be framed within a purely objective study, the discipline increasingly drew its

concepts and methods from the natural sciences (Zumwalt 1988, 3-4), including the premise that classification was preliminary to analysis (Ben-Amos 1976, xv; see also Krohn 1971 [1926], 46-63, and Krappe 1964 [1930], xv). In the process, literary studies of folklore became characterized by rigid objectification, as genre classification attempted to build catalogues of narrative or formal types with a precision approaching that of Linnaean binomial classification: the exercise was not necessarily unsuccessful so much as it was forever incomplete, for the basic reason that the allegedly superorganic processes guiding folkloric expression are themselves transmutable and thus always generating new forms, which is not the case for the laws regulating genetics (Honko 1968, 51 & 57). The key issue, however, is that compared to literature itself folkloristics adopted a far more absolutist conception of genre, one that consisted not simply of frameworks within which individual works could be understood, but ultimately sets of bound relations between artifacts recorded from tradition. The fundamental difficulty resides not in the principle of genre itself, but in the static realization of the principle.

As recent critics have pointed out, despite this rather concrete and, as Bauman (1992a, 54) describes it, pragmatic approach, the concept of genre itself went unsubjected to methodological evaluation. One should bear in mind, perhaps, that even the study of literature for a long time accepted the notion of genre without a rigorous theoretical foundation; the term itself does not appear to have gained wide critical usage in literature until the turn of the present century (Wellek and Warren 1956, 307n), and even as late as the thirties Gordon Gerould (1932) felt

obliged to treat the word as foreign and italicize it. But as in the neo-classical literary tradition, folklore genres were historically given and theory of the concept itself latent (Wellek and Warren 1956, 229; Voigt 1976, 486). Following the Romantic-National collectors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the comparative schools of the present century determined in advance the materials of folkloristic value and set out to find them, such that research did not expose the contents of folk culture so much as idealizations of that culture channelled research in certain directions. Order was thus imposed on tradition, and it was often, as Pierre Bourdieu has said of much of Kantian rationalist order, "sense by consensus" (1977a, 1) among a class substantially removed from the materials they studied. The license granted by that consensus enabled static generic formulations to operate without serious challenge, because minor variation was accounted for in the biological models and the true extent of dynamism could be controlled by discussing individual items as representing "pure," "authentic," "variant," "deviant," "devolved," or "corrupted" examples of the respective form.

Nowhere were the assumptions of this methodology as apparent as in the cultural backdrops it provided for its objects. Contrary to the implications of Zumwalt's model, literary approaches to folklore did include a concern for culture;² in fact, given the need to put distance between subject and object, it was essential to situate the study of folklore in the realm of an Other. But here scientific method

² It is interesting to note in regard to this that in the United States the downturn in literary interest in balladry was coterminous with the rise of New Criticism, which rejected the social conditions surrounding the creation of the text as a means to its interpretation.

was not quite so rigid, and there was a tendency toward notions of context that were founded on intellectual ideals of culture rather than on the actual observation of culture (thus constituting fictions, though not necessarily falsehoods). Ballads, for example, were projected against hypothetical societies of communal creators (Gummere 1959 [1907]) or various pseudo-historical landscapes -- the middle ages being the most common. Even the rural landscape in which the Romantics situated ballads was a largely symbolic one,³ and there was little attempt to correlate folk literature with an active ethnographic present. Where issues of media came into focus, the compartmentalist attitude that approached the idea of genre with such rigor again prevailed. Hence orally transmitted materials were kept at an artificial distance from those communicated by print, a discrimination frequently applied even to versions of the same ballad type. The limitations of these conceptualizations of culture and mode of transmission, however, soon became apparent, and more progressive folklorists, such as Philips Barry (Alvey 1973) in North America, Carl von Sydow in Scandinavia (1948), Cecil Sharp and Percy Grainger in England (Porter 1993), Menéndez Pidal in Spain (Seeger 1990, 5), and in Eastern Europe, Mark Asadowskij (1974 [1926]), Petr Bogatyrev and Jan Mukařovský (Matejka and Titunik 1976), realized very early in the day that the materials they collected were a dynamic part of their informants' lives, not cybernetically reproduced survivals from

³ For discussions of the Romantic notion of rurality in a Norwegian context, see Richmond 1961, and more recently, Solberg, 1994. William Keith (1974, 3 ff.) draws a useful distinction between "rural" and "pastoral" literature, and includes the work of the Romantic poets squarely in the latter.

the past.⁴ Even the ostensibly monolithic Kittredge acknowledged contemporary context, for it was at his suggestion that W. Roy Mackenzie (1919) produced the first study of traditional singing and folksong in context. Well before the Second World War, many of those whose interest lay primarily in the aesthetic products of tradition were beginning to place increasing emphasis on the local repertoire as a factor in the formulation of genres and on the role that context and personality played in shaping the form and character of traditional art.⁵

According to Zumwalt, the concept of genre had little influence among anthropologists (1988, 119), and though she offers the assertion parenthetically with no elaboration, she is responding presumably to a lack of concentrated emphasis on genre classification and analysis in anthropological writings. The validity of her statement, however, varies depending how one approaches it. If one understands the study of genres to mean the isolation of patterns and relationships among a wide body of material on the basis of textual features, then the comment would appear to stand. Both Alan Dundes and Vilmos Voigt have shown a conscious rejection by anthropologists of inter-cultural textual research due to queries about the degree to

⁴ William Motherwell's name might well be added to the list. His commentary, though inevitably couched in the rhetoric of his Romantic-Nationalist associates, is remarkably sound, appealing to antiquity but recognizing the limitations of reading the past from the tradition of the present day. He is a rarity for his time in his positive emphasis on the oral nature of balladry and particularly for his observations on the compositional function of commonplaces, which ring remarkably true today.

⁵ Recognizing such trends, Zumwalt has to defer treatment of Barry's work in her discussion of literary folklorists and deals with him only briefly at a later stage (1988, 121). While she escapes having to deal with Mackenzie because of his Canadian focus, his absence is nonetheless a significant oversight given that his work stemmed directly from Kittredge's influence. She also treats in a cursory manner a scholar whose research, thoroughly rooted in fieldwork and in the intrinsic relation between style and culture, ultimately revitalized the humanistic study of folklore: Milman Parry.

which thematically or even stylistically similar elements actually constitute comparable units (Dundes 1986 128-129; Voigt 1976, 486-487). On the other hand, if a generic approach is one that orients research around individuated bodies of material, regardless of how parameters are established, then anthropology can be said to have employed the concept if not the term, though as an intellectual tool it remained undeveloped. Lauri Honko notes Malinowski's attempts to isolate ethnic systems of categorization, mainly on the basis of native terminology and performance applications rather than from the analysis of the artistic forms themselves. The approach does not mean, however, that the analysis was free of etic imposition, for Honko shows that in order to derive scholarly significance from his analyses, Malinowski fused native categories with concepts relevant to anthropological discourse, centring primarily on issues of religion and ritual behaviour, resulting ultimately in analytical genres or "nominal systems" (Honko 1968, 57-60).

On a broader scale, it is important to recognize the consequence of the anthropological focus on social networks. Because its disciplinary interests leaned toward certain fields of human behaviour more than others, and since the aesthetic use of language was not among them, anthropology focussed little attention on oral literature as a cultural phenomenon in its own right. As French ethnologist Pierre Smith observes:

. . . au lieu de voir dans la littérature orale un élément constitutif, au même titre que les autres, du système culturel . . . on s'est simplement servi d'elle pour illustrer *a posteriori* des analyses de ce système, comme si elle n'en constituait qu'un commentaire extérieur ou superfétatoire. Seul le mythe a finalement bénéficié d'un traitement qui en a fait un véritable objet de

l'ethnologie, un objet sur lequel les ethnologues se doivent de prendre position. Et l'on a vu, avec l'œuvre de Lévi-Strauss, que c'est non seulement la conception du mythe mais celle de la culture elle-même qui en a été profondément modifiée. Malheureusement, il ne semble pas que celle de littérature, même orale, en ait été vraiment atteinte pour autant. Il en est résulté au contraire une tendance à séparer de façon fort arbitraire . . . le mythe, dont l'essence ne serait pas proprement littéraire, du reste des genres oraux. (Smith 1974, 295-296)

[. . . instead of seeing in oral literature a constitutive element, as valid as the others, of the cultural system . . . one simply uses it to illustrate *a posteriori* the analyses of that system, as if it constituted only an exterior or superfluous commentary on it. Myth alone has finally benefited from a treatment that has made it a true object of ethnology, an object on which ethnologists should take a position. And one sees, with the work of Lévi-Strauss, that it is not only the concept of myth but that of culture itself that has been profoundly modified by it. Unfortunately, that of literature, even oral, does not appear to have been truly challenged by it in the process. There resulted, on the contrary, a tendency to separate in a highly arbitrary fashion . . . myth, whose essence would not be strictly literary, from the rest of the oral genres.]

By revealing an imbalance in the anthropological emphasis on oral literature in relation to belief and ritual behaviour, and calling for closer attention to "le contexte littéraire," Smith insightfully demonstrates that one does not avoid the arbitrariness of a tale-type index by evading either the process of classification or, less mechanically, the articulation of genre at an explicit level.

Traces of this imbalance linger even when anthropologists take a harder look at genre. In Bascom's study of the forms of folk narrative (1965), which also uses belief as a lynch-pin for distinguishing myth, legend, and folktale, the schema falters where belief is equivocal, as is most certainly the case with legend (Honko 1968, 54-55; Dégh and Vázsonyi 1976), and in some instances perhaps even with the folktale: Röhrich, for example, argues that cultures that believed in the empiricity of magic may well have found in Märchen a substantial degree of verisimilitude

(1991 [1979], 57-141; cf. Delargy 1945, 182). Moreover, establishing belief as the centrepiece of the model results in a negative definition of the folktale as “not believed,” thereby misrepresenting the artistic nature of fiction, which thrives somewhat independently of direct relation to reality (Frye 1957, 51-52 and 353-354; Todorov 1973, 9; Todorov 1990, 3-4); a folkloristic corollary to this axiom of literary theory is found in Orik’s law of internal logic. And it may be because of this essentially negative definition that the model weakens in terms of the specific attributes assigned as it proceeds toward the predominantly aesthetic. Though concrete in its description of the sacred realm of the myth and the social world of the legend, it treats poorly the fictive world of the folktale through such generalized temporal and spatial ascriptions as “anytime” and “anyplace,” thereby giving short shrift to essential thematic and textural features that figure prominently in literary treatments of the genre (Lüthi 1976, 20-21; Lüthi 1987, 14-20; Nicolaisen 1980; n.d.a; and n.d.b).

The same applies to Ben-Amos’s performance revisions of the model focusing on the Yoruba genres of *itan*, incorporating both religious and historical narratives, and *alq*, folktales (see Table I). His criteria, too, imply through generalization a diminished significance for the aesthetic by ascribing the status of folktale narrator to virtually anybody (any age, any sex), a tactic that sidesteps issues of performer competence and specialization, whereby certain individuals are singled out and recognized as the active bearers of tradition (Von Sydow 1948, 12-13). For this model to work effectively, there needs to be a pairing for “diviners”

Dimension	Genre	
	itan	alo
Situation	ritual / politics	amusement
Narrator's status	old men / diviners	any age or sex
Protagonist	deities / human heroes	animals
Attitude	truth: religious or historic	fiction

Table 1: Ethnic genres of Yoruba narratives including performance criteria
(Source: Ben-Amos 1976b, 233)

that acknowledges specialized artistic roles within culture, as the Irish Gaelic tradition does, for example, in its distinction between *sgéalaí* (tale teller) and *seanchaí* (historian) (Delargy 1945, 180). Anthropology, however, spares itself the necessity of making such distinction by its focus on the religious and the social.⁶ Its generic models, workable as they may be for those perspectives, are nonetheless bound by disciplinary biases, evincing the "partiality" that James Clifford finds inherent in ethnographic writing (1986, 7-8).

During the 1960s, despite the increasing influence of anthropological tenets and methods, folkloristic concern for genre sustained the scrutiny levelled against it.

⁶ Admittedly, this is less true of anthropology today, as is amply demonstrated by the work of Robert Plant Armstrong (1971), James Fernandez (1986), and Keith Basso (1976: 1984), to name just a few. Further, just as there were literary folklorists, even to contextually-based studies, Herbert Halpert stands out as an example of an anthropologically-trained folklorist who emphasised, perhaps more than most, the humanistic products of tradition (Halpert 1992). But even current anthropologists attuned to the significance of symbolic networks tend to emphasize the sacred and the political over the aesthetic. Edmund Leach, discussing material manifestations of abstract ideas, cites ritual as the "most important" facet of this phenomenon for anthropologists (1976, 37).

In fact a decade later Dan Ben-Amos found it is as central to behavioral and ethnographic studies within the discipline as to more text-oriented analyses (1976a, xii). Nor was the revised perspective achieved by re-focussing on strictly social criteria, for even now when folklorists cite genre as a basic concept that separates their discipline from anthropology (Hymes 1975, 351-52; Voigt 1976, 486-487; Dundes 1986, 130; Goldstein 1993, esp. 17-20), it is precisely cross-cultural generic comparison and the concern for Smith's "literary context" that they have in mind. Re-orientation, however, did occur, and most importantly, there was a concerted effort to establish a coherent theoretical framework that would advance the utility of the generic principle as a research tool.

Of the revisions that emerge from the performance critiques of genre, one main trend is a move away from categories determined by the researcher (analytic) in favour of those constructed internally (ethnic or native), thereby ensuring a context-centred perspective. As indicated in the following quote from Ben-Amos's seminal article on the topic, ethnic genres offer "cultural affirmation" for the existence of specific forms:

The ethnic system of genres constitutes a grammar of folklore, a cultural affirmation of the communication rules that govern the expression of complex messages within a cultural context. It is a self-contained system by which society defines its experiences, creative imagination, and social commentary. It consists of distinct forms, each of which has its particular symbolic connotations and scope of applicable social contexts. (1976b, 225)

The isolation of an ethnic genre, in his view, relies on the identification of a "cluster of thematic and behavioral attributes" (1976b, 231; cf. Abrahams 1976a) and/or on native terminology (Ben-Amos 1976b, 235-237). The value of native

categories is that they force us to understand folkloric materials within the frameworks of specific cultural settings, and to acknowledge a distinction between items that function, to use the classic example, as myth in one culture and as fabulate in another, even though the two share similarities in plot, theme, or motif. This should not be construed, however, to mean that only performance-based ethnography is capable of isolating them. Such an attitude awards a positivistic sanctity to the participant-observer, and implies that the analysis of style ("grammar") or semiotic networks ("symbolic connotations") can not be useful for isolating "communication rules." Thus the need to locate genres in their ethnographic environments does not preclude, in and of itself, an approach that is rooted in poetics, that is, that focuses on the literary system (Todorov 1990, 5; Smith 1974, 296).

From another standpoint, the introduction of behavioral criteria raises issues that require some consideration, for while they can play a shaping role in the production and interpretation of expressive forms, and are relevant therefore to a discussion of genre, they also have the potential to mask the place of formal criteria, or to construct artificial relationships between items that may exhibit no other intrinsic connection. The following two examples will illustrate. In folksong, shanties constitute one of the best examples of an ethnic genre; not only were they recognized by sailors as a distinct category of song, but many studies on the topic were undertaken by former mariners, more in fact than were produced by academic folklorists (Bullen and Arnold 1914; King 1918; Whall 1927; Bone 1932; Huggill

1961; Harlow 1962; for folkloristic publications, see Sharp 1914 and Abrahams 1974). As a group, the shanties are inseparable from the various shipboard tasks to which they were applied, and as such they are normally regarded as a purely functional genre. Yet the nature of many tasks predetermined to a great extent the type of song best suited to them, such that songs of a given stanzaic structure, line length, rhythm, tempo, or sequence of solo and chorus lines were appropriate in some areas but not others. Even content was influenced by area of labour. Where the shanty functioned mainly as a diversion from the drudgery of the work, narrative development tended to be an intrinsic feature of songs, whereas lyric or cumulative songs were more often the norm where shanties provided a strong rhythm to co-ordinate effort (Doerflinger 1955; Hugill 1961; Moreira 1984). In this particular tradition, it is very difficult to divorce formal and functional criteria.

The other example highlights a more theoretical issue relating to the utility of genre as a methodological tool. In their study of Newfoundland singers, Casey, Rosenberg, and Wareham isolate seven levels of local repertoire categorization, four of them based on special status given to songs learned from certain individuals or strongly associated in some way with specific members of the community (1972, 400-402). The personalized nature of these affiliations, however, raises questions about granting them the status of generic categories, for the connection between the category and the items it contains is indirect, residing only in the social fact that a

song, ultimately any song, has attached itself to a personal relationship.⁷ Consequently, there may be no internal relation between a given item and the other members of the same set. In other words, since one has identified a social, not an artistic, phenomenon, it would be pointless to look to other items in the same category for clarification of the aesthetic function of a specific example: this effectively undermines the fundamental purpose of a generic system. The glue binding the category together is largely external, which ironically is also the reason for rejecting so-called "analytical genres," except that here we have behaviour rather than intellectual theory imposing an artificial order within art. This does not, however, represent an insurmountable problem; it simply reminds us of Tzvetan Todorov's caveat that not everything that links two works of art constitutes a genre (1990, 17). In order to be analytically useful, the genre must first cohere as a literary system, and secondarily as a social or functional system.

The issue of native terminology has its own problems and ambiguities. In its favour, it potentially offers qualitative insights into cultural attitudes toward a given form or more often toward the relationship between differentiated forms, but care is required in both the assessment and application of such categories. Honko, for example, notes that terminology revealed in discussions between fieldworker and informant may not reflect actual native genres so much as an "intercultural lingua franca used only by the informant and the collector in their efforts to come to grips

⁷ Those connections may themselves still be of interest, particularly where they provide clues to the contextual meaning of individual songs. As a basis for generic relationships, however, their utility is questionable.

with each other's way of categorization and conceptualization" (Honko 1976, 23). Once the native terms are removed from the field context, there is also a tendency, and in certain respects a need, to correlate them with concepts that are meaningful within academic discourse, as we have already noted through Honko's appraisal of Malinowski. In studies of folk narrative, such terms as "sweet words" (Ben-Amos 1975) and "pretty languages" (Toelken 1976) strike us more because they evoke the analytical concept of aesthetics than because they point to an intrinsic or unique feature of a local expressive form. They might suggest oral rather than literate ("*belles-lettres*"), but that tells us little we had not assumed already. Casey, Rosenberg, and Wareham can derive partial utility from the ethnic categories "songs" and "ditties" by noting they indicate a split between "serious" and "non-serious" material, but a more precise understanding comes from a second-tier correlation with analytical counterparts: songs include narrative and sentimental material while ditties encompass chin music and satirical, bawdy, and children's pieces (1972, 399; for an almost identical division among Breton singers, see Simonsen 1986, 18). In one community, a local distinction between (sung) "stories" and "songs" embodies a contrast between supernatural and "true" narratives, a model they compare to the distinction between the analytic prose genres Märchen and legend (1972, 399). In each case, the understanding of the ethnic improves with a correlation with the analytic.

To expand on this point briefly, the principle behind ethnic genres is to understand aesthetic systems from a synchronous point of view, a necessary step

toward understanding the contextual relevance of the material. But as researchers, we have our own contexts to contend with that are not easily swept out of the way, and our analyses have to "make sense" not simply in and of themselves but also within the realm of theory where other systems of codes and priorities operate. We ask different questions of the material, such that it is not enough for us to understand the message; we want our understanding to reach beyond to the processes of composition, application, and appreciation; in other words, to the actual process of how messages are understood. Since we do not engage traditional materials from the same vantage point or for the same purposes as our informants, we can not ignore the understandings, perspectives, associations, and connections that our research brings to the material, provided that it serves our ability to comprehend the workings of art in a particular cultural situation. The function of scholarship is to narrow the gap between the known and the unknown, the familiar and the foreign, and so, ultimately, the sorts of linkages just discussed are not inadequate but inevitable, arising from the need, on the one hand, to extract generalities from the materials studied, frequently under very specific sets of research circumstances, and on the other to bridge the often disparate worlds of the scholar and the native culture. Arguably, some of the most intriguing concepts in current folkloristic theory emphasize perspectives that are inherently analytical and depart in some measure from a purely native position. Oral theory focuses intently on the variation afforded by formulaic composition and performance, despite informant claims that their material does not vary from one performance to the next

(Lord 1960, 27-28) or, in one instance, that they are transmitting, verbatim, inspirations from a divine source (Rosenberg 1968). The concept "traditions of disbelief" (Hufford 1982) is an analytical inversion of what participants themselves would prefer, perhaps, to regard as rationalism. Moreover, because of its focus on supernatural belief, it brings centre-stage issues that participants in the tradition may well be attempting to put at a distance. As researchers, we still need to acknowledge our distance from those we study, even if the only marker of separation is academic training. Though our motives and views are different from those of our Romantic and Cultural Evolutionist predecessors, we still have to live with the reality that the materials we study are our data, not our culture, and that *how* we read those data has been conditioned as much by our experiences in the classroom, the library, and the archive as by our experiences in the field. It will be difficult to lay aside our intellectual culture along with our other reflexive baggage, since it provides the basic motive, the *why*, for undertaking research in the first place.

Inevitably, we should recognize that we cannot dismiss the analytic altogether. It will impose itself on what we do by the very nature of what we do. If overemphasis on analytical categories tends to obscure cultural realities, a similar focus on ethnic genres may just as easily fail to provide an intersubjective foundation upon which further research can build, or prevent the isolation of patterns and relationships that are formed outside the context of performance and of which the performers themselves might not even be aware, but which nonetheless

may hold significant clues to the workings of expressive behaviours and forms. Honko has thus argued that genres should be constructed at a higher level of "ideal types,"⁸ whereby the "empirical material and the theoretical system can interact beneficially," adding that "[t]he function of the ideal type need not be considered the most exact description of the reality; it should rather provide the opportunity for understanding the reality better" (1968, 61). His stress on the tension between the empirical and the theoretical echoes strongly in the work of Todorov, who distinguishes between historical genres, which are "the result of an observation of literary phenomena," and theoretical genres, which are "deduced from a theory of literature," concluding that "[t]he definition of genres will therefore be a continual oscillation between the description of the phenomena and abstract theory."⁹

⁸ Honko's use of this term, derived from Weber's distinction between ideal and empirical types, signifies something more fluid and plastic than the static, classificatory insistence on mutually exclusive groupings that Bauman labels "ideal typological" (1992a, 54). Honko's ideal types would be malleable not only depending on context but also on the particular sets of relations that the scholar wished to investigate at a given time.

⁹ Todorov 1973, 21; "theoretical genres" involve a "deduction" that gives priority to a certain literary feature. His main example is Northrop Frye's system, which is built around the status of the protagonist relative to the reader and the laws of nature (p. 13-14; Frye 1957, 33-34). Bascom's model, which asserts the priority of belief, would constitute a theoretical system. At first writing, Todorov envisaged that the proper realization of theoretical genres would include all possible formulations of the premise, even in combinations that had yet to manifest themselves in recognized literary forms (1973, 13-14). Later he questioned the utility of the potential categories for anything other than heuristic purposes but maintained the distinction between empirical and analytical categories (1990, 17n). It is also important to point out here that there is not an exact equivalence between Todorov's "historical" and "theoretical" genres and Ben-Amos's "ethnic" and "analytical" categories. The folkloristic concept of "analytical" genre tends to suggest classes of material constructed without regard for contextual circumstances. Todorov grants the researcher the license to establish the base conditions from which the analysis will proceed, but insists thereafter on close interplay between the empirical and the analytical, and in practice, even his theoretical genres are linked to very specific social and historical environments (1973, 157-175).

These two-tiered approaches to genre place us at some distance from the notion of classificatory types. The concern for cataloguing the items of a set gives way to the tasks of isolating poetic systems that function relatively independently as channels of communication and of understanding how their respective features influence both the making and interpretation of related items. Genres in this light are modes of discourse and incorporate various communicative parameters that constitute discourse as distinct from texts (Todorov 1990, 16-17). These include speakers, receptors, strategies that initiate performance and condition audience reaction, as well as networks of signs and symbols operative within the cultural context and, more narrowly, within the generic system itself. Because so much of discourse is contextually dependent, genres have no claim to permanence, but change gradually in dynamic relation with their surroundings. Current definitions of genre, therefore, give voice to a tension between stability and dynamism, as in Todorov's description of genre as "the codification of discursive properties" (1990, 18), and in Bauman's notion of "a conventionalized discourse type" (1992a, 53). In thinking of genre as a form of discourse, we acknowledge that its speakers and receivers are abstract, its strategies long term, and its semiotic systems established outside the context of performance. To put this in Structuralist terms, just as rituals are conventionalized yet arbitrary markers that break the linear flow of time, genres are the "artificial interruptions" in the continuum of artistic expression, whose boundaries are vague and ambiguous (and for the analyst who has to put stock in such matters, threatening), and whose precise systems of relations are conditioned by

the persistent contiguity of groups of elements within stable sets of contextual circumstances (cf. Leach, Edmund 1976, 13-16 & 33-36). One of the crucial issues, however, is that like other structures within culture, they become imbued with significance and therefore contribute to their own interpretation. It is therefore essential, as Dell Hymes notes, to "characterize the ways in which what is said is a function of how it is said" (1974, 126).

Recognition of the dynamic quality of genres naturally leads to questions about the areas (note, not points) of transition and the various processes that motivate and condition transition. A number of folklorists and ethnologists, influenced by the writings of Mikhail Bakhtin, have focussed on the "open-endedness" or polyvalence of genres;¹⁰ they not only change and reformulate, they also interact with, subsume and are subsumed by other genres; they exist in "dialogic" relationships with each other (Bakhtin 1981; Dorst 1983; Abrahams 1985; Hanks 1987; and Bauman 1992a and 1992b), becoming nested like sub-routines in a computer program. For the most part, these studies explore the function of "simple" or "primary" genres within "complex" or "secondary" forms, but part of the dialogue of genres consists also of the interaction between the fictional world and the world of everyday experience. Among Todorov's most compelling realizations in his study of the fantastic is his recognition that that literary system

¹⁰ I feel that polyvalence is the preferable term since the idea of an open-ended system, as Abrahams remarks, is somewhat oxymoronic (1985, 85). Valency suggests the ability to interact and reformulate, and also includes the potential for a distinctive result whose significance may exceed the sum of the parts. Of related interest here is Toelken's discussion of "multivalence" and its implications for grand scale interactions between motif, type, and genre (1979, 177 ff).

does not create and sustain its own self-defined fictive reality, but repeatedly forces the readers into an exploration of their own notion of reality in order to come to terms with the precise nature of events unfolding in the narrative. It is, in fact, the "hesitation" between real and unreal that defines the fantastic for Todorov (1973, 167-168). Somewhat ironically, recent folkloristic studies of genre have been less than attentive to the dialogue between the fictive and the lived worlds,¹¹ though perhaps the strongest expression of the promise that this avenue holds is found in the conclusion to John Dorst's article on "neck-riddles." In his view, the isolation of native genres should be supplemented by a ". . . *dialectics* that considers the relationship between genre and the larger social forces at work in concrete historical circumstances. These two aspects of genre study . . . circle one another in a constant round of mutual implication . . ." (1983, 425; italics in the original). Such an approach shifts the focus of the study of ethnic genres from description (which implies stasis) to one that mediates between the fluid reality of genres as discursive systems and the need for ethnography to consider those systems in relation to specific social processes. Its objective is to expose the reverberations between form, content, context, application, and interpretation that, on the one hand, determine the social relevance of genres and, on the other, that promote or inhibit change in any part of the system.

¹¹ This observation does not apply to the article by Hanks, whose work looks at the dialogue of genres contained in Mayan correspondence to Spanish officials in the wake of the Conquest and draws on the political and cultural issues emanating from that situation. Given the institutional nature of his topic, however, it would difficult to describe his work as folkloric. One could also note the work of Natascha Würzbach (1983), who distinguishes classical and broadside ballads on the basis of discursive features.

By way of demonstration, we can look to an example from contemporary popular culture.¹² In recent years, the manufacturers of trading cards have tried to expand the audience for their product, hoping to tap into the adult collector/trader market by incorporating thematic material of a serious nature, covering such topics as the Gulf War and aviation history. One company has even proposed a series on famous economists. In contrast to the usual focus on sports and entertainment personalities, we can see here an expansion of the thematic boundary of the genre, the kind of change that would normally send genre analysts back to the drawing board to reconfigure and recalculate. In practical terms, few people outside of enthusiasts probably gave this much thought until several companies announced that they were releasing "true crime series," which would feature not only well known law enforcement agents but also notorious criminals, including serial killers. Public response, especially among parental and school groups, was highly adverse, and even government reacted strongly; in Canada, then Minister of Revenue Otto Jelinek attempted, unsuccessfully, to ban the importation of the cards. Such sharp reactions may appear justified, but the reasons why are not as direct as might first appear. The obvious objection that the subject matter is unsuitable for children, who remain the primary consumers of the cards, is at odds with the fact that similar content is

¹² The issues surrounding this discussion received considerable media attention in 1991 and 1992, when the "true crime" cards first came on the market. Specific details cited here were taken from a CBC radio interview ("Prime Time," March 17, 1993) with Catherine Ironwood, public relations officer with California-based Eclipse Enterprises, a corporation that specializes in "journalistic" trading cards. Not only is her company producing the crime cards, it is also facing litigation from a man convicted in the Hillside Strangler murders for using his likeness for commercial purposes without permission.

available to children through many sources, some of them sanctioned and even encouraged by parents and educators: the process of "street-proofing" exposes children to many of the issues underlying the crime theme, as do their daily encounters with notices of missing children on school posters and on milk cartons. More than content is at issue here. The real difficulty with the true crime cards is that they place images of murderers in a generically contiguous relationship with the sports and entertainment idols who are the customary subjects of trading cards. Among the structural relations of this generic system is an apposition between "unachieved youth" (the audience) and "superachieved adults" (the content), such that hero worship and role emulation have become core semantic aspects of this system. For content, it can accept the famous but not the infamous, and in this light it is easy to understand that a segment of society, already highly sensitized to the degree and nature of violence in children's entertainment, would be unable to reconcile such brutal content in this generic frame. The introduction of "journalistic" topics, as manufacturers call them, alters the thematic breadth of the genre, but that in itself has little impact on the semantic conventions that are an intrinsic part of its structure, and where new content conflicts openly with prior meaning, the system becomes incongruous and observers react accordingly.

The exploration of these kinds of systemic relations, which take us beyond mere form and content to a perspective that includes the dynamic interrelations of form, content, style, cultural context, performers, audience, and semantic networks, provides the most effective means for undertaking generic research, since it gives

equal play to the aesthetic and the cultural. In the following sections, we shall attempt to explore both the internal systems of relations and the scholarly dialogues that surround two genres: the classical and the broadside ballads. The two have a long and interconnected history that has received a great deal of attention, yet in the literature there has been an unfortunate tendency either to separate the two artificially or to unite them in an equally arbitrary fashion. As a starting point, we shall review the analytical treatments of the two forms, and proceed from there to a consideration of the discursive systems that may be held to be characteristic of each of the ideal types. In a later section of the thesis, we shall re-examine our findings in light of a specific context in which both genres exist simultaneously. Here our objective shall be to ascertain the relative degree of independence, dialogue, or subsumption that they reveal in these circumstances.

Chapter Two

The Scholarship of Ballad Genres

Criticism, of course, never does find out what poetry is, in the sense of arriving at an adequate definition; but I do not know of what use such a definition would be if it were found. Nor can criticism arrive at any final appraisal of poetry.

T. S. Eliot (1986 [1933], 6)

Some sort of classification everybody expects.

F. J. Child (Hustvedt 1930, 254)

In light of the preceding conclusions, it seems difficult to continue to talk about “*the* ballad,” except in the most abstract terms, as one might speak of “the novel.” Even in that situation, it may be preferable to emphasize dynamism and process by referring to “balladry.” Regardless, it is difficult to imagine a single genre that could be accurately represented by canonical definition, but rather there appears to be a complex of sometimes closely related traditions whose history (according to textual evidence) spans over seven hundred years and whose geographic distribution covers Europe, Northern Africa, the Americas, and Australia, with analogous traditions in India (Devi 1987) the Orient (Ting and Ting 1989; Um 1994), and Oceania (Meñez 1993). Even within regional and temporal confines, the traditions are such that one can only sympathize with Philip S. Allen's early

objection at attempts "to designate a single historical species of song carefully walled-in, instead of a dozen differing species" (1898-99, 296). Todorov's recognition of theoretical and historical genres helps to sort out some of these incongruencies by providing a means of coping with the interplay between raw materials and scholarly perspectives that has been at constant work in the analytical history of balladry. Not only has the sheer dynamism of tradition proven an obstacle to a clear definition of balladry in any form, but the compounded problem of divergent intellectual and cultural interests among scholars who have studied the form has meant that virtually all efforts toward ballad classification and analysis have been open to challenge. Understanding something of the history of the scholarship may at least put some of the debate in perspective, even if it resolves nothing completely.

The first examples of English-language ballad criticism, Joseph Addison's articles in *The Spectator*, addressed issues of style, but not with the same understanding of ballad style that Grundtvig and Child adopted 150 years later. His aims were neo-classical, in that he wanted to criticize the ostentation and artifice of what he called the "Gothick manners in writing" by comparing the "simplicity" of popular song to similar qualities in the poetic traditions of the Ancients and particularly in Homer (1723 [1711], II, 270). The texts he had at his disposal, versions of "Chevy Chase" and "The Babes in the Woods," were likely from the popular press (Scott 1931 [1830], 507), and he does not distinguish between the two songs -- at least not on formal grounds -- as later critics did. Essentially, he did

not need to distinguish between them. For his purposes, a very generalized common spirit shared by the two songs was sufficient. This kind of holistic compass for popular art, however, was bound to undergo modification as further research and other research interests not only expanded scholarly understanding of the material but also of the different socio-cultural settings (real or hypothetical) in which it was founded.

Other criticism of the first half of the eighteenth century, such as it was, made little attempt to articulate categories of popular song, although the sources employed may not have made such distinction either obvious or necessary. In Scotland, the miscellanies of Allan Ramsay (1724-1729; 1874 [1724]) were compiled mainly from manuscript and print sources, and the major English work of the period, *A Collection of Old Ballads* (3 vols, 1723-25), drew from a fairly homogeneous pool of blackletter broadsides and other forms of chap literature.¹ In fact, the general adoption of the term "ballad" suggests that broadsides were at the heart of formative antiquarian song research, for prior to the mid-1700s, "ballad," or "ballet" as it was frequently spelled, normally indicated a song, often a comic one, printed or written on a sheet of paper (John Aikin, cited in Walford 1887 [1765], 18; Friedman 1961, 8 and 78-79). To a certain extent, geography was a factor in what was considered traditional, for there was a preference for material from

¹ The homogeneity of this material is more than just apparent. Robert Thompson (1974) demonstrates that monopolies and cabals, coupled with remarkably narrow lines of transmission from one generation of printers to the next, were integral features of the British broadside trade from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth. Consequently, there is tremendous coherence in the repertoire over that period.

northern Britain, and some of the more successful publications, such as those by Ramsay or William Thompson's *Orpheus Caledonius* (1962 [1733]), owed their appeal to a London vogue for Scottish dialect song. For the most part, however, the early antiquarians were not drawn to popular songs as oral or regional literature *per se*, but as historical phenomena, and thus age was of far greater interest than stylistic or linguistic idiosyncrasies. Indeed, Addison came in for strong ridicule for investing more than historical curiosity in ballads when he equated their style with classical simplicity (Friedman 1961, 91): eighteenth century classicism would come to view "simplicity" as the gentle curves of a Chippendale or the stately lines of a Sheraton, not the rustic charm of a milking stool. Addison's experience may well have caused subsequent editors to think twice about engaging in literary analyses of old songs,² for as Hustvedt points out, comments on ballad style, such as Thomas Gray's observation that they "begin in the fifth act," were atypical for the period (Hustvedt 1971 [1916], 148). Even the re-definition of ballad as narrative song, which Hustvedt traces to correspondence between Thomas Percy and William Shenstone in the 1760s (Hustvedt 1971 [1916], 160-161) and which had become conventional by the late 1770s (Evans 1777; Ritson 1783, I, ii; Hustvedt 1971[1916], 228-229 and 254), results as much from historical as stylistic concerns. Shenstone not only proposed a contrast between "ballads," whose defining feature

² Friedman argues that the motives of the antiquarians are unclear, and that the study of ballads, in addition to serving the interests of history, provided a source of great delight for many of them (1961, 75-76). The aesthetic appreciation of ballads, however, remained largely a private matter and rarely surfaced in public critical discourse.

was action, and "songs" which expressed emotion, he also intimated that Percy should confine himself to the former, and clearly the narrative material, as evidenced by the early manuscript sources and the blackletter tradition, had a greater semblance to antiquity. It is possible to regard Shenstone's definition as a refinement of Addison's initial attempt to view English cultural history through a classical lens. On the one hand, his distinction between narrative and emotive essentially conscripts two of Aristotle's divisions of poetry, epic and lyric, as frames for sung verse. On the other, putting a temporal overlay on the distinction constructs a history of English literature that leads from narrative rudiments to abstract and conceptual modes of expression, an evolution that mirrors the classical progression from the epics of Homer to the more sophisticated lyrics of Horace, Ovid, and Pindar. The narrative element establishes a positive link with the British past, and the paradigm, narrative-nascent / lyric-mature, a structural equivalence between the histories of British and classical culture. Effectively, Shenstone accomplishes rhetorically what Addison failed to achieve through direct criticism.¹

Though an appeal to history has remained constant throughout the course of ballad scholarship, there are complex subtleties to what that history was supposed to reconstruct or evoke. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, ballad research tended to gravitate toward thematic issues, and tradition itself was reconstituted in

¹ I do not mean to suggest here that the parallel is merely symbolic and that there is no historical basis for it. The recognition of semiotic relationships within scholarly discourse, implicit or explicit, should not immediately render the substance of the discourse invalid. Such has often been the case with the "invention of tradition" line of thought.

terms of a vanished world of chivalric nobles and princes. As long as scholars adhered to that particular vision of the past, there was little need to be dogmatic about sub-species of modern texts. Regardless of what they might have seen as contemporary discrepancies in style, their notion of the proper setting for tradition was an Eden-like matrix, to the east of which lay both the vulgar press and oral tradition. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) itself provided the framework through an introductory essay on minstrels, which, although it came under fire for concluding far more than the historical record could support, set the basic discourse about tradition in a remote and empirically unknowable past. The impact of the *Reliques* on Herder, among others, is widely known (Friedman 1961; Thompson 1974, 6-9) and requires little rehearsal here, but we should always bear in mind that for the two most influential of Percy's successors -- Ritson and Scott -- Herder's "folk" were secondary to the evocation of elite historical imagery through both song themes and balladry as a cultural phenomenon in its own right (Friedman 1961, 81).

In their own criticism, Ritson and, more diplomatically, Scott corrected Percy's hasty suppositions about the minstrelsy in Britain, but they nonetheless supported the idea that the appropriate contexts for the material were official, and more specifically, that the central players in the tradition belonged to an upper echelon of professional and court entertainers. For Ritson, who can only be regarded as the most un-romantic of romantics, exploring this ephemeral past became a matter of assiduous detective work, of reconstructing a positivistic image

from the sparse and ambiguous evidence available in the written record. As is widely known, he drew his texts primarily from broadsides and manuscripts, though he was nonetheless quick to cast aspersions on modern printers -- "Tom D'Urfey and his Grub Street brethren" (1975 [1869, 1794], I, 56). Oral transmission he regarded as "a species of alchemy which converts gold to lead," and while he acknowledged a Scottish tradition of legendary and romantic songs "composed in a singular style, and preserved by tradition among the country people," he had grave doubts about the value of the material as he did not feel it to be of significant age (1975 [1869, 1794], I, 77-78). He was sceptical, it seems, of all contemporary sources, and his passion was for the antique. He believed, however, that narrative development was a basic indicator of age, for while he published lyric material,⁴ perhaps more so than any of his contemporaries, his researches led him to conclude that "all the minstrel-songs which have found their way to us are merely narrative; nothing of passion, sentiment, or even description, being to be discovered among them" (1877 [1790], xxi). And for those who find Child's corpus of 305 ballad types a delimiting record of tradition, it is worth remembering that Ritson's list of "authentic" minstrel songs contained only eight titles (1877 [1790], xxviii). Despite his zeal for authenticity, Ritson left behind an image of tradition that bears the stamp of his bibliographic approach, in that his commentaries are both limited and coloured by the official character of his sources. Comments on performers are

⁴ The lyric songs he published are almost exclusively attributed to elite authors, frequently nobles or royals, from various historical periods.

speculative -- his data allows nothing more -- and the songs themselves generally function as touchstones to historical events and personages, rather than holding much intrinsic interest in and of themselves.

Sir Walter Scott, while departing from and in fact quite harshly critiquing Ritson's dogmatic attitudes on ballad matters (1931 [1830], 515), also maintained an elitist and antiquarian perspective in his writings, even though contemporary tradition provided him with most of his texts. The main body of the introduction to the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-03) consists of a history of border families with specific attention to the sixteenth century, which paints a suitable backdrop for the songs of border raids and skirmishes found in the first section on "Historical Ballads." But more than events and names emerge from that history. Through attention to cultural environment, enhanced by similar though less detailed comments on agriculture and husbandry, Scott takes pains to show how events forced the culture to structure itself in response to the uncertainty of the border environment and border politics, and so the ballads begin to be seen not just as crude memorials of extraordinary events but as expressive outgrowth of a political economy. Commentary on popular belief, specifically on its relation to Nordic culture, and a lengthy dissertation on fairies in the headnotes to "Tamlane," further reveal that he was attempting to build a number of bridges between the songs and the culture for which they spoke.

For Scott, however, the relationship between song and culture was nonetheless based on the correlation of subject matter rather than style. Some thirty

years earlier, David Herd's collection (1769) had demonstrated the broad traditional currency of the ballad style Ritson called "singular," but no one had yet explained its singularity by anything other than an alchemy of ignorance. Scott presented no alternative to that explanation -- to the contrary, he paraphrased Ritson's remark. Despite reverent praise for "ballad makers" in the abstract, he followed his contemporaries in regarding the inconsistencies of oral transmission as errors and expressed particular misgivings about the traditional tendency to borrow elements from one song and interpolate them into others, apparently at the whim of the singer (1931 [1830], 505-507). Moreover, while he extended the scope of the tradition beyond the minstrels, his ballad makers nonetheless occupied an official, semi-professional position in society, for it was his view that "the pipers, of whom there was one attached to each Border town of note, and whose office was often hereditary, were the great depositories of oral, and particularly of poetical, tradition" (1931 [1830], 65). This tendency to situate ballads within elite and official contexts not only skewed the cultural basis of the form but also ignored the fact that contemporary collection was revealing women to be the most active bearers of tradition (see Thigpen 1972).

Many of these assumptions underwent a noticeable change in the work of William Motherwell, although his contributions never really emerged, in his own day, from under the shadow of Scott. By the early 1820s when he began collecting, Motherwell could draw on the lessons learned from fifty years of British and Continental research. Editorially, he sided completely with Ritson's practice of

printing texts as collected, regardless of apparent deficiencies, and he even seems to have been guided in this matter by Scott (Hustvedt 1930, 76-77; McCarthy 1989, 38), who, in print, not only exercised a free editorial rein with his texts but defended Percy's emendations against Ritson's churlish attacks. Motherwell moved beyond his predecessors, however, by asserting equal value to all texts:

All versions of a ballad so preserved by oral tradition from one age to another, are entitled to be considered as of equal authenticity, and coeval production, one with the other, although among them, wide and irreconcilable discrepancies exist. (1827, vi)

In accordance with this change in attitude toward texts, the world of traditional song that emerges in Motherwell's commentary is often that of his informants, or at least to a far greater extent than in the writings of any of his predecessors, for he was as interested in contemporary attitudes towards songs as in rarefied history. The ballads he recovered from tradition, he noted, were a "means of ascertaining what in our day were deemed ancient compositions, and what of more recent or of contemporaneous date with ourselves" (1827, v): the antiquarian bias does not disappear completely, but the present begins to acquire a voice. Though he makes no direct reference to either Herder or the Grimms, their influence seems inevitable, for his work represents a pronounced departure from the chivalric bent of early British Romanticism in favour of the more populist attitude of the Germans; William Thoms marked that shift more concretely two decades later when he renamed the study from "antiquarianism" to "folklore." At the same time, one cannot overlook the more direct influence of Motherwell's own fieldwork experiences, for unlike Scott he did most of his own collecting, acquiring material

from over fifty informants in the process.⁴ His attentiveness to his informants enabled him to see aspects of the ballad tradition that were hidden to arm-chair collectors and library scholars, among them the discovery that ballads do not exist in tradition as discrete entities, that they dovetail with prose narrative traditions that flesh out the skeleton of the tale provided in verse (1827, xiv-xvii; cf. Caraveli 1982). Moreover, he demonstrates uncharacteristic sympathy for his informants' attitudes toward both ballads and their subject matter, and remarks on the correlation between sincerity of belief and integrity of performance (1827, xxvii).

Motherwell devotes his introduction to a discussion of the "traditionary" ballad, which he defines, positively, in terms of those very features that earlier publishers dismissed as errors, particularly the "common-places which seem an integral portion of the original mechanism, of all our ancient ballads, and the presence of which forms one of their most peculiar and distinctive characteristics, as contrasted with the modern ballad" (1827, vi). Although another century would pass before Milman Parry provided the theoretical means to explain the workings of that poetic mechanism, Motherwell himself recognized that formulas served a mnemonic function and that their presence constituted "the bounding line which exists between what is the Oral and what is the Written poetry of a people" (1827, xi-xii). In his most protracted comment on the subject, he outlines a compositional

⁴ This figure is based on sources identified in Child's headnotes. Like other antiquaries, Motherwell exchanged material freely with colleagues, and the work of other collectors may account for the songs of some informants: James Nicol for example, whose songs were collected by Buchan. There is little doubt, however, that Motherwell's acquaintance with the song traditions of Kilbarchan and the surrounding district was both intensive and direct.

utility for formulas that is not entirely at odds with Parry and Lord.

Commonplaces, he writes,

... not only assisted the memory in an eminent degree, but served as a kind of ground-work, on which the poem could be raised. With such common-places indelibly fixed in his memory, the minstrel could with ease to himself, and with the rapidity of extemporaneous delivery, rapidly model any event which came under his cognizance into song. They were like inns or baiting places on a journey, from one to the other of which he could speedily transport himself. They were general outlines of every class of human incident and suffering then appropriated to song, and could be fitted easily to receive individual interest as circumstances might require, and that without any painful stretch of fancy or imagination. Indeed the original production of these common-places betokens no slender ingenuity on the part of these song inditers. (1827, xxiii)

He was sufficiently convinced of the formula's role in traditional poetry to base his insistence on editorial fidelity on the grounds that literary-minded editors would naturally gravitate toward unique forms of expression in ballads and in doing so destroy the essence of the poetry as it existed in the mouths of traditional singers (1827, vi).

Although Motherwell's comments on ballad process had little immediate impact, his enumeration of central features of traditional ballad style -- formulaic structure; action that begins at once without preamble; a simple plot that "runs on in an arrowlike stream"; absence of description or subjective interpolation by the narrator (xvii-xviii) -- appears to have had more tangible reverberations in nineteenth century ballad scholarship.⁸ These criteria even appear to have guided his collecting, for it is clear that in the field he exercised distinctions between classical

⁸ Interestingly, Scott added an essay on ballad style to the fourth edition of his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1931 [1830], 501-532), published three years after Motherwell's *Minstrelsy Ancient and Modern* made its appearance.

and broadside forms and, while careful to note the titles of the latter when he encountered them, he made little effort to recover their texts from oral sources, perhaps out of the conviction that copies could -- or should -- be obtained directly from print. His notebooks, for example, ascribe thirty-two ballads to the repertoire of Agnes Lyle of Kilbarchan, of which he collected twenty-two. The remaining songs have been identified by William McCarthy as broadsides or traditional ballads that have a marked history of print transmission (1989, 40-51). As collector, editor, and commentator, Motherwell represents a significant step on the road toward scholarly emphasis on "traditionary" (classical) ballads, as distinct from "modern" (broadside) ballads, and of the tendency to view "traditional" as constituting a particular style rather than a corpus of material extant in oral circulation. Thus, within his work one sees the second recasting of "ballad" as an intellectual concept since Addison, and his emphasis on style and on oral tradition contributed significantly to the discourse of the generation that followed.⁷

The history of ballad scholarship, like ballad narrative method itself, involves a fair amount of leaping and lingering, though its plot is anything but single-stranded. After the 1830s, by which time the so-called "Great Ballad Revival" had

⁷ Motherwell also constitutes an interesting ripple in Harker's theory that British folksong was the intellectual creation of upper-middle and upper class scholars, and that the reification of that concept conformed to and was shaped by their essentially conservative ideals. Motherwell was regarded even in his own day as a man of strong Tory convictions, who freely used his offices as editor of *The Paisley Advertiser* and the *Glasgow Courier* as outlets for his opinions. Harker, however, unable to find fault with Motherwell's scholarship, is only able to suggest that "it would be remarkable indeed if his ideology did not both inform and help structure his song-mediating work" (1985, 46). Politics notwithstanding, there are few antiquarians whose work stands up so well in light of contemporary research on oral poetry.

lost its momentum, there was a hiatus in British folksong studies. When interest revived toward the end of the century, largely through the efforts of Sabine Baring-Gould and his follower Cecil Sharp, music rather than lyrics occupied the focus of attention, even though the essential discourse about music followed the rhetorical strategy of the Romantics, with Sharp's theory of modes serving as a means of reifying and authenticating the antique (pers. com., Dr. Julia Bishop). Interest in the poetic traditions, meanwhile, had taken hold in Scandinavia, where Svend Grundtvig and those he inspired were attempting to explore national languages through their manifestation in traditional verbal art. This facet of nineteenth century Nordic research, which existed only vestigially in the Anglo-Scots research (see for example Axon 1871), was propagated in part by the achievements of the Grimms in Germany, but fuelled regionally by the changes in political make-up of Scandinavia following the Napoleonic wars.

Grundtvig was something of a prodigy in ballad studies, having commenced a series of Danish translations of Scottish ballads while still a teenager. A trip to Britain in the summer of 1843, his twentieth year, enabled him to pore over ballad holdings in several libraries as well as to expand his knowledge of the work of English and Scottish antiquaries. It was here that he first encountered the writings of Motherwell, whose editorial rigour and insistence on the independence of each version recovered from tradition impressed him deeply. These views, supported and augmented by the work of the Swedish philologist A. I. Arwidsson, formed the basis of a "Plan" that he submitted to the *Samfundet til den dansk Litteratur*

Fremme (Society for the Promotion of Danish Literature) in 1847.⁸ The proposal, including a test sample of three ballad types, departed from earlier approaches by advocating a "*Kildesamling*" (source collection), a double-edged concept in that the collection would draw from sources as close to oral tradition as possible -- nominally from early print sources, manuscripts, and contemporary oral tradition -- while the final product, containing all known versions of each ballad type, would itself stand as an authoritative source for future ballad research and editing (*Prøve*, 17-19 and 31-36). As Grundtvig himself put it, the collection would include "alt hvad der var" and "alt som det var" (*Prøve*, 33; everything that there is and everything as it is).

Despite his rigorous outline of both methods and goals, Grundtvig never actually finds room in the plan for a definition or description of ballads (Steenstrup 1968 [1914], 2), though a lengthy quote from Motherwell on "Folketraditioner Ægthed" (tradition's authenticity), which incorporates comments on the hallmarks of traditional ballads, suggests a close affinity in their points of view. In an earlier work, he quotes Motherwell more extensively on style, and though Scottish ballads are specifically targeted, he adds:

... hvad her siges om det Skotske, det Samme kunde siges og er tildeels allerede sagt om den Danske, den Svenske o. s. v. Grunden til denne ... maa søges deri, at Grundtrækkene er fælles for dem Alle. Der er de samme Elementer, kun at hist Et og her et Andet af disse er stærkest repræsenteret. (1942 [1842-1846], 331-332)

⁸ The text of the "Prøve paa en ny Udgave af Danmarks gamle folkeviser" [hereafter *Prøve*] is appended to volume I of Grundtvig, et al., 1853-1976; an English summary of both the plan and the academic reaction to it can be found in Hustvedt 1930, 184-192.

[... what is said here about the Scottish, could also be said and is in part already said about the Danish, the Swedish, etc. The justification for this ... may be seen in the fact that the fundamentals are common to them all. The elements are the same, except that here and there one or another of them is most strongly represented.]

He expands slightly on Motherwell's characteristics by noting the distinctive use of dialogue in ballads, but in all other respects he seems in general accord with his predecessor's opinions. Such discussions of style, however, are rare, which is odd given that Grundtvig's elaborate plan asserts a primary interest in traditional ballads; one would expect some evaluation of how such ballads were to be identified, especially since his outline of sources for ballads acknowledges that not everything found in each source would be germane.⁹ It is likely, however, that he took the "fundamentals" of popular ballads as a given, something "already said" about the northern traditions. Or perhaps it might be fairer to say that what had already been said of ballads was sufficient to begin work, leaving more concrete assertions for conclusions. Correspondence between Grundtvig and Francis James Child supports the idea, for it suggests an assumed understanding of popular style by the very absence of discussion about ballad characteristics and qualities. Child, for instance, feels no need to explain his repudiation of Buchan's texts as "far from *volksmässig*" (Hustvedt 1930, 264; italics in the original). Only once does he inquire about "the *criterion* of a popular ballad, the distinction between ballad and tale, *fabliau*, and

⁹ He enumerated five sources: 1) the three Danish Renaissance collections (Vedel 1591 and 1657 [see Rubow 1926-1927], and Syv 1787 [1695]); 2) broadsides (*flyveblader*); 3) incidental texts from books and periodicals; 4) ballad manuscripts in the Royal Danish Library, of which there were over thirty ranging in date from 1550 to the early 1700s; and 5) songs from contemporary oral tradition (*Prove*, 17-18).

between genuine national or people's ballads and all varieties of base kind," and adds, "I think the distinction easier to feel than to formulate. I should like to have you try to express the more subtle characteristics of an old popular ballad in words" (Hustvedt 1930, 268; italics in the original). Grundtvig apparently never received the letter, and Child did not broach the topic again.

There are no other players in the field for whom the separation of theoretical and historical genres poses so many problems as for Grundtvig and Child, an inevitable result of their having left such sketchy theoretical maps to what have become two highly significant markers of historical boundaries in balladry: *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (12 vols, 1853-1976; hereafter *DgF*) and *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (5 vols, 1882-1898; hereafter *ESPB*). Both editors proposed essays on the development and nature of traditional ballads as the final instalments of their respective projects, but neither lived to see that stage of the work begun, much less completed. Such commentaries as they have left indicate they recognised the inadequacies of the choices their research forced them to make,¹⁰ and admittedly in attempting to encompass the vagaries of several centuries of informal culture within the static confines of a literary classification system, they had few alternatives. From our vantage point, attempting to draw conclusions about their work at this date is a demanding task, as one has to sift through the rubble of the ballads, the editors, and scholarly reaction to the collections. Overlap, influence,

¹⁰ See particularly Child to Grundtvig, Aug. 25, 1872 (Hustvedt 1930, 252-255) and Grundtvig to Child, Aug. 25, 1877 (Hustvedt 1930, 275-278).

and parallels are indeed there, but there are also points of diversion that make comparison difficult. Axel Olrik, in comparing the work of the two, asserted that whereas Grundtvig came to the study of philology by way of folksong, Child came to the study of folksong by way of philology (1907, 174), and if nothing else the direction of movement suggested here points to quite different trends in the academic legacies that they have left in their respective culture regions, though these legacies have also been conditioned by the nature of sources and materials that each of them had at their disposal.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the Danish corpus, at least insofar as it contrasts with the record of Anglo-Scots balladry, is a substantial body of material from a relatively early period, most of it contained in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century song manuscripts left by members of the nobility, chiefly women. Since the manuscripts themselves were originally compiled as attempts to preserve "old songs," Grundtvig could with some degree of confidence establish the middle ages as a natural setting for his material. Thus, it was more than wishful, Romantic-Nationalist thinking that led him to include the modifier "*gamle*" (old) and also to embrace the Herderian notion of "folk" as covering a broad social spectrum. The breadth of material available provided a solid basis for philological analyses of intra-generic differences, and it became commonplace in Danish ballad studies to distinguish between a more detailed "Adelstraditionen" (tradition of the nobility) and a verbally spare and compact "Almuetraditionen" (common tradition; Erik Dal 1956, 345-363; see also Olrik 1906 and Friis 1945, 84). Nor was the latter necessarily

assumed to be a devolved remnant of the former, for by the turn of the century, there was considerable debate as to which style was the original and as to how lines of development could be traced. Olrik himself regarded the tradition of the nobles as a modulated form and its tendency toward detail the result of the influence of literate culture (1906, 215). But regardless of the stance of the individual scholar, Danish research became characterised, on the one hand, by an emphasis on ballads as a medieval genre,¹¹ and on the other by assiduous and minute textual analyses that treated ballads generically as anything but a permanent form. Danish scholars have been much more willing than their Anglo-American counterparts to see differences positively, a means of charting development within tradition, rather than an impediment to defining and validating a genre in highly concrete terms.

Historians of ballad scholarship have long been in the habit of casting Child as Grundtvig's understudy. Hustvedt presents the case with reserve and respect, showing Grundtvig's proper place in the collaboration but not robbing Child of credit to which he is due (1930, 231-232). Of the less deferent evaluations, Harker's is perhaps the most extreme and depicts Child as an insecure acolyte, dependent on the mentor for most of his ideas (1985, 101-120). Grundtvig was undoubtedly the senior partner in the collaboration, a fact established both financially -- he was paid by Child for his advice -- and also by seniority, since his

¹¹ One of Grundtvig's immediate successors, Johannes Steenstrup, criticised him for even paying attention to modern tradition (1968 [1914], 1-2). More recently, the Scandinavian type index specifically targeted the medieval ballad as its focus (Jonsson, et al., 1978), while a leading interpretive work analyses formulaic ballad actions in relation to late medieval and early Renaissance manners and customs (Holzapfel 1980).

plan for publication was farther advanced. But just as Grundtvig's early ideas had been confirmed rather than shaped by Motherwell, Child's thinking on balladry was already well-formed when his correspondence with Grundtvig began in the winter of 1872. While editing his first collection, *The English and Scottish Ballads* (1857-58), he had grappled with the numerous problems involved with separating traditional ballads from such adjacent forms as metrical romance and broadsides, and in this and his later, more famous, edition, he deliberately erred on the side of inclusion (Hustvedt 1930, 233). At eight volumes, his first edition constituted a sturdy apprenticeship, but his desire to revamp and improve the work, concentrating on the quality he labelled "popular," reveals his level of dissatisfaction with the initial product and his resolve to attack the problem with an enhanced degree of expertise and sophistication. Grundtvig, who initiated the correspondence, provided the impetus and *DgF* the model; so closely did Child follow its example that upon seeing part one of *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* Grundtvig is said to have proclaimed the birth of *DgF*'s first offspring (Oirik 1907, 173).

Grundtvig's direct input in Child's work consisted of advice on classification and sequence, which included a general chronological plan accompanied by a detailed list from his own files on Anglo-Scots ballads as to how the plan should unfold (Hustvedt 1930, 277 and 300-335). His own collection had been structured according to chronological principles, with four subject areas -- *Kæmpeviser* (heroic ballads), *Trylleviser* (ballads of magic), *Historiske viser* (historical ballads), and *Ridderviser* (ballads of chivalry and romance) -- supposedly reflecting a progression

in ballad development (*Prove*, 19). It was not a system that worked well for the British traditions. Through his studies of Scandinavian ballads, however, Grundtvig concluded that the couplet form predated the quatrain, and he proposed the use of metrics as an organizational principle for the Anglo-Scots ballads. Child adhered to the general plan but made numerous revisions to the detailed outline, expanding the total number of types from 269 to 305 in the process, though as Hustvedt points out, Grundtvig's list may well have prompted him to include items he might otherwise have rejected (1930, 302-303). At the same time, it must be acknowledged that influence of this sort relates to the extremities of the generic boundaries, not the core, the most essential characteristics, and on that score, as suggested above, Child appears to have required little coaching.

Child produced only one extended general essay on ballad poetry, an entry for the 1874 edition of *Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia*, though it never became an integral landmark in the scholarship because his protégées insisted that it was merely a tentative statement of his ideas (Gummere 1903-1904, 378). Michael Bell, however, argues that the essay reveals in fairly concrete terms what Child intended by the modifier "popular," a term borrowed from the Romantics but which Child redefined to link ballads to cultures where "there is such community of ideas and feelings that the whole people form one individual" (quoted in Bell 1988, 285). The connection emerges most strongly through ballad impersonality or objectivity, a trait that follows from the ballad makers' lack of need to consciously advance their own point of view in their poetry. Given that Kittredge echoed this position

virtually note for note in the introduction to the single-volume edition of *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Sargent and Kittredge 1904, xi-xii), we can assume that it was indeed central to Child's ideas about balladry. Bell goes on to suggest that Child consciously avoided the term "folk" in order to distance balladry from the notion of a pan-Aryan heritage that was intrinsic to Romantic-Nationalist philosophy,¹² for he wanted to situate ballads in a more recent heritage, feudal or rural, and not have them tangled up in ideals of racial inheritance (Bell 1988, 290-91, 303). The significant feature of Child's popular culture, however, is that it was, as Bell puts it, *in* history but not defined *by* history alone. It was culture constructed, not in terms of place, time, or circumstance, but on the basis of thought and how members of a community interrelate (Bell 1988, 299). Though ballads, in Child's opinion, "had their origins in the class whose acts and fortunes they depict," presumably in the middle ages, their style was at home generally in intellectually homogeneous, self-contained communities, and so to some extent Child leans in the direction of the kind of anthropology of human thought and communication later developed by Levi-Strauss, Parry and Lord, Ong, Goody, and finally brought to fruition in his own field by David Buchan. The more immediate ramifications of Child's popular culture, however, lay in its relation to other types of communities. On the one hand, it was juxtaposed with advanced, self-conscious, individuated culture, and on the other with "vulgar," mass-mediated culture. The latter

¹² This is likely another area where the ideas of Grundtvig, an ardent Romantic-Nationalist, and Child would have taken separate paths.

distinction, which crops up frequently in the Child-Grundtvig correspondence (Hustvedt 1930, 254, 260, 264, 268), paved the way for a rather rigid separation of classical and broadside traditions in some sectors of Anglo-American scholarship, even though almost ten percent of Child's texts had come from print sources. For subsequent scholarship, that separation is perhaps the most direct and at the same time contentious consequence of Child's ideas.

In the wake of Gummere's quelling of Child's encyclopedia essay and the theoretical void that resulted, the collection had to speak for itself. As with the Danish corpus, it manifested stylistic diversity, apparent even to a casual reader, yet few sought to explore the details of ballad tradition with any degree of precision. Robert Chambers's focussed survey of "Romantic" Scots ballads is both unusual and instructive in that it constitutes what is perhaps the most detailed discussion of ballad style to come out of the mid-Victorian period, though few scholars today (or then for that matter) would agree with his conclusion that the stylistic qualities he isolates are the hallmarks of an individual author (Chambers 1977 [1849]; 1870, vii-viii; see also Murray 1874, 8). More characteristic of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholarship on British ballads, however, was an assumption that somewhere within the morass of material accumulated by the antiquarians there was unity within tradition, and it is probably less true of Child's followers that they were unable to articulate the source and nature of that unity than that they were torn between a demand for a clearly defined classificatory system and an understandable hesitation to draw lines in areas where the genres "blurred," a

concept that would have been highly problematic for the Arnoldian conventions of the day. Moreover, while the desire to see unity in tradition may have represented, at some level, a lingering belief in the Romantic idea of a unified "folk," it can also be read as a desire, particularly among literary scholars for whom the ballads were seen primarily as the matrix of poetry, a lead-in to the proper object of their study, to account for the products of tradition in as narrow a framework as possible. Academic expediency as much as adherence to a theoretical premise, may well have been the deciding factor.

Regardless, at the fringes of scholarship where balladry remained an issue, the project inevitably became one of devising a theory that could explain the "historical genre" left by Child, which, oddly enough, supporters and opponents alike came to regard as immutable, either accepting or rejecting it as a whole. To that end, Thelma James's conclusion that "a Child ballad is little more than one collected and approved by Prof. Child" (1961 [1933], 19), is perhaps more quotable than accurate, especially given that her analysis, which promises to contrast the 1882-98 edition with its 1857-58 predecessor, never really advances beyond a survey of titles, leaving significant issues of style undiscussed. On the other hand, Kittredge's argument that "No one can read 'The Hunting of the Cheviot,' or 'Mary Hamilton,' or 'Johnny Armstrong,' or 'Robyn and Gandeleyne,' or 'The Wife of Usher's Well,' and fail to recognize that, different as they are from each other in theme and effect, they belong together" (1904, xii), appeals to a spirit of compromise that could just as easily argue for the acceptance of many items plainly

rejected by Child, and at the same time draws attention away from more anomalous pieces, such as "The Whummil Bore," "The Outlaw Murray," and even "The Gest of Robin Hood." Not surprisingly perhaps, one theory that emerged to account for ballad style and which held sway among Child's immediate successors at Harvard, the communal creation theory, deserted the empirical data and proposed, through the extrapolation of recognized ballad traits, a hypothetical genre and process of composition that lay well in advance of more modern forms (Gummere 1959 [1907]). The balladry, or rather proto-balladry, described would constitute a "potential" form of theoretical genre according to Todorov's early usage of the term, in that it was a purely academic construct of which there were no known historical examples (Todorov 1973, 14-15). Anyone curious as to what might have led Todorov to abandon the investigation of potential genres need only examine the history of the communalists (Todorov 1990, 17n; Wilgus 1959, 9-46; Harker 1985, 121-137).

In his study of *The Popular Ballad*, Gummere acknowledges two avenues to the study of ballads: "definition by origin" and "definition by destination" (1959 [1907], 14-16), and early in the century folksong scholarship diverges along these lines. Those adhering to the first principle, who include not only Gummere's own communalist school but also those who continued to seek ballad origins among the elite during the Middle Ages and later (Ker 1909; Pound 1921, 87-119), continued to focus on style and were more amenable to what was becoming known as the "Child canon." If at all, authors of origin studies criticised the collection on the

grounds that it was *too* inclusive; T. F. Henderson went so far -- too far, in E. K. Chambers's opinion -- as to declare "the chaff . . . out of all proportion to the wheat" (quoted in Chambers 1945, 180). "Definition by origin" tended also to uphold Child's distinction between popular and vulgar styles, for the primary object of the research was the exploration of pre-literary history, which would naturally exclude such print-generated forms as the broadsides. Even as late as 1945, E. K. Chambers, expressed reservations about defining ballads broadly as "narrative" songs (147), in order to keep that division clear.

A "definition by destination" became desirable in light of renewed field collection, which fostered an interest in understanding folksong synchronically through studies of regionally, ethnically, or occupationally defined singing traditions, as set out in the mandate of the American Folklore Society (Newell 1888). This perspective flourished with the notion of "communal re-creation," advanced by Cecil Sharp (1907) in England and Phillips Barry (1914; 1933) in America, which declared the point of origin irrelevant to the analysis of ballad process, and focused instead on the continual reshaping of texts through a total interaction between the ballad story, the singer, and his/her community. In the rural communities that were the laboratories for modern collectors, classical and broadside ballads mixed freely and few singers distinguished between them. Here, style became an expendable criterion for what was or was not a folk ballad, and it was field-based folklorists who offered the most direct challenges to Child's separation of "popular" and "vulgar" tradition. There came a point, however, where explaining or invalidating

the textual canon encompassed by *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* became an unnecessary event, for as folksong studies increasingly came under the influence of ethnographic perspectives, researchers tended to put historical questions behind them and pursue those relative to the social basis of folksong and to processes of song transmission.

It is somehow typical of the many ironies in ballad scholarship that whereas D. K. Wilgus discusses the early decades of the present century as the period of the "ballad wars" (1959, 3-122), Dave Harker describes it as a period of "ballad consensus" (1985, 121-137). That we recognize a certain validity in both statements demonstrates the potential for confusion about this highly influential period of folksong scholarship. Although a careful reading of the literature reveals that consensus was far from complete, and that where differences arose, they never amounted to much of a scrap, in highly general terms we may assert the following. The so-called ballad wars were over theoretical issues, at the heart of which were the cultural contexts that would both encompass and define ballad studies -- the incipient phase restituted by the communalists; an elite and flourishing medieval tradition; or a contemporary, inclusive "folk" tradition. Consensus, on the other hand, appears most strongly in issues of style and in the very general divisions made on stylistic grounds. Folklorists of the day might have taken issue with the literary scholar's refusal to study broadsides, but they nonetheless recognized an essential difference between classical ballad style and styles derived exclusively from print. Many collectors maintained the distinction through the editorial practice of

placing "Child" ballads at the head of their collections (Wilgus 1959, 191-195).

Louise Pound perhaps stated the folkloristic position best when she wrote:

Unless *style* determines what are genuinely ballads and what are not, the making of ballads, *i. e.*, short verse-narratives of singable form, is not a closed account; and there is no reason why it ever should be such. Nor is the making of "popular" or "folk" ballads extinct, meaning by this short lyric tales apparently authorless, preserved among the people, and having an existence which has become purely oral and traditional. The mode in ballad making has changed and will change. (1921, 232)

In essence, she accepts the classical ballad as a stylistically distinct genre, one rooted in a particular cultural matrix, but for contemporary research she also insists on the acceptance of modern forms and processes of balladry. For the kind of synchronic analysis that came to dominate folksong studies in the early twentieth century, the academic segregation of different ballad styles made little sense, especially when the singers themselves often failed to acknowledge the distinctions.

The greater irony, however, is that American folksong scholarship continued to make such distinctions, and if sorting out the vagaries of the Antiquarians presents difficulties, carving sense from their twentieth century counterparts represents little improvement. Even though the Child canon had been critiqued from an early date (James 1961 [1933]), and Wilgus's mid-century history of *Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship since 1898* had undermined many of the foundations laid by the Harvard philologists, American scholarship continued to employ Child's collection as a classificatory tool and to construct other classification systems in direct relation to it (Coffin 1977 [1963, 1950]; Laws 1957; 1964). Stock-taking of the "Child" ballads collected in North America was considered a worthwhile activity

as late as the 1970s and even into the early 1980s (Renwick supplement in Coffin 1977 [1963, 1950]; Quigley 1980; Doucette and Quigley 1981), a full decade after the performance school had supposedly discarded such text-based, item-oriented research.¹³ Wilgus, the renegade who continued to insist that "the text is the thing" (1973a), advocated a return to Shenstone's basic category of "narrative song" in the hope of creating a thematic index of song types in Anglo-American tradition (1955, 1959, 256-257, 1970, 1973b, 1979, 1986; see also Long 1972 and 1975). Though his research remains largely unpublished, it was reported to be near completion at the time of his death in 1989. It must be pointed out, however, that neither synchronic, field-based approaches or Wilgus's thematic studies have rendered Child invalid. Both have proceeded by rejecting the poetic feature that was at the heart of his research -- style. Moreover, the thinking of modern folklorists may have been a bit clouded in the assumption that the study of contemporary tradition would solve questions relating to the nature of oral transmission in earlier periods (Hustvedt 1930, 18), which indicates that they envisaged little transition in rural society between the beginning of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Subsequent researches, particularly those stemming from the theory of oral composition (Parry 1971; Lord 1960; Buchan 1972; Foley 1988), in concert with advances in the study of the intellectual and social history of literacy (Hoggart 1951; Goody and Watt 1968; Goody 1977 and 1987; Ong 1982; Vincent 1989),

¹³ To be fair, Renwick follows a model laid down in advance by Coffin, and Doucette and Quigley are openly sceptical of the utility of the "Child Ballad" as an analytical construct (1981, 8-9) within their particular context. Their assessment, however, is based primarily on a survey of themes.

have revealed significant differences in the poetic and aesthetic processes found in these different cultural contexts. They suggest not simply the need for continued differentiation between ballad styles, but for a fluid perception of what ballads are and how they function generically in different kinds of media and communities.

Some years ago, Alan Dundes pointed out that in the history of folkloristics, not one single genre has been successfully defined (1964, 252). It was certainly true of balladry then and little has changed in the interim. If the object continues to be a bound canon of types and versions, it is highly unlikely that it will ever be achieved. We might even agree with T. S. Eliot that such a canon, if it could be established, would be of questionable use to scholarship. The study of ballad poetics, however, may nonetheless continue using generic parameters that establish the foundations on which individual analyses can build. Such theoretical genres, as Todorov has developed the concept, do not require or lead to canons, since accounting for the inclusion or exclusion of individual works is not an object. The theory establishes a model for understanding and exploring certain literary processes; it does not need to define in immutable terms all works that have emanated from that process. Nor will works that depart to some degree from the defined parameters necessarily undermine the genre, for as Todorov states, ". . . there is no necessity that a work faithfully incarnate its genre, there is only a probability that it will do so. Which comes down to saying that no observation of works can strictly confirm or invalidate a theory of genres" (1973, 22). Theoretical genres are of importance not so much for the categories they establish and for the breadth of

material they encompass, as for the literary processes they describe. Testing theoretical genres, however, tends to lead outside of the literature itself, into adjacent realms of psychology, sociology, and so on. For Todorov, who insists he wants to keep the study of literature self-contained, this presents something of a problem. For folkloristics, it is an obvious necessity. In the following discussion we shall employ three levels of generic demarcation: the first is formal, and considers metrics and the surface features of style; the second level takes poetic process into account and deals with more fundamental features of style; the third level is contextual and roots the system of poetics in a specific cultural setting. The objective of this approach is much less ambitious than anything envisaged by Child or Grundtvig, as it strives only to identify and analyze the discursive properties of the poetry or poetics in question. In this case we shall be looking at two of the central genres in the northern European ballad tradition and its American offshoots.

Chapter Three

The Classical and Broadside Genres

The distinction between classical and broadside ballads, basic to song scholarship since at least the days of the Romantics, assumes a similarity of form differentiated by source of production, by style, or by mode or context of transmission. Casually applied, each perspective links classical ballads to orality and broadsides to print, although it requires what used to be known as a "gentle reader" to accept the division without challenge. If, for example, we take source of production as a baseline, we must be careful to separate "genre" and the notion of "type," for the ultimate source of any ballad type is very difficult to substantiate. If the oldest known version happens to come from a broadside, the possibility remains that older, oral versions existed but were not recorded. On that very premise, Child included items of broadside derivation that he thought might have had oral precursors. Had he not done so, the oral status of his thirty-eight Robin Hood ballads would be difficult to sustain (*ESPB*, III, 39-232; see also Hustvedt 1930, 254, 257, and 278). Issues of style also force a careful consideration of the relation between genre and type. As employed in historic-geographic theory, "type" indicates a set narrative pattern whose actual manifestations, variants and versions, are deemed to possess a historical relationship; that is, a type is an independent

complex of motifs in a set order whose coherence across time and space cannot be attributed reasonably to polygenesis (Thompson 1977 [1946], 415; Brunvand 1978, 128). In practical terms, a type is the sum of its versions. It does not follow, however, that all versions of a type belong to the same genre. We tend to recognize this fact on a large scale, for example where the same tale type appears as a ballad (Child 45) and a folktale (AT-922). Yet folklorists are less inclined to acknowledge differences on a narrow scale, and tend to consider such texts as Child 73B and Child 73D ("Lord Thomas and Fair Annet") or Child 81D-L and Child 81A or C ("Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard"), as not only of the same type but of the same genre as well, even though aspects of broadside style are plainly visible in the second versions of each pairing.¹ Flemming Andersen (1982) very powerfully demonstrates that a ballad in oral style, when taken up by a broadside editor, can be remoulded to conform to print conventions. Is "Lord Thomas and Fair Annet" a classical or a broadside ballad? Inevitably, it is both.

From a contextual standpoint, problems arise from drawing firm lines between oral and print culture, from regarding "oral" and "literate" as a "Great Divide," as Ruth Finnegan puts it (1992 [1977], xi), that irrevocably separates one level of culture from another. For as long as there have been broadsides, classical and print ballads have had parallel existences, and considerable interchange has gone on between them, resulting in an exchange of themes, motifs, and other shadings

¹ Strangely, Child prints the oral versions of Child 81 in small font, his mark of questionable authenticity, while the clearly broadside versions -- 81C fails his own test of objectivity -- are granted full status.

that give character to art. Further, there comes a point where oral transmission remains the primary medium of song exchange, but the materials in circulation derive from print or other commercial popular culture sources: the music hall or the minstrel stages. Most collectors of Anglo-American song during the first half of this century faced this situation. In such contexts, oral patterns dominant and coherent at other phases of tradition may become secondary or without significance, yet classical ballads may maintain their validity and function because they possess other features, themes, or motifs that conform to currently favoured aesthetic conventions.

It is unlikely that any generic division based on one or two broad criteria will hold up under close evaluation, and it is even more unlikely that genres can be adequately represented by a canon of types. Genres emerge from specific kinds of aesthetic and cultural matrices, and from literary activities that require or favour certain characteristics and that participate in certain kinds of discourse. Those processes leave significant traces on what they produce and, if we recognize repertoire development as a form of traditional creative activity (Abrahams 1970; Goldstein 1971), they look for amenable features in what they consume. As we have seen, tale or ballad types may conform, or be adapted to conform, to the conventions of more than one generic system. This point exposes a potential error in the earlier hierarchical models of traditional verbal art that saw genre, type, variant, and version as concentrically related elements within a single system. Genres have to do with literary processes and do not necessarily coincide with types, which are linked by correspondence of narrative sequence. The real and

significant differences between classical ballads and broadsides lie in their systems of poetics, which are apparent not only in surface features of style, but also in networks of imagery, character types, and formulas, and, most importantly from an ethnographic point of view, in how the narrative worlds are structured in relation to specific kinds of socio-cultural conditions. In the following discussion, we can begin at a surface level and proceed to more complex elements.

The stylistic description of "traditionary" ballads provided by Motherwell has undergone little modification but considerable refinement. Danish research, as noted already, pointed out the distinctive use of dialogue, and Gummere noted the role of "leaping and lingering" and of "incremental repetition" in ballad structure (1959 [1907], 90-91 & 117-134). Still, there is substantial agreement between Motherwell and Gerould, who a century later defined "ballad" as,

... a folk-song that tells a story with stress on the crucial situation, tells it by letting the action unfold itself in event and speech, and tells it objectively with little comment or intrusion of personal bias. (1932, 11)

Of subsequent scholars, M. J. C. Hodgart borrowed the notion of "montage" from film studies and applied it to the presentation of images in ballads (1962, 27-28) but followed Gerould in most other respects; Edson Richmond, while admitting to ambiguities in some definitional criteria, never actually rejects any of them outright, and in fact does more to show inconsistencies in the ballad canons than in the definition of classical balladry itself (1988, xi-xxi). The general agreement among nineteenth and twentieth century scholars on the stylistic criteria of classical balladry made it easy for Harker to speak of a "ballad consensus" and to critique the genre,

particularly as reified in *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, as "the result of a Dane supervising an American, and relying heavily on a violently reactionary Scots Tory" (1985, 120). Yet here and elsewhere his criticism rests on a scrutiny of the theorists alone with little or no regard for the actual material, and it is of course quite palpable issues of form and style that lay at the heart of the consensus. Even Wilgus, who is undoubtedly the most assiduous critic of the classical ballad as a generic construct, dodges rather than confronts the question of style. He attacks the genre, rightly, by challenging the cybernetic adoption of "the Child canon" in questionable contexts, but, perhaps less justifiably, by de-emphasizing style as a defining criterion, opting instead for a thematic approach to cataloguing traditional narrative song (Wilgus 1959, esp. ch. 4; 1955; 1970; & 1986). When it suits his purposes, however -- when arguing, for example, for the recognition of the blues ballad as a distinct genre (Wilgus and Long 1985) -- he has few qualms about returning to stylistic analyses. It should be clear by now, that if we are going to discuss genre at any meaningful level we must grapple with basic issues of style and give them clear priority over thematic and typological considerations.

A ballad is first of all a song, implying both melodic setting and verse form. Due to reports of "recited" ballad performance, not all agree that melody is essential (Richmond 1978; 1989, xiv), though one can easily overstate the place of spoken recitation. Richmond's discussion of recited ballad performance in Øvre Telemark focusses solely on a passive tradition bearer who had memorized fragmentary versions of her mother's ballads, and even though she knew a large number of

texts, she appears to be quite unrepresentative of the regional tradition from a performance perspective (1978, 62-66). Some of Gavin Greig's informants, Bell Robertson among them, recited their ballads (Greig and Keith 1925, xxxv), yet the centrality of music in the tradition as a whole (Greig 1963, 50-59; Greig and Keith 1925, xli-xliv) indicates that recitation was not just secondary but exceptional. Child, too, commonly lists orally-collected texts as "from recitation," but this does not necessarily mean spoken recitation. Even today it is conventional to refer to "song recitals," and in the Romantic literature, "sung" and "recited" do not appear to imply separate methods of performance. In fact, quite the reverse is true. Percy refers to "the recital of such romances sung to the harp" (1886 [1765], 374; see also 347 and 356), while Scott writes: "Verse is naturally connected with music; and among a rude people the union is seldom broken. By this natural alliance the lays . . . are more easily retained by the reciter . . ." (1931, 61; see also 66). Kinloch cites a version of "Young Hunting" (Child 68) as "from the recitation of Miss E. Beattie . . . who sings it to a plaintive and melancholy, though somewhat monotonous, air . . ." (quoted in *ESPB* II, 145). In this case, "from recitation" distinguishes orally delivered from written or printed, rather than spoken from sung.²

² Where melody does tend to go missing is in ballad scholarship, for apart from the writings of Bronson (1959-1972; 1969) and Porter (1976; 1979a; 1979b; 1981) standing as perennial exceptions to the rule, ballad studies form a rather tuneless parade of textual analyses, and the implications of music for the study of ballad meaning remains an underdeveloped area of research. Renwick argued, however, that musicological analysis was not essential to interpretive analysis, as he could find no evidence that melody was essential to meaning (1980, 1-2), and he reinforced his argument by quoting Sharp's assertion that traditional singers generally place greater stock in words than in the music (Sharp 1907, 89). Any attempt to consider the influence of music on meaning would also have to contend with Greig's observation that tunes and lyrics lead somewhat independent lives in tradition (1963, 60).

Closely related to music is metre. This admittedly dry and well-travelled topic warrants attention, for it reveals points of diversity that justify the recognition of historically, culturally, and regionally bounded generic constructs. While prosody tends to be comparatively uniform within specific regional traditions (Entwistle 1951 [1939], 16-32), it varies over a geographic and temporal range, and there is also difference in the rigidity of metrics within individual traditions. The octosyllabic verses of the Hispanic *Romancero* stand at the conservative end of the scale (Entwistle 1951 [1939], 155-156), while the trochaic tri- or tetrameter of Romanian ballad metre is highly variable even within individual texts (Knorringer 1978, 14-15; Levičchi, et al., 1980, 18). On this point, one should note that in most classical ballad traditions, scansion varies within the confines of the melody. Hyper-metrical or abbreviated constructions are common enough that it would be inappropriate to describe them as irregular, and when sung their apparent inconsistency tends to vanish.

The manner in which verses are linked structurally and acoustically also varies. Rhymed stanzas are often assumed to be the norm, but stichic traditions also exist: the Romanian and Hispanic classical ballads are cases in point. In the latter, assonance is more prevalent than rhyme. In Teutonic balladry,¹ which includes the Anglo-American forms, the so-called "ballad stanza," a quatrain of

¹ Seamann, et al., 1967: This regional division encompasses Germany, the Low Countries, Scandinavia and Britain, and is slightly narrower than Entwistle's "Nordic" ballad region (1951[1939], 195-301), which includes the above plus the eastern Baltic, Hungary and what are now the Czech and Slovakian Republics.

alternating tetrameter and trimeter lines, rhyming ABCB -- though some prefer to regard this as a seven-stress couplet -- is the most common classical form but not the only one. Some differences can be accounted for regionally; for example, a quatrain of four tetrameter lines appears most often in Scottish border ballads. There is also evidence that the ballad form has expanded over the course of time. Grundtvig's assumption that the couplet form is the oldest, though never proven, is at least supported by current theory (Buchan 1972, 139). Broadside ballads, on the other hand, commonly employ a larger "double stanza" of four seven-stress lines, rhyming AABB, and often composed in triplet metres, either dactyl or anapest. Wilgus and Long state that broadsides also display greater regularity in the application of metre (1985, 438), wherein they conform more to literate conventions of poetry than to freer melodically-based (aural) rhythms.

These metrical differences are more than just superficial. Where traditions are separated by stanzaic versus stichic structure, it has been shown that form has a direct bearing on style. Stichic ballads permit expansion and development more easily than strophic ones, and so they tend to be more descriptive (Knorringer 1978, 54-57 & 73-86; Levičchi, et al., 1980, 19-20), which has implications for how formulas and other repetitive patterns function in the various traditions. Conversely, the stanza is more than a metrical form; it is also a semantic unit, bounded by melody and also by clearly defined narrative ideas (Buchan 1972, 53 & 88-89). Enjambment between stanzas is quite uncharacteristic in ballads, and formations

such as the following, albeit rare in broadsides, are almost unheard of in classical ballads:

She dressed herself in rich array,
And went to view her slaves one day.
Hearing the moan the young man made,
She went to him and thus she said:

"What countryman, young man, are you?"

"An Englishman, and that is true."

"I wish you were some Turk," said she,

"I would ease you of your misery.]"

(Mackenzie 1928, 66)

Stanzas are not only the basic formal elements but also the basic narrative elements in the balladries that employ them, and in classical ballads, the manner in which they are linked or juxtaposed contributes immeasurably to the overall style of the genre.

But insofar as it is possible to construct categories of ballads on the basis of form, to do so may obscure aesthetically or ethnographically significant traits that define or characterize individual genres. Ballads, in the broadest sense, are narrative; they are songs that tell stories, and the assessment of differences in narrative method brings out the salient features of specific genres and how they operate in their immediate cultural environments. Ballad scholarship tends to define narrative through a simple juxtaposition with lyric, though that in itself does not pave the way to a clear and easy means of describing songs, let alone classifying them. Wilgus's insistence on "explicit narrative" (1955, 95) does more to acknowledge a difficulty than it does to solve it. Nor is a solution easy to formulate. Many nineteenth-century lyric songs contain at least the essence of a

narrative, and often the narrators divide their attention equally between telling a story and expressing their feelings about it. Further complications arise if one stops to ask what constitutes the song? Is it bounded solely by the text and melody? What other types of cultural or aesthetic information are applied in one interpretation of a song performance? Anna Caraveli's revelation of "the song beyond the song" (1982) demonstrates that all sorts of satellite knowledge attaches itself to songs in particular cultural contexts. This can include oral narratives that explain or give grounds for a lyric evocation. Hugh Shields, writing of the predominantly lyric tradition in Gaelic Ireland (1991, 47-51), and Vladimir Propp, discussing lyric songs in Russia (1975 [1961], 57), have both noted the importance of an implied or assigned narrative to their respective materials. So even when narrative has little or no overt influence at the level of text, tradition may nonetheless hold it as an integral aspect of the song.

Ballad narratives are "plotted"; they present a temporally ordered sequence of events. Folkloristic approaches to narrative often stress this syntagmatic property, as in Propp's syllabus of thirty-one plot "functions" in *Märchen* (1968), or Labov and Waletzky's definition of narrative as "any sequence of clauses which contains at least one temporal juncture" (1967, 28). But as the latter authors realize, more than just a sequence of events is required. Narratives, they state, have both a referential and evaluative function (1967, 13), and the question remains as to what is necessary for the evaluative function to be served, particularly in artistic narrative where evaluation is everything. There is perhaps the germ of a narrative in "I shot and

killed him," which they use to exemplify their basic criteria (1967, 28), but what about "I entered the room and sat down"? Or from a different standpoint, what is the evaluative difference between "I went outside and saw the full moon," which meets their definition of narrative, and "When I went outside, I saw the full moon," which does not, since its clauses can be reversed without changing the meaning of the statement: "I saw the full moon when I went outside." In order for narrative to be evaluated, the juncture between two points in its plot needs to be more than just temporal. It needs to manifest a significant alteration in the conditions that define point A and point B. There needs to be change. "Thus," Todorov asserts, "it is incorrect to maintain that the elements are related only by *succession*; we can say that they are also related by *transformation* (1990, 30; italics in original).

Normally, and almost always in oral narrative, transformation relates to changes in the status of the central character(s), though one can cite examples from recent literature in which the impact of the narrative results from an *absence* of transformation despite experiences that should have occasioned it, as in Camus's *The Stranger*, or despite expectations of change that remain unrealized at the narrative's close, as in *Waiting for Godot*. Nor are such conventions unknown in tradition, for the native American ballad "The Gallant Brigantine" (Laws D25) repeatedly thwarts our expectation that a sailor and the woman he meets ashore will become lovers. Since, however, the absence of transformation is conspicuous in each case, it highlights the expectation of change as a general feature of narrative.

For our immediate purposes, transformation provides a useful means of separating narrative from lyric. Whereas narrative moves a character from a position of stasis, through a period of disequilibrium, and finally comes to rest in a positive or negative resolution (Todorov 1973, 163; cf. Olrik 1992 [1921], 55-56), the lyric dwells intently on the emotional effects of the disequilibrium; it may look back to a cause or ahead to a potential resolution, but it tends to fix on a single emotional vantage point that remains constant throughout.⁴ The song "The Stormy Scenes of Winter" straddles the boundary between narrative and lyric, containing such narrative elements as character interaction and dialogue, yet it remains strongly lyric since the emotional condition of the hero does not change; nor do we expect it to in songs of this nature:

The Stormy Scenes of Winter

The stormy scenes of winter, descending frost and snow,
And the dark shades, our centre, when the howling winds do blow,
You are the one I've choosen [sic] for to be my only dear,
But your heart is constant frozen, your love is false I fear.

One night I went to see my love, she proved so scornfully,
I asked her if she'd marry me, we had not yet agreed,
Said I, "The night's far spent my love, it is near the break of day,
I am waiting for an answer, pray love, what do you say?"

"If I must tell you plainly, I'll lead a single life,
I never thought it suitable that I should be your wife,
So take that for an answer and for yourself provide,
For I have another more suitable and you I'll lay aside."

⁴ Todorov uses a similar dynamic/static contrast to distinguish between narrative and description in literary prose (1990, 30).

"Oh you have stores of riches, and more you hope to gain,
 And you have my fond wishes, but these you do disdain,
 But your riches they'll not last you long, they melt away like snow
 And when poverty does cross you, you'll think on me I know.

"I'll steer my course for Flanders, I'll lead a single life,
 And with my hold commanders, my gun shall be my wife,
 When I get money a-plenty, to some tavern I will go
 And I'll drink the health of Flora although she answers no.

"For the birds that sing so gaily, so sweetly and so fine,
 My joys they would be singing if Flora was but mine."

(Creighton and Senior 1950, 212)

Oddly, despite the shift from second to third person (line 5:4), the editors have chosen to treat the fifth and sixth stanzas as continued dialogue; a balladic impulse, perhaps, but one that imposes a dramatic structure on the song that is not necessarily there. The hero's assertion that he will -- and here tense is significant -- lead the unstable existence of a soldier, while possibly suggesting a narrative resolution, functions just as well as an active mirror of the emotional disequilibrium that characterizes the entire song. It signals continuation as much as transformation. The song does not, as Todorov says of narrative, "move between two equilibriums" (1973, 163), but maintains instability throughout.

There are different kinds of narrative transformations, though we should perhaps note Todorov's repeated caveats that they cannot provide a means of classifying narratives, since two or more varieties may be present in any given tale. They are merely avenues to the internal workings of "narrative organization." One or two types tend to dominate. He cites "negation" as the prevailing form, as in Propp's opposition of lack/lack liquidated (Propp 1968, 35-38, 53-55), where transformations occur contemporaneously and in accordance with narrated events: the

defeat of a villain or the successful completion of a test results simultaneously in overcoming the lack and in a transition in the character's status. Other kinds of transformation leave different imprints on narrative. What Todorov calls "gnoseological" or "epistemical" narrative organization (1990, 30-38) has a direct bearing on some ballad types that are cited from time to time as narratively weak, especially ballads formed exclusively of dialogue, of which "Lord Randal" (Child 12) and "Edward" (Child 13) are perhaps the best known examples. Here, transformation is not bound up with events *per se*, but with a character's changing perception of or relation to events. These events may have already transpired or their outcome already been foretold. He exemplifies this kind of narrative development with a tale from *The Decameron* in which the hero attempts to seduce the jealous heroine by convincing her that their respective spouses are meeting secretly at a bath house. He suggests that she go there herself posing as the mistress; since the bath house is dark, her husband will not realize the deception until it is too late. In actuality, of course, it is the hero's identity that the darkness conceals, and the heroine becomes his unwitting lover. In this tale, a basic sequence of events repeats on three levels: first, in the hero's plan of the seduction; second; in the heroine's imagining of how she will foil her husband; and third, in the actual realization of the hero's plan. The hero's transformation involves a straightforward negation of lover desired/lover won, but the significant transformation is in the heroine's perception of events as she anticipates them and as they actually transpire (Todorov 1990, 27-28, & 31).

"Lord Randal" and "Edward," in some respects, resemble another of Todorov's examples of "gnoseological" narrative, contemporary mystery fiction, in which knowledge about the crime is more germane to the narrative than the actual crime itself (1990, 33). Here, the onstage events act as a window through which a second narrative, that of the crime, is viewed. Textually, the ballads consist of a single scene with little action other than a dialogue between the hero and his mother, and they immediately direct our attention to what *has* happened rather than what will happen by the interrogatives that open each song: "O where ha you been, Lord Randal, my son?" "What bluid's that o' thy coat lap / Son Davie, son Davie?" Like the Boccaccio tale, "Lord Randal" centres on the transformation in a character's knowledge about and perception of events, as the mother's questions gradually reveal the treachery of his lover. The hero in "Edward," on the other hand, attempts to conceal knowledge of a murder he has committed, and here the mother's questions force a transformation from denial to admission of guilt. These ballads have more to do with the management of knowledge about events than with events themselves, but they nonetheless operate as free-standing, self-contained narratives.

In a critique of Propp, Frederic Jameson identifies a third essential component of narrative. He begins with the proposition that the folktale's conclusion is implicit in its beginning: the initial lack will be liquidated or the villainy will be avenged, transformations that turn on the (con)test faced by the hero, either a combat with the villain or a series of tests. The assertion is, of

course, borne out by Propp's static schema as well as by Olrik's law of epic unity. Jameson argues, however, that the reduction of narrative to a model of transformation, especially automatic and invariable transformations (injury → retribution; lack → acquisition), does not result in a representation of a story so much as wish-fulfilment. "It is enough," he states, "to reflect on the pointlessness, the almost ungeneralizable individuality, of the wish-fulfilment as something told or communicated to realize that as such it can only be a non-story" (1972, 66): "I was poor, then I became rich;" "I was single, then I married a prince(ss);" "I was oppressed, but I defeated my enemy." Each of these sentences conforms to the schema "lack/lack liquidated" or "injury/retribution" and to a definition of narrative as a sequence of events that involves a transformation, yet none of them really tells a story and they certainly do not tell a Märchen. The statements record such general real-world experience, that one could not garner *narrative* significance from them without further details. Drawing on Arthur Danto's notion of history as a "causal explanation" of events, Jameson asserts that narrative, too, must include a consideration of what permits transformation to occur. As he puts it, "The centre of gravity of the narrated events lies not in the fact of the change, but in the explanation of the change" (1972, 67). We therefore need to add "causality" -- agency and means -- to the other two criteria for narrative.

In Jameson's analysis, causality has striking implications for the reading of Märchen, for the defeat of the villain or the acquisition of a spouse suddenly becomes less significant, from the point of view of the narrative, of its worthiness

as a story, than the *agents* that make those transformations possible: the donor(s) and the helper(s). What makes Märchen interesting as narrative is not simply that the hero liquidates a lack, but the means the helper provides that allow him to do so (Jameson 1972, 67-69). A similar line of thinking applied to the ballad "Edward," reveals that this apparently "actionless" song is in fact a fully-developed and well-constructed narrative. Despite its very abrupt beginning, the ballad does begin in a condition of stasis. Disequilibrium may be suggested by the mention of blood in the opening line, but is by no means assured; if the mother accepts the explanation of the hawk's blood, we have no story, or at least not much of one. The narrative shifts to a definitive condition of instability only when the mother challenges his excuse: "Hawk's bluid was peer sae red." She is the agent driving the transformation, forcing the admission of guilt. At the conclusion, the hero damns his mother to hell, an action that Child saw as implicating her in the murder (1965 [1882-1898], I, 168) and others have extended that interpretation to suggest an Oedipal relationship between them (Coffin 1949; Brewster 1972; Twitchell 1975). Yet clearly, her role as agent in the narrative, as the cause behind the murderer's confession, is sufficient motivation for the damnation, and it is perhaps significant that of the confession ballads, "Edward" is unique in dwelling on culpability rather than remorse (cf. Child 49 and Child 50), a theme that echoes consistently in the mother's chorus: "And the truth come tell to me."

Succession, transformation, and causality are basic to all narrative and therefore useful for high-level analyses of folksong. Moving specifically to ballads,

we can identify two traits that appear to be common to most genres: emphasis on a crucial situation and dramatic presentation. Even here we can see the beginnings of narrative differences between classical and broadside balladries. Though reminiscent of Olrik's law of single-stranded plot (1992 [1921], 48), ballad emphasis on the crucial situation implies an even narrower frame than one might encounter in, say, Märchen. Classical ballads, which are among the most compact forms of oral narrative, relate their narratives in "an arrowlike stream," as Motherwell says, and move toward the central conflict and climax in rapid progression, leaving many background details to be assumed or inferred by the listener. They conform to Olrik's law of opening and closing in that they are framed by clearly demarcated conditions of stasis, but such episodes are often tersely presented, simple declarations of a situation or result. Olrik's own examples show ballad conclusions encapsulated in single stanzas (1992, 55). The compactness of ballad style, however, does vary. "Lord Randal" and "Edward" are perhaps extreme in that both omit tremendous amounts of background detail. As we have just seen in "Edward," this can lead to a certain ambiguity, which is in itself intriguing, but more often one is struck by the fullness of ballad stories despite the spare narrative method. As Thomas Gray noted, classical ballads may begin "in the fifth act," yet ". . . when you come to the end, it is impossible not to understand the whole story" (quoted in Hustvedt 1919, 148). Some ballads provide greater detail, and while this is not exclusively a broadside trait, it is certainly more characteristic of that genre than of classical ballads. Many versions of "Young Beichan" (Child 53), prior to

developing the core conflict which hinges on the hero's unfaithfulness, dwell on such details as his place of origin, his desire to travel, and the torture he endures in captivity. Yet in this and other respects, "Beichan" possesses as many affinities with broadside style as with classical style (Wilgus and Loag 1985, 438), and shows evidence of being a relatively late ballad. Conventionally, classical balladry eliminates details that are not immediately relevant to the conflict.

Dramatic, as applied to classical ballads, refers to a concentration on the direct interaction of characters through dialogue and event, and to a well-ordered sense of scene structure (Gerould 1932, 88-93). Conventions commonly found in written literature as a means of developing or enhancing the narrative, such as detailed scene description or explicit character development, are for the most part absent and are in fact inessential, given that necessary ideas and images can be inferred from where, how, and with whom the characters interact. Natascha Würzbach dwells on the secondary functions of action, particularly as they relate to exposition, in her study of "deixis" in ballads, that is, the linguistic and grammatical means employed to orient the narrative in terms of character, time, and space, in other words, to convey the information necessary to reify the narrative landscape as a comprehensible universe. Ballads, she finds, particularly where characterization is concerned, are far more likely to permit that universe simply to emerge from action than to attempt to describe it in any depth:

Die Figuren sind bei weitem am vielfältigsten ausgestaltet. Ihre explizite Kennzeichnung nach Geschlecht, ungefährem Alter, Verwandtschaftsbeziehung, ständischer Position reicht aus, um sie von anderen Figuren zu unterscheiden. Darüber hinaus gewinnen die fiktiven Personen ihr zusätzliches, quasi menschliches Profil weniger durch die Beschreibung ihres

Äußeren als durch ihr Handeln und Erleben. Die Konflikte, die den Handlungsverlauf bestimmen, lassen eine wenn auch sehr allgemein gehaltene Persönlichkeitsstruktur erkennen. Das Erleben der Figuren wird in gestischen, mimischen, körpersprachlichen Verhaltensweisen und balladenspezifisch konventionalisierten Einzelhandlungen andeutend konkretisiert. (1985, 52-53)

[The characters are by far the most diversely elaborated. Their explicit characteristics of gender, approximate age, kinship affiliations, [and] established position extend outward to distinguish them from other characters. Over and above that, the fictive characters attain their additional, quasi-human profile less through the description of their appearance than through their action and experience. The conflicts, which the plot arranges, allows a personality structure to be recognized, even though it is kept very generalized. The experience of the characters will be reified suggestively in gesticular, mimical, and kinesic behaviour and ballad-specific conventionalized independent action.]

Würzbach's findings are corroborated by Olrik's assertion that the *Sage*, of which classical ballads are a part, tends to translate everything, even the most internal motivation and emotion, into action (1992, 45). Excessive grief or despair is portrayed not through the description of emotional outpouring, but through simple narrative action,

She hang ae napkin at the door,
 Another in the ha,
 And a' to wipe the trickling tears,
 Sae fast as they did fa.
 (Child 62A, 16)

through the external consequence of action (in this case also demonstrating the ballad propensity for overstatement),

She ran distraught, she wept, she sicht,
 She wept the sma birds frae the tree,
 She wept the starns adoun frae the lift,
 She wept the fish out o the sea.
 (Child 49C, 18)

or subjunctively, through potential action, as with "Fair Annie's" despair over having had seven sons out of wedlock:

'Gin my seven sons were seven young hares,
 Running oer yon lilly lee,
 And I were a grew hound mysell,
 Soon worried they a' should be.'
 (Child 62A, 24)

Likewise, Buchan (1988) demonstrates that psychological trauma becomes personified through magical transformation and its alleviation secured through unspelling. This same narrative impulse, while responsible for sensitive expression, also contributes to hyperbolic violence of classical ballads, which is not simply motivated by such negative emotions as rage, jealousy, guilt, fear, frustration, and despair, but rather is a metaphor for them, one that arises from the basic narrative translation of emotion into event.

An unusual yet striking feature of the dramatic style of classical ballads is a tendency toward what may be termed simplex motivation. Characters often do not engage in a natural reciprocity or symbiosis of emotions, but rather of the requisite two characters per scene, the internal emotional condition of only one will be salient, that of the other suppressed or neutralized. Thus, the mothers in "Lord Randal" and "Edward" react with near Caligulan cool to the plights of their children; King Henry nonchalantly butchers his hawks, hounds, and steed to appease the "grisly ghaist" (Child 32); Fair Annie's sister, apparently insensible to both the joy of rediscovering her sibling and the shock of realizing her husband's cruelty, calmly absents herself from the love triangle permitting the narrative to resolve

(Child 62). While these examples reveal an apparent incongruity of motivation and emotion in secondary characters, such is not always the case, for the neutral emotion works effectively when supernatural or non-human characters are involved, evoking a coldness and a distance from the mundane or social world that accords perfectly with the tone of the ballad: revenants appear totally detached from the effusive grief of relatives and lovers (Child 77, Child 78, Child 79), an emotional inertia that works parallel to the prevailing theme of the sub-genre, which is the inability of a survivor to cope with the death of a loved-one (Buchan 1986); the talking ravens in Child 26 possess a *sang-froid* that casts a pall over the English tale of devotion and augments the treachery implied in the Scots variant; in a matter-of-fact tone the revenant infants describe a fate for the "Cruel Mother" (Child 20) that one cannot construe as a bitter desire for vengeance, but only as an inevitability. The juxtaposition of charged and neutral emotion has the effect of colour against a white background; virtually all our attention falls on the emotional condition of the one character, thereby intensifying rather than weakening our comprehension of his/her situation.

The source of the device appears to lie in orality, for it is best understood in relation to Olrik's laws, particularly the law of two a scene and the law of concentration on a leading character. Like them, it facilitates the oral maker's need to keep narration focussed and uncluttered. Moreover, from a receptor's point of view, it becomes part of the internal logic of balladry, a logic that separates the dramaturgy of classical ballads not only from broadsides but also from the

conventions of literary tradition, for it makes the standard labels of antagonist and protagonist difficult to apply. A dispassionate character, such as Lord John in "Child Waters," behaves not as a free-minded, independent character but as a foil, and therefore his motivation is dictated by the demands of the narrative rather than by his personality. He establishes the appropriate conditions against which the focal character, Burd Ellen, must struggle. It is irrelevant that his capitulation at the end of the narrative and Ellen's continued interest both appear unmotivated; the central catalyst in the ballad is the dogged perseverance of the heroine, and all action "makes sense" in terms of this basic impulse. As we shall see in a later chapter, the classical ballad has various paradigmatic means of articulating character through symbolic formulas and motifs, but the relation between emotion and behaviour, that is, motivation, is a syntagmatic property of the ballad, stimulated internally by the narrative itself and in relation to the feelings and objectives of the focal character.

The broadside, on the other hand, maintains a clear interest in character interaction and conflict, but draws heavily on literary conventions of description and exposition.⁵ If someone is in love, the broadside tells us so -- "For she did love him as her life" (67), "So this lady goes home with her heart full of love" (81). When the tide turns, it tells us that, too -- "They had not been in London not more than a year / When hard-hearted Henry proved to be severe" (94). The broadside

⁵ Except where noted, broadside examples are drawn from Mackenzie's *Ballads and Sea Songs of Nova Scotia* (1928). Page numbers are given in parentheses.

also resorts to direct description for characterization and to portray specific reactions to events. The following stanzas exemplify both features:

Come all you people far and near,
It's quickly you shall hear;
It's of a lady tall and slim,
That lived in Cankershire

Her cheeks like blooming roses
All in her face did shine;
This maid's name was lovely Jane,
She was the rose of Britain's Isle.

Her father was a farmer,
And Jane his only child;
At sweet sixteen she fell in love
With her father's servant boy.

It's when her father came to know
This couple a courting were,
He in a fatal passion flew,
How he did stamp and swear!
(115)

In some instances, broadsides emerge as a complete inverse of classical style in that described character traits stimulate events with almost karmic inevitability:

This young man to a merchant a waiting-man was bound,
And by his good behaviour great fortune there he found.
He soon became his butler, which prompted him to fame,
And for careful conduct the steward he became.

For a ticket in a lottery his money he put down,
And there he gained a prize of twenty thousand pounds.
(89)

As these examples reveal, the broadside's approach to locating and defining characters within the fictive landscape is very different from the classical ballad's method.

Dialogue, a crucial aspect of the face-to-face interaction between ballad characters, is also handled differently in the classical and broadside genres. The stylized dialogue of the former is commonly based on repetitive patterns that frame responses in the same words as the statements or questions that prompted them:

'I warn ye all, ye gay ladies,
That wear scarlet an brown,
That ye dinna leave your father's house,
To follow young men frae town.'

'O here am I, a lady gay,
That wears scarlet an brown,
Yet I will leave my father's house,
An follow Lord John frae the town.'
(Child 63B, 1-2)

'O is my biggins broken, boy?
Or is my towers won?
Or is my lady lighter yet,
Of a dear daughter or son?'

'Your biggins is na broken, sir,
Nor is your towers won;
But the fairest lady in a' the lan
For you this day maun burn.'
(Child 65A, 23-24)

This type of dialogue occasionally surfaces in broadsides, but it is far from characteristic of the genre. Normally, dialogue unfolds with the conventional linearity of everyday speech:

One morning very early just at the break of day
Her uncle came to Mary and then to her did say,
"Arise, young lovely Mary, and come along with me,
For the squire's waiting for you on the banks of sweet Dundee."

"A fig for all your squires, you dukes and lords besides,
For young William he appears to me like diamonds in mine eyes."

"Hold on," said her uncle, "for revenged on you I'll be,
For I will banish William from the banks of sweet Dundee."

.....

Her uncle overheard the noise and hastened to the ground:
"Now since you've killed the squire I'll give you your death-wound."
"Keep off," then says young Mary. "Undaunted I shall be."
She fired and shot her uncle on the banks of sweet Dundee.
(84-85)

Among the more significant differences between classical and broadside ballads is the degree to which the narrators make their presence felt in the story. Older scholarship was inclined to discuss this in terms of impersonality (Kittredge 1904, xi-xii; Gerould 1932, 8-10) or objectivity (Richmond 1989, xvii),⁶ yet both terms amount to impressionistic explanations of what are actually concrete facets of narrative method, including third- versus first-person narration, and the relative degree of metanarration. As a rule, classical ballads favour third-person narration, which tends to keep the worlds of the narrative and the narrator clearly distinct. The broadsides have a far greater tendency toward first-person narration, which gives the narratorial voice a dynamic presence in the text, either as a witness to the events or even as the protagonist. As a result, narrators often have an ambiguous involvement with their stories.

Broadsides also make greater use of "metanarration," which includes "... those devices which comment upon the narrator, the narrating, and the narrative both as message and as code" (Babcock-Abrahams 1976, 179). This concept

⁶ Moreover, neither the aloofness suggested by "impersonality" nor the balance implied by "objectivity" really does justice to the process whereby simple images are combined to produce extraordinary tensions, whose aesthetic effect may be likened to burning by intense cold.

assumes that in any performance of a narrative, the fictive events that constitute "the story" are framed within a real-world event of narration. Thus, Roman Jakobson separates "narrated events" -- those that occur in the story -- and "speech events" -- those that are part of the act of narration (cited in Babcock-Abrahams 1976, 178). More recently, Thomas Pavel asserts an interplay in narrative between primary and secondary universes, the first having to do with the participants' realm of experience, the other with the fictive landscape (1986, 54-72). The total field of metanarration incorporates a wide range of textual, paralinguistic, and kinesic devices that narrators have at their disposal to mediate between these two worlds. We shall concern ourselves here only with textual elements.

Classical ballads, particularly those from what may be described as the Scottish domestic tradition (Fowler 1968, 294), are remarkable for their sparing application of metanarration, beyond such basic markers as "he said" or "she said" to signal a shift from direct narration to reported speech. And even they are often omitted. Though rare, editorial asides do creep into the classical ballad, either as commentary on a character -- "An ill death may he die" -- or as affirmation of what the narrator has said or is about to say -- "The truth I will tell thee." Such asides are often keyed by the phrase "I wat . . ." or "I wot . . ." meaning "I know" or "I'm certain," and it is instructive to learn that of the roughly 240 instances of "I wat," "I wot," or "I wott" listed in Cathy Preston's KWIC concordance to the Child

collection (1989a), only about half⁹ consist of metanarrative references that preface an opinion that ostensibly belongs to the singer: "I wat he spoke right courteouslie," "I wat she gaed wi sorrow." In all less than thirty ballad types employ this convention. The same source indicates that the formula "An ill death may he die" and its variants are twice as likely to be embedded in reported speech as to be interpolated directly by the narrator. Thus, the prevalence of these devices is perhaps more apparent than real. Moreover, there is strong evidence to suggest that the function of such lines rests more in composition than in commentary, for they are often found in the second line of a quatrain, a line that commonly contains relatively weak narrative material, and whose primary function is to supply the rhyme for the fourth line (Holzapfel 1980, 22). Essentially, singers resort to such interpolations as a traditional means of meeting poetic exigencies, not necessarily because their own voice is needed or desired in the narrative.

Broadsides, by contrast, reveal a plethora of metanarrative devices. The "Come-all-ye" convention, which often substitutes as an epithet for the genre itself, establishes a very palpable connection between the narrator and the audience, either generally -- "Come all you people far and near / It's quickly you shall hear" (115); with reference to a particular group -- sailors / lumbermen / miners; or with an appeal to a segment of society that might stand to benefit from the tale -- tender-hearted maidens, doting parents. As a closing tag, the convention often carries a

⁹ The actual number of instances is 247, of which 121 involve metanarration. The remainder are mainly embedded in the speech of a character, and for a small number of them, a dozen or so, "wat" means "wet."

direct warning with which the narrator explicitly announces the moral to be drawn from the events:

Come all you pretty fair maids, take warning, no matter how poor you may be,
There's many a poor girl that's handsome as those that's got large property.
By flattery let no man deceive you, no matter how poor you may be,
Like adorable gentle Matilda on the green mossy banks of the Lea.
(136)

These, however, are merely the most conspicuous forms of metanarration in broadsides, and there are many others. They include assertions of authorship -- "Pray listen now to what I write" (325), or claims of having witnessed the events -- "As down in Cupid's garden for pleasure I did walk / I heard two loyal lovers most sweetly for to talk" (126). An in-group audience can be addressed indirectly by reference to an apposite group, for example where a nautical ballad calls for the attention of landsmen. That such references point beyond the immediate audience may be inferred from secondary comments on the exoteric group's ignorance of the focal group's experience, or on the relative lack of instability (and therefore of storyworthiness) in their lives:

Ye gentlemen of England fair,
Who live at home free from all care,
It's little do you think or know
What we poor seamen undergo
(Creighton 1932, 136)

The passage of narrative time or scene shifts are marked with a conscious invocation of the audience -- "Things passed on a while. At length we hear . . ." (97), "Attention we'll turn to that ship in the storm" (104), as are judgements on the fate of characters -- "We hope that her soul is with God in the sky" (98). In

historical broadsides, concluding stanzas often bridge the events of the tale with the present -- "And now the fight is over and we have gained the day" (202). A not uncommon metanarrative device expresses, ironically, the narrator's inability to narrate -- "No tongue can tell, I'm certain sure / What we poor sailors could endure" (66), "Their sorrows no one can tell" (104). Lastly, there are various incidental comments, many of which serve the poetic function of supplying rhyme, similar to the second-line verses in classical ballads -- "as I've heard it told" (84), "as I've been told" (92), "I know it right well" (86), or "as you shall understand" (307).

The prevalence and multiplicity of metanarrative devices in broadsides is such that a text often takes on the quality of a negotiation between the events and the audience, with the narrator situated in the middle as mediator. With such frequent cross-referencing between the two universes, it is inevitable that the narrator's perspective would become imprinted on the text, leaving the impression of a highly subjective approach to narration. Natascha Würzbach has attempted to translate the narrator's invocation of the audience into a definitional criterion of the "street ballad," and she sees its primary function as enabling the broadside seller or "jongleur" to maintain a direct contact with a far-from-captive audience. Its purpose is thereby indelibly linked to the broadside as a commercial enterprise (1983, 53; 1990, 39-104). Reiner Wehse (1975, 330-331), however, notes that many of the broadside's metanarrative devices, unlike its excess description, do not get whittled away in oral transmission, and they therefore serve a generic function that remains

as alive in informal rural traditions as in commercial urban ones. For the moment, we need only conclude that, regardless of context, metanarration is a defining element of the broadside, a significant feature of its narrative process as distinct from that of classical ballads. Occasionally, the classical ballad maker brushes against her story leaving a small imprint; in broadsides, however, the text mediates in an ongoing discourse between the narrative, the narrator, and the audience, and that discourse is an inescapable feature of broadside narrative style.

Finally, there are a number of structural differences between the two genres, almost all of which have been shown to reveal a contrast between non-literate and literate methods of composition and performance. For the classical ballad, we can perhaps identify two overarching elements that encompass the most significant of these features: 1) a paratactic or asyndetic linking of concise narrative images (Buchan 1972, 53), that results in a "gapped" narrative (Leach 1949, 107), and 2) a reliance on repetition. In lieu of literate conventions of descriptive detail and elaborated character or scene development, the classical ballad tells its story through "flashes" of imagery, a process M. J. C. Hodgart likens to the cinematic technique of "montage" (1962, 27-28). Each action and scene is clearly articulated, with actors characteristically frozen in tableaux, glancing back over their shoulder, taking the hand of another, shouldering a cape, or peering over a castle wall, such that Lajos Vargyas describes balladry as a poetry of gestures (1983, I, 32). Many other metaphors applied to the genre also point to its tightly focussed narrative style: it "begins in the fifth act" (Gray, quoted in Hustvedt 1919, 148), often at a moment

of immanent conflict; from there it is said to "leap and linger" (Gummere 1907, 90-91) from one scene to the next; and its overall narrative structure, Wilhelm Grimm compares to rows of mountain peaks with the valleys between lying in darkness (quoted in Holzapfel 1980, 34). Each of these ideas describes, albeit at different levels, the essential poetic method of the classical ballad. Each "flash" of an image or segment of dialogue constitutes a stanza or half-stanza, which will be apposed or compounded with related material, most often in binary and trinary groupings (Buchan 1972, 88-94), to form larger, chiastically structured scene sequences (lingering). Transitions between scenes are generally clear and abrupt (leaping), almost too abrupt on occasion. In "Kemp Owyne," the dialogue between the transformed heroine and the hero that begins the third scene appears to be a logical continuation of the conversation between the hero and his brother in the second:

'O Segramour, keep my boat afloat,
 An lat her not the lan so near;
 For the wicked beast she'll sure gae mad,
 An set fire to the land an mair.'

'O out o my stye I winna rise --
 An it is na for the fear o thee --
 Till Kempion, the kingis son,
 Come to the craig an thrice kiss me'
 (Child 34B, 8-9)

Such ambiguous transitions as this, however, are rare, and the more general impression left by the narrative method of the classical ballad is of a poetry whose

ideas and scene structures are clear, focused, and at the same time intrinsically dramatic.⁸

Repetition, within individual songs and within the broader tradition, is central to classical ballad technique. Indeed, Francis Gummere's notion of incremental repetition (1907, 117-134), that is, narrative development through sequences of verbally-patterned lines, stanzas, or stanza groupings, is a crucial one, for as W. F. H. Nicolaisen points out it shows a compositional unity between repetition and the paratactic linkages inherent in ballad structure (1978, 126-127). These internal repetitions, however, operate on many levels, and Nicolaisen concludes that the one term cannot adequately describe them all (1978, 131-133). Flemming Andersen (1984, 72-78) isolates five kinds of repetition serving both *static* or *dynamic* functions. Static or "emphatic" repetition consists mainly of reiterations of a single idea for the sake of intensity -- "You lie, you lie, you honny may / So loud I hear you lie." Dynamic repetition modifies the idea behind the pattern in some way, so that each iteration moves the narrative forward. The "causative" and "progressive" forms encompass the sequential repetitions normally indicated by the term "incremental repetition." The first consists, usually, of a pair of balancing stanzas that represent a narrative exchange between characters: question - answer, statement - response, or action - counter-action. As the term suggests, there is a causal relationship between the two. With progressive repetition a single speech or

⁸ David Buchan's work remains the most comprehensive analysis of stanzaic and narrative structure in ballads (1972, 87-144); also Olrik 1990 [1921], 46 & 53, and McCarthy 1989, 57-113.

action continues in linear fashion through several (more often than not three) stanzas, and it is in this sort of structure that "lingering" is most evident. Despite its linearity, progressive repetition will frequently develop a narrative tension, for the final line or stanza in the series will carry the information of greatest significance to the tale (cf. Olrik 1992 [1921], 52-55). Of the three pleas that the drowning sister makes to her sibling in "The Twa Sisters," the last is most significant for it addresses directly the source of the quarrel between them:

'O sister, sister, tak my han,
An Ise mack you heir to a' my lan.

'O sister, sister, tak my middle,
An yes get my goud and my gouden girdle.

'O sister, sister, save my life,
An I swear Ise never be nae man's wife.'
(Child 10B, 11-13)

The remaining two forms involve non-contiguous repetitions within a given text, and are distinguished on the basis of whether they have clear and direct links to each other, such as acting as "frames" for a scene (narrative repetition), or whether they stand independently as a conventional means of reporting a common action (recurrent repetition).

In addition to internal repetition, there are commonplaces, formulas, or "set pieces" as Würzbach calls them (1983, 55-56), repetitions manifest at a generic level and intrinsic to each regional tradition. As with other kinds of repetition, they are not confined to formations of a given metrical length -- lines or stanzas -- but may range from half-lines to entire scenes, but they conform roughly to Parry's definition

of a formula (1930, 80), in that they possess lexical, syntactic, and semantic consistency. If there is a glaring weakness in Grundtvig's and Child's approach to ballads, it is that despite Motherwell's realization of the importance of commonplaces and formulas for ballad composition and transmission, they underestimated the role of such devices in tradition. Perhaps influenced (obsessed) by the task of extracting a "genuine" tradition from the corruptions of editors and the ravages of oral tradition, both were highly sceptical of anything that could be regarded as an "intrusion." More recent scholarship has come to recognize formulas and other repetitive forms as the most integral features of ballad poetics.

Essentially, two schools of thought have emerged to account for the poetic functions of the structural and repetitive devices in classical ballads: one focusses on composition, the other on interpretation. The oral-formulaic theory (Parry 1971; Lord 1960; Foley 1988) had an early, if controversial, influence on ballad scholarship (Jones 1963; Friedman 1961 & 1983), and indeed many features of ballad style appear grounded in an oral re-creative process. David Buchan's work, in particular, reveals that pre-literate ballad makers not only relied on formulas and repetitive patterns but also on complex structuring mechanisms that enabled them to maintain tight control over the organization of stanzas, scenes, and the narrative as a whole (Buchan 1972, 1977, 1983; see also McCarthy 1989). Interpretive analyses of ballad formulas and motifs, such as those by Barre Toelken (1966, 1967, 1989, & 1991), Otto Holzapfel (1978, 1980a, 1980b, 1982, & 1985), Roger Penwick (1980), Edith Rogers (1972, 1975, 1980), and Flemming Andersen (1984), have

discovered a tendency for formulas to appear in stable narrative environments, such that image and action cohere as a compound structural unit.⁹ Very often, the two parts of the compound establish a qualitative tension: for example, the delicateness suggested by "he's taen her by the lily-white hand" contrasts starkly with the brutality of the acts of rape or murder that normally follow this formula (Andersen 1984, 161-174). The interplay of image and action drives the narrative forward, often at an accelerated pace, but at each step of the way, ancillary tensions are generated by contrastive associations built into the stereotyped motifs. It needs to be stressed, however, that the compositional and the interpretive perspectives do not necessarily represent opposing theories, an either/or proposition. They should be seen as complementary modes of analysis, which, taken together, lead to a holistic view of ballad poetics, both syntagmatically and paradigmatically.¹⁰

Broadside ballads constitute a literary genre with apparent but uncertain ties to an oral one, and their provenance shows stylistically in a greater emphasis on description, idiosyncratic language, and linear structure. Where formulas appear, they are conventional rather than intrinsic, found for example as convenient opening or closing stanzas, not as part of a totalizing poetic language. Significantly, the most prevalent broadside formulas consist of the metanarrative devices that direct

⁹ Flemming Andersen's study *Commonplace and Creativity* (1984) is the most comprehensive example of this approach in English, coupled with Renwick's *English Folk Poetry* (1980). The seminal works, however, are Otto Holzapfel's discussions of "epic formulas" (see esp. 1980a).

¹⁰ William McCarthy's *The Ballad Matrix* (1989), however, is perhaps the only work to date that combines the two perspectives in one study.

the audience's attention to the singer/seller, leaving one with the paradox that in broadsides even ostensibly oral elements -- formulas -- are most strongly linked to an apparently non-oral rhetorical trait -- metanarration. The print ballads also attach themselves to the modern world in their manner of presenting basic imagery, which is characterized by detail and a propensity for realism. Würzbach describes and assesses these elements as follows:

This realism of detail can be described more precisely as an increase in the use of deictic information specifying orientation, i.e. of relatively more precise information about the place and time of the action and persons involved. This development . . . can scarcely be explained plausibly on the basis of the change of medium, which occurs at the same time. It is more likely that the explanation is to be sought in the fact that the relationship to literature proper with its corresponding "tendencies toward realism", was becoming closer, these tendencies themselves being connected to developments in the direction of empiricism in the history of ideas. (1983, 58)

Increased exposition, combined with linear development, tends to even out the rhythm of the narrative, replacing the "flashes" of imagery, progressive repetitions, and unifying chiasmus of the classical ballad with a regularized flow of description, action, and dialogue (Williams, 1976-81, 48-49).

But if the broadside's syntagmatic properties present no great compositional riddle to solve, its content and the semiotic potential of the content remain viable fields of exploration. Ballads, it seems, in the transition from oral to print culture do not suffer the fate of myth, whose "structure sinks into seriality"¹¹ late in tradition. As the works of Roger Renwick (1980), Würzbach (1990 [1981]), and

¹¹ quoted in Jameson 1972, 72. "Structure," in this case, refers to paradigmatic structures, through which the myth's symbols draw meaning from the external world into the tale. With the "degradation" of myth, these symbols cease to function, and the tale exists as a series of narrative elements whose sense can only be determined syntagmatically.

Diane Dugaw (1986, 1989) demonstrate, modern balladry remains rich in symbolic signifiers and is in fact a much more energetic poetry than is often admitted. Arguably, one of the wisest commentators on broadsides was Joseph Addison, who consciously refrained from printing the text of "Babes in the Wood" in his essay, for he knew that if he could get his readers to deal with the essence of the ballad, rather than its reification in word and rhyme, and to examine that essence in relation to basic human experience, then the spirit of the genre would be served best. If the broadside ballad generally pales lyrically, its energy lies in the way it constructs the discourse between the world of the narrative and the world of the singer and the audience. Even a brief walk through the world of the broadside narrative reveals a landscape of dislocation, of bifurcated culture riven by religious, class, ethnic, regional, occupational, and gender divisions, and by the physical upheavals of impressment, incarceration, execution, transportation, and emigration. It is a world where one confronts not the supernatural, but the disguised and the unrecognized, a world of mask rather than mystery (Cheesman 1990). All these uprootings, divisions, misrepresentations, and concealments become metaphors for the splintered reality of the modern era, and as such the essential aesthetic of the broadside resides in parallel tensions between the conditions of stasis and disequilibrium in the narrative itself and between the disequilibrium of the increasingly urbanized and industrialized world at-large and the stasis of community manifest between the singers and their audiences. One of the fundamental catalysts in this symbolic process is, of course, metanarration, which through conspicuous

self-reference of the performer, the performance context, and the audience, rhetorically defines that community, whether it is a temporary one, such as the fleeting encounters between hawkers and their clientele, or a more permanent bond among co-workers or village residents.

We have thus outlined two processes of narrative poetry, one oral and one modern. Though I shall not attempt to reduce the preceding discussion to monolithic definitions of the two genres, it may help to touch on a few highlights by way of summary and lay down the basic parameters for the analyses that follow. The essential features of the classical ballad are that it presents a complete narrative in concise, clearly demarcated scenes built up through a "parataxis of narrative imagery" (Buchan 1972, 53) and progressive repetitions. Virtually all information necessary to the understanding of the narrative is presented through action and dialogue, much of which acquires enhanced meaning through formulaic or patterned recurrence in the genre as a whole. The broadside likewise relates a complete narrative, though it does so in an essentially literary style, employing a balance of description, action, and dialogue. It maintains a conscious separation of the narrative and narratorial worlds, and uses numerous metanarrative devices, including many of its commonplace elements, to mediate between the two realms.

In the chapters to follow, we shall continue to correlate each form with its appropriate cultural environment, paying particular attention to an exploration of the narrative landscapes in each genre in light of real-world landscapes. By analyzing the way characters move through those landscapes and their relation to significant

places, activities, and objects within them, we may hope to understand something of the relation between the artistic genre and the worldview to which it responds. It will enable us to approach the orality of the classical ballads not just in terms of a process of composition but also in terms of the culture that shaped content as well as style, favouring narratives that occupy themselves with locality and kinship, and conflicts that often embody tensions between the natural and the cultural worlds as well as between the personal and the social realms. It defines attainment and propriety in terms of a status quo. The broadside world, as just seen, is more unstable, but since its boundaries are ambiguous and permeable, characters are less regulated by the ethical conventions and physical confines of a discrete community. It is a model of the real world, but its limitations are open to challenge.

Chapter Four

Ballads and Intrinsic Culture

In recent decades, interpretive studies of traditional ballads and songs have moved increasingly toward systematic analysis of generic patterns, which have in turn come to be regarded as symbolic networks, capable of stimulating narrative tension and evoking secondary associations, and through them the typically flat images of oral poetry become fully three-dimensional, fictive worlds. In a very basic sense, the premises that support the interpretations, though not always claimed as such by their authors, may be understood in essentially structural terms: genre may be taken as equivalent to *langue* and versions as instances of *parole*, and the generically consistent application of commonplaces in stable narrative environments constructs a palpable system of relations that conditions understanding. Thus, unlike literary tropes, which normally trigger the need for interpretation through an absence of literal sense, through "linguistic deviance" (Levin 1988, 1) or "lack of pertinence" (Todorov 1982, 28-30), those of oral literature are seen to emerge through patterning and convention.¹ But as W. F. H. Nicolaisen put to the question

¹ Todorov (1982, 31) recognizes that interpretation may be triggered through "indices based on excess" -- tautology, superfluity, repetition -- though such indices will inevitably behave differently in oral and written literature. No more proof for this is necessary than the disdainful attitude of nineteenth century scholars toward the commonplaces and formulas of oral tradition, which signals a clear refusal to recognize their interpretive value. It is important to realize, however, that the difference extends to more subtle features of ballad diction. Conventionally, overstated description in ballads is pulled back to a comfortable middle-ground where "gouden girdle" is read simply as "a

to a meeting of the Kommission für Volksdichtung, "How does one proceed . . . from the correct identification of a motif to a satisfactory assessment of its function and status in the folk-narrative genres of the region and culture?" (1991, 102). In other words, once we recognize that a particular pattern must or may be taken at greater than its face value, how do we assess what its appropriate value will be?

Despite many points of similarity among the various approaches to this problem, there is an essential difference in the frameworks within which analysis takes place, depending on whether the genre itself constitutes the entire frame or whether there is an attempt to correlate generic systems of meaning with broader contextual systems.² John Miles Foley's notion of "immanent art," representative of the first approach, holds that the tautologies of oral art -- narrative patterns, formulas, commonplaces -- produce generically defined expectations of landscape, situations, characters, objects, and actions, such that each version of a pattern possesses a metonymical relationship with similar constructions within the genre at large; the part always invokes the whole. Any given element, in essence, whether it

belt." This is quite different from Vološinov's reading of Dostoyevsky's use of superlatives and repetition in describing the social preeminence of a group of generals relaxing over champagne in a Petersburg apartment. Through carefully controlled mimicry of excessive (poor) writing, the author signals that his descriptions are intended satirically (Vološinov 1986 [1929], 135). In the first instance, excess is conventional within the generic grammar, while in the second, it offends generic convention, and thereby immediately calls itself into question.

² The following survey covers mainly the interpretive approaches that have had the greatest influence on recent ballad scholarship, most of them deriving from formalist, structural, and semiotic theory. In addition to the core works, see also Knorrina 1978, Preston 1989b, McCarthy 1989, and Seeger 1990. Bengt Holbek offers by far the most comprehensive survey of interpretive strategies to folklore and their respective benefits and pitfalls in the method section of *The Interpretation of Fairy Tales* (1987, 187-403). Dundes outlines and applies a method based on the Freudian concept of "projection" in *Interpreting Folklore* (1980). For psychoanalytic readings of ballads, see Sørensen (1965 [1959]) and Maik (1989).

is a single verse formula or an entire tale, draws at least part of its significance from its relation to other versions of the same pattern. As such, even though an idea is not expressed lexically or is expressed weakly, leaving "gaps of indeterminacy" in the specific performance, that idea may still be inferred by the audience simply because at a generic level it is considered a built-in part of a traditional narrative or formulaic pattern. Each pattern, Foley writes, constitutes " . . . a perceptual mode that marshals the poet's and audience's thoughts and reactions, opening the way from the immediacy of this or that performance to the much larger and more resonant world of the tradition" (1991, 65; cf. Turner 1972, 27-31).

In Foley's analyses, additional ideas are largely textural. On the one hand, traditional phraseology, regardless of the actual denotative value of the specific enunciation, carries a burden of association with similar ideas framed in similar language. For example, heroes are commonly introduced through a series of questions as to their possible identity, of which the last suggestion will inevitably be the correct one.¹ Regardless of specific questions, this simple interrogative pattern

¹ This epic convention, known as "negative comparison" or "Slavic antithesis" in the critical literature, has a direct analogue in balladry, which also introduces important characters through a question and response pattern, as with the revenant in "Sweet William's Ghast":

'Are you my father, the king?' she says,
 'Or are you my brother John?
 Or are you my true-love, Sweet William,
 From England newly come?'

'I'm not your father, the king,' he says,
 'No, no, nor your brother John;
 But I'm your true love, Sweet William,
 From England that's newly come.'

(Child 77C, 2-3)

equates the present character with all other heroes who have been introduced in the same manner, and therefore the grammatical structure itself carries with it the essence of importance, of all that is heroic (Foley 1991, 75-83). This seems to suggest, at an artistic level, an operation that Saussure attributes to language in general, which is that "the characteristics of the [linguistic] unit merge with the unit itself" (Saussure 1983, 119). Other textural enhancements emerge from the association of a specific formula or formulaic system with a certain dramatic quality or essence. This process corresponds to what Flemming Andersen (1984) terms the "supra-narrative function" of ballad formulas, through which formulaically-expressed actions generate qualitative tensions within a scene. The taking of a woman by the hand, as noted above, carries with it implications of rape or murder, actions with which the formula is most often paired. Edith Rogers's studies of European balladry (1972, 1975, 1980), though less theoretically grounded, employ a similar framework.

By definition, these intrageneric or immanent analyses perceive the traditional poetic system to be "autotelic," a self-contained network whose ultimate end is itself. They illuminate rich features of the material, but at the expense of further insights that may come from a consideration of processes and ideas that belong to other socio-cultural fields. The primary disadvantage of this from a folkloristic point of view is that the genre and its systems of meaning may be too easily dislodged from the cultures that produced or adopted them; effectively, one loses sight of the contextual dependency of meaning or at least the contextual fullness of

meaning. Foley, for example, notes that for Serbo-Croatian oral poetry there is an emic distinction between Christian and Muslim traditions, yet his analysis does not reveal how religious difference, or the socio-cultural implications of religious difference, operate on the aesthetic systems surrounding the performance of Balkan epic (1991, chs. 3 & 4). On a narrower scale, he discusses a theme common in return songs in which an imprisoned hero, again through a series of questions, asks for news of home, voicing particular concern for his towers, his mother, his wife, and lastly his horse. Foley notes an apparent triviality of the last motif relative to the others, and in order to account for it, he must attribute to the horse a generic, rather than a cultural, function. "The question about the horse," he writes,

which may at first seem out of place here, actually speaks metonymically to [the hero's] ability to fulfil the role of hero and protector for his family. . . . With the horse in the customary place, there is still the possibility that [the hero] could reassume that role; with the *dobar dorat* missing, worse yet ignominiously sold off, his heroic identity appears at this point to be unrecoverable. Although from a purely textual perspective it may seem clumsy or incomplete in some respects, this series of questions and answers embodies the reality of the hero's devastation by representing its complexity in the simple but richly echoic forms of the poetic tradition. (1991, 83)

The genre, however, cannot really explain everything. Even if we concede the narrative and symbolic importance of the horse relative to the epic hero -- and as the inheritors of a long tradition of classical and romantic literature in which comparable relations hold, we are lulled easily and conventionally into accepting that connection as real and complete -- we still have to acknowledge that the horse represents a peculiar juxtaposition to the other motifs in the list: where the first three speak to domestic and deeply personal concerns, its heroic function is

essentially militaristic and social. The ideal understanding of the theme would view the horse in accord with, rather than in opposition to, the other members of the set. One suspects, on grounds that will be elaborated later, that this may be possible by considering the horse as a cultural artefact: not merely as a symbol of real-world status, but as an indispensable link in pre-industrial rural economies, one on which the very livelihood of the household depended, and whose full significance includes the cultural value given to knowledge and discourse about horsemanship and husbandry. In this light, the horse is integral to domestic and personal well-being and not simply a materialistic or martial addendum. Beyond the motif is an entire system of discourse, crucial to the traditional culture but quite marginal in our own, which is done away with in the genre-bound analysis. It is recognizing the intrinsic link between the significance of the fictional motif and that of its real world counterpart, that makes oral poetry not simply a subject of (pre-)literary scholarship, but a key resource for ethnographic research.

The interpretive approaches of Toelken, Holzapfel, Renwick, and Buchan take us farther into culture by considering the manner in which folksong and its conventional tropes draw associations from aspects of culture that belong outside the artistic field. Toelken, in fact, insists on analyzing ballads in relation to their cultural backgrounds, and, due to the controversial history of ballad collection and editing, he also insists on reasonable affirmation of the oral status of the texts put forward for study. In his view,

... the modern critic and ballad scholar need not apologize about discussing metaphor, image, symbol, theme, and figurative language in the ballad as long as he is willing to find out what associations such things as plants,

colors, birds, and animals had in the traditional backgrounds of those through whom the ballads have passed (both singers and audiences), and as long as he limits his study to those ballads which did in fact pass through or among a group of people which recognize these associations. (1967, 101)

Toelken's own analyses begin with the isolation of significant ballad motifs, and then draw on their appearance in traditional beliefs, material culture, and other genres of verbal art as a means of discovering their significance (1966, 1967). Though his field of reference extends well beyond generic bounds, reaching laterally to other artifacts of expressive behaviour, the contextual frame of his studies tends to be quite general, and he does not distinguish between the world of classical ballad singers in eighteenth-century Scotland and that of their counterparts in twentieth-century America. Holzapfel and Renwick, on the other hand, analyze conventionalized tropes as representations of social processes operative in quite specific cultural contexts. Holzapfel's studies of "epic formulas" in Danish ballads examine formulaic actions in light of late-medieval and Renaissance manners, fashions, and customs, and though he extends the interpretations to the rural repertoires of the early nineteenth century, he does so only after demonstrating that many of the same manners and customs survived in that context (1978, 1980a, 1980b, 1982, 1985). Renwick argues that for the rural English community with which he is working, the generalized time and setting of ballad narratives correlate with specific cultural notions of time and space in a way that suggests liminality and dislocation (therefore enhancing disequilibrium), and he seeks to interpret narratives of love relationships in light of family structure and function within the largely agrarian economy (1980, 19 & 21-53).

Taking a slightly different stance, David Buchan (1982, 1985a, 1985b, 1985c, 1986, 1986 [1989], 1988, 1989a, 1990, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, & 1992) analyzes character functions and relationships in ballad narratives but moves ultimately beyond the purely artistic frame to consider the social and cultural functions of the genre as a whole. Derived from Propp's discussion of the distribution of narrative functions among Märchen characters, which congeal into quite specific "spheres of action" or "talerles,"⁴ Buchan's method adopts a four tiered approach, represented by the acronym "T R A C," in which the establishment of the talerle structure (T) is only a beginning. The remaining stages involve the isolation of predominant character relationships (R) in related ballad types; the analysis of how these relationships are unified in common courses of action (A); and finally, the delineation of cultural concerns (C) reflected in the prevailing patterns.⁵ Many such patterns emerge parallel to other cultural structures, primarily those pertaining to kinship and gender relations, but they also highlight behaviours and emotions associated with basic rites of passage and the tensions generated at such "dangerous" times. From very early on in the research, Buchan could claim that ballads are not simply concerned with narrative action, but rather that ". . . an

⁴ Propp 1968, 79-91; Jason and Segal (1977, 313-320) have shown that the English translators of *Morphology of the Folktale*, by employing the three terms "character," "personage," and "dramatis personae," somewhat indiscriminately, fail to maintain the analytical intricacies of two terms employed in the original Russian. In keeping with his separation of generalised and specific action, Propp clearly intended to distinguish between the abstract "personage" and the concrete "character." Jason and Segal employ the term "tale role" (compounded by Buchan) to designate the former, achieving an explicit connection with narrative function and a clearer separation from "character."

⁵ David Buchan, Lecture, Folklore 6518, 23 Feb. 1988.

intrinsic part of [their] psychological functioning within culture is their concern for, depiction of, and consequent informing about human relationships . . ." (1982, 169).

From a folkloristic perspective, methods of interpretation that have the internal elements of the aesthetic system reaching out to external cultural phenomena at some level are definitely preferable, for as Pierre Smith's comments reveal, the aesthetic field is but a part of a larger and more multiplex cultural network. Despite frequent assumptions to the contrary, the production of art does not happen independently of other structures within the economic and social universe.⁸ But there is always a concern about spurious associations with extra-textual objects, symbols, and concepts. As mentioned already, the advice offered by Toelken, one of the first to devise a systematic approach to ballad interpretation, suggests a two-stranded approach to the problem. His insistence on a demonstrable link between text and interpretive context is essential for keeping a steady ethnographic rein on the scholar's imagination: for example, Lucy Broadwood's Gnostic interpretations of "The Bold Fisherman" (1915; 1923), interesting though they may be, nonetheless require us to transplant the ballad to a historical context to which it did not in all likelihood belong. With respect to the criterion that demands a link between image/motif and cultural meaning, the question that Toelken leaves us with is how

⁸ Phenomenological approaches to aesthetics have been acutely concerned with the way art draws meaning from the cultural environment of producers, performers, and audiences, and with complexities of interaction between the participants, individual works, movements and trends, and other factors relative to the social and intellectual worlds (Dewey 1958 [1934]; Berleant 1970). Likewise, Jonathan Culler regarded cultural context as essential to his own structural analysis (1975, 141-145 & 249), and the interplay between art and "the art world" lies at the heart of Bourdieu's "practice-centred" analysis of artistic production (1983).

do we actually validate linkages of a particular ballad motif to meanings derived from beliefs, associations, cultural practices, or corresponding motifs in other genres? How can we be certain that the meanings suggested in other forms, belonging perhaps to quite different modes of discourse, apply to the ballads? After all, there is more than glibness to the quip in film circles that sometimes a cigar is just a cigar. Of more genuine relevance is Buchan's realization that the generic function of witches differs significantly between ballads and legends in the northeast of Scotland (1986, 135-136). Unfortunately, there does not appear to be an immediate answer to these questions, for each motif will inevitably situate itself at the centre of a complex web of associations and they in turn will exhibit varying degrees of interrelation depending on how they are approached. Essentially, it is not possible to regard unilateral interpretations as complete or to insist that a given cultural concept is an inevitable part of *the* meaning of a ballad.

Some psychoanalytic readings of folklore as "projection," though they do not bear directly on ballads, offer points for consideration. Through a correlation of joke imagery and themes with Freudian models of tension within family structure, Roger D. Abrahams and Alan Dundes interpret "elephant jokes" as a projection of Oedipal pressures in family relations (1975, 198-200). In the same article, they are able, using essentially the same methodology but adding a socio-historical dimension, to move forward from a "purely psychological" reading to one that views the joke cycle in relation to a specific historical event -- the Civil Rights Movement -- and again, through a reasonably argued correlation of themes and

imagery, they re-interpret the cycle as a projection of racial phobias emerging in response to anti-segregationist politics in the early 1960s, the same period during which the jokes flourished (1975, 200-202). Nor do the correlations end with the two basic readings, for each one leaves reverberations that ripple out to other genres, other cultural contexts, and other systems of interpretation. What the example shows is that the use of a single theory to analyse a single class of folklore may lead to different readings, simply by virtue of a change in the specific conditions of analysis. Likewise, alternate methods will ultimately find different readings in a virtually identical set of relations. Elsewhere, Dundes notes a correspondence between the Folktale hero's confrontation with a giant and a child's confrontation with a father figure (Oedipus killing Laios) in the progression to adulthood (1980, 41-42). This is the same agonistic relationship that Frederic Jameson, taking a Marxist stance, views in terms of an innate struggle in societies of scarcity, which the hero must face through conflict with the villain (interpersonal competition) or the completion of a task (labour). He writes:

There is a basic Manichaeism of the world of scarcity, and it is scarcity which causes the Other to appear before me as a primal enemy. This alternance of back-breaking labor and of intense distrust of the stranger or the Other in general is what the narrative sequences of the fairy tale reflect (1973, 68-69).

In either case, the hero's success is contingent upon a relationship of reciprocity with a helper, hence Jameson's insistence on causality and agency as central elements of narrative.

Clearly, many readings are possible, and it is never our task as critical readers to decide which if any of them is the "correct" one. Indeed, Dundes himself complains that "Too often psychoanalytic critics give the impression that they believe their reading is *the*, rather than *a*, meaning of a literary text" (1980, 304n29; italics in the original). Nor is this simply an issue for approaches that are often accused of being prescriptive -- psychoanalysis, Marxism, feminism, and so on -- for no method of analysis can ever present us with a final interpretation, only a perspective. What Renwick has said specifically of structuralist and semiotic approaches applies to all methods, which is that "they are as much ways of *thinking* about cultural products as they are formalized analytical methods" (1980, 19; italics in the original; see also Holbek 1987, 594 & 601). Having acknowledged this, we are compelled, I feel, to present theoretical grounds as to why this state of affairs should be acceptable, not merely a cosy nod to academic diplomacy. Somewhat ironically, it is Saussure himself who offers the best grounds for the impossibility of fixed meaning through his recognition of the arbitrary relationships present in language. At its most basic level, a linguistic sign is little more than a socially-conditioned union between a sound pattern (signifier) and a concept (signified),⁷ and even though the result of the union is a culturally specific meaning, that meaning is subject to modulation by the sign's "syntagmatic" and "associative" (paradigmatic)

⁷ "Signifier" and "signified" are the conventional English translations of Saussure's "signifiant" and "signifié" (see, for example, Hawkes 1977, 25; Culbert 1975, 16). In his 1983 translation of Saussure, Roy Harris uses the terms "signal" and "signification," though he does not comment on the choice.

relations to other signs (Saussure 1983, 65-70 & 110-125). Here we encounter another break in the chain between language and the ideas expressed or addressed by it. Whereas syntagmatic relations are concrete properties of speech, and therefore verifiable and empirically analyzable, associative relations, which are essential to interpretation, always hold *in absentia* and exist only in the mind (Saussure 1983, 122), and further they are of "indeterminate order and [sometimes] indefinite number" (Saussure 1983, 124). While syntagmatic elements offer concrete evidence for a relatively specific meaning, there is still an inevitable gap between the sign and the associations it triggers. The gap can be narrowed, but never closed completely.

The implications here are worth mentioning. On the one hand, we acknowledge an inescapable subjectivity in interpretive analysis. The lead(s) one chooses to pursue outward from the motif always have their origins in an analytical decision, and that decision, as was suggested in the opening chapter, is as likely to be conditioned by factors relevant to analytic discourse as by those that are purely emic. In this light, the frequently voiced criticism that a given system of analysis is invalid because it tells us more about the analyst than about the material finally holds to some degree for all approaches. But we are made aware of the post-structuralist criticism that the adoption of an interpretive perspective, or "centre" to use their terminology (Culler 1975, 244), is inevitably prescriptive and ideological, and such analysis results in the production, not the discovery, of meaning. Recent trends in semiotic analysis have insisted on successive displacements of the centre in

order to "deconstruct" each perspective so produced; a never-ending deferral of meaning whose project is the recognition and dismantling of ideologies (Culler 1975, 241-254; Eagleton 1983, 127-150). My object here, however, is not to dismantle a way of thinking; it is to try to understand one, or rather a couple of ways of thinking. The first gave life to the ballad tradition in its oral phase, and the second, instilled by the consequences of literacy, urbanization, and industrialization, sought new tropes, new conventions, and new patterns of character behaviour and motivation.

A second implication is that it becomes difficult to scuttle specific interpretations, for just as there is no way of proving an association, there is no way of disproving one either. That is not to say all readings are *analytically* valid, but the best one can hope for in the way of opposition is to attack method.⁶ If I acknowledge the validity of Dundes's general premise of folklore as projection, I may still express reservations about his application of the premise in some cases. I may reasonably object, for example, to those occasions where he selects himself as primary informant (1980, 289n1); I can balk at his use of the details of pre-literate Greek mythology to read an achievement of the modern scientific community -- the lunar landing (1980, 42-45) -- since it implies a connection between myth and the

⁶ Post-structuralism might deny that avenue, as well, since any objections, as will be seen in the examples that follow, would be grounded in a methodology prescribed by a discipline. But disciplinary convention is virtually inevitable, as is some assessment of how well the conventions are applied, for as Culler says of the deconstructionist's own methods, "Whatever type of freedom [they] secure for themselves will be based on convention and will consist of a set of interpretive procedures. There is a crucial difference between the production of meaning and arbitrary assignment of meaning" (1975, 252).

psyche that is universal and enduring rather than culturally contingent; and I can question cases where large associational leaps are made with little effort to fill the holes with anything more than an invocation of the subconscious. His analysis of "streaking," for example, consists entirely of the following:

Streaking consists of one or more persons running naked through a public place. Is it only coincidence that it became a national phenomenon during the Watergate political scandal of the 1970s? I would argue that streaking is a projective protest against the Watergate *coverup*. Whatever individualistic exhibitionistic impulses streaking may have filled, it also served to emphasize the demand that Watergate details be uncovered or disclosed publicly. Accordingly, it might be possible to say that streaking is in part a ritual literalization of a metaphor. It is certainly interesting that once the Watergate coverup was stripped away, streaking stopped. (1980, 55; italics in the original)

Of particular concern here is the illusion of contextualized meaning in the interpretation, when in fact what Dundes has done actually decontextualizes the practice. The connection is made without reference to the general relaxation of attitudes toward public nudity in the years immediately prior to the fad, or to the *very conscious* use of public nudity as protest by the Yuppies and other groups, or as a symbol of liberation among the so-called youth movement in general. Given these prior and diverse manifestations of related phenomena, there appears to be little more than a bad pun to link streaking directly to Watergate. Thus, even if we cannot constitute our interpretations in positivist terms, and even if the end result could not pass a Popperian test of falsifiability, we at the very least have mechanisms for proposing systems of relations under which interpretation will take place and also means of ascertaining weaknesses in those mechanisms.

We can attempt to secure an added measure of rigor by heeding the five principles that Holbek insists on for his own analyses: 1) interpretations must be undertaken in accordance with the facts that can be established about the material; 2) they must be consistent; 3) they must be based on a clearly outlined method; 4) they must be comprehensive, that is, they must apply broadly to the material under study; and 5) they must be capable of being tested, ideally field tested (Holbek 1987, 190). Even here, Holbek's use of the modal "must" is questionable, since by his own admission he produces no test of his readings. For the purposes of this thesis, we shall also apply the following conditions to his guidelines. Having defined genre as a purely contextual construct, we shall consider the first, second, and fourth directives only in contextual terms. That is, the facts defining and correlating to a genre change with cultural circumstances, and readings of particular texts and tale types will modulate accordingly. Consequently, our readings will be comprehensive in that we are approaching the matter at a generic level, but they will not be held to extend beyond a particular set of cultural confines. As for testing the results, we have already suggested that that is impossible in absolute terms. Instead, we shall attempt to seek correlation of our readings with ideas and attitudes observable in other fields of cultural discourse, expression, and behaviour. In doing so, we shall strive to fulfil Buchan's objective of employing interpretive strategies as a means of isolating the cultural concerns embedded in narrative and by extension of disclosing insights into the cultural functions of the genres in question (Buchan 1982, 163-164).

The studies that follow have as their object the exploration of the fictive landscape conventionally referred to as "the ballad world," and which "... consists of all those common characteristics relating to physical setting, weather, vegetation, dwellings, inhabitants and supernature which render it almost impossible to mistake the presence of a real ballad."¹ They chart the parameters of this world through a structural analysis of ballad scenography using a system adapted from Buchan's *talero* approach, although his primary concern for character interaction is replaced by a concentration on character movements between ballad "sets" and on how such movements affect character status in relation to other *dramatis personae*. Following Buchan's "TRAC" system, the analysis first considers general spatial relations that obtain within the ballad world, and then looks at how those relations recombine in different formations within the framework of individual narratives to generate a wide array of narrative tensions. One thing I have not done, however, which perhaps breaks with Holbek's requirement of a clearly defined method, is to feel constrained by an immutable architectonic into which each analysis must fit. This is not necessarily because I feel that such paradigms are essentially procrustean, imposing as much as they reveal, although that can be a problem. It is more because I believe that the validity of a structure improves if it can be seen to hold up from a variety of perspectives. One should not have to stand across the room and squint to be convinced that a model works; it should reveal a steady system of relations

¹ Attributed to C. M. Ing's lectures on "Ballads and their Influence;" summarized in Katz 1976, 5.

under various lights and from different angles. The studies do extend, however, following Todorov, from a central premise that remains consistent throughout: in classical ballads spatial and environmental metaphors -- the two are not easily separated -- draw their significance from a paradox of nature, as both essential to life and at the same time foreboding and hostile; broadsides, on the other hand, operate under a paradox of culture, wherein the economic and political institutions that are essential to sustain the family as a social unit consistently threaten to tear it apart.

In order to render the studies culturally concrete, I have drawn additionally from Thomas Pavel's "referential" analysis of literary landscapes (1985), which posits that fictional worlds are constructed, either directly or oppositionally, in relation to the lived world(s) of author and reader. Pavel considers his research as moving beyond structuralism's propensity for symbolic interpretations, and he focuses instead on the literal relationships between fictive imagery and the real world, noting points of both correspondence and departure, in order to arrive at a general understanding of the cognitive and logical processes at work in the construction of what he terms the "salient worlds" of fiction. This is something quite separate from folkloristic discussions concerning the "truth" of traditional narratives and whether or not they are believed by performers and their audiences (Halpert 1939; Ashton 1977; Röhrich 1991); it lies closer in nature to verisimilitude, or to what Jonathan Culler calls "naturalization" (1975, 131-160; see also Holbek 1986, 200-201), the process through which we make sense of texts by tapping into

parallel spheres of factual, cultural, generic, and conventional knowledge and discourse. We recognize that the fictional world is a contrivance, but one that continually bounces off of and reflects on our perception of the real world. Pavel's study considers that process in intricate detail and assumes the rational logic of a modern, educated reader. To that end, the specifics of his method would apply very awkwardly to the study of oral tradition, but the present discussion still bears general correlation with Pavel's work by trying to consider the kinds of links that exist between the fictional and lived worlds, and by a consideration of how those links are conditioned by cultural modes of cognition. Cognition is a crucial factor, because at the very base of the analysis we have two genres of balladry, one flourishing in pre-literate oral culture, the other in literate, mass-media environments. We have already noted the generic implications of this distinction, but we have also to consider the broader intellectual effects of literacy on culture.

Until recently, the anthropology of human thought and communication tended to speak of the evolutions in culture prior to the technological age through such dichotomies as savage/domesticated, neo-lithic/modern, or primitive/advanced, justifying these categories through further dichotomisations of characteristic intellectual activity: pre-logical/logical, concrete science/abstract science, myth/history, or collective/individual (Lévy-Strauss 1966; Ong 1982). In *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*, Jack Goody challenges these basic binary divisions of culture, especially where they are understood in grand-scale evolutionary terms, such that one perceives cataclysmic differences between millennia (neo-

lithic/modern) or regions of the globe (primitive/advanced). Goody argues that one essential transition lies at the heart of virtually all the appositions: the transition from oral to literate. Writing permits the side-by-side comparison of propositions on which syllogistic logic is founded; history emerges when written documents enable the recording of events and it displaces myth by forcing a resolution of the inconsistencies among competing ideologies and pantheons; the document institutes its author, enabling claims of individual contributions and achievements; abstract science relies, like history, on the ability to record and compare data in order to locate underlying structures and processes (1977, 1-18). He also shows that a number of the assumptions about oral culture are illusory. Individuals, for example, do make contributions to development in oral culture -- innovations, solutions to problems, new works of art, etc. -- but new ideas are adopted without anything to mark them as the work of individuals, and once prior routines are forgotten, they disappear completely, leaving an appearance, synchronically, of homeostasis but which has little basis in reality (1977, 27).

In criticizing the "Grand Dichotomy" (savage/domesticated), Goody appears to run the risk of replacing it with another -- oral/literate. But from a purely sociological perspective, the division between oral and literate does not bifurcate humanity, historically or geographically, to nearly the same extent as the others. As late as the eighteenth century and even into the nineteenth, oral and literate separated members of the same or neighbouring communities in much of the United Kingdom, and historians of literacy have shown a fairly concrete relationship

between this division and class and gender differences (Graff 1987, 230-234). Moreover, from a methodological standpoint, Goody avoids the pitfalls of a new dichotomy by carefully examining the confluence of both modes of communication in later culture. Oral communication, he notes, adapts easily to such highly literate institutions as schools (lectures), the arts (dramatic presentation of a play), or the church (sermons) (1977, 151), and yet in such contexts, oral communication operates according to rules established by literate convention, including the valorization of texts, the proprietary rights of an author, and the awareness of individual expression and perspective. Nor can strictly literate modes of reason sustain all the institutions that exist in later culture, particularly where essentially oral genres and systems continue to retain important functions. Priests, as Goody asserts, were early possessors of literacy, and myth continues to be a potent force in literate culture (1977, 151). Yet historically, western religions have not maintained myth by reflectively comparing ideologies but by suppressing positions that represent a threat to their own -- as the early Christian church did, for example, to the writings of the Gnostic sects (Pagels 1979) -- or by adopting interpretive readings of the parts of scripture that appear to oppose church doctrine (Todorov 1982, 97-130). Even the Enlightenment, as M. H. Abrams points out, assimilated and reinterpreted Christian mythology without mounting any kind of open challenge to it (1971, 13). Likewise, although the progression from oral to literate leads, in broad terms, from social structures based on kinship to ones based on an objective bureaucracy, kinship remains operative in modern settings, often securing advantage along familial lines.

Obvious examples include the aristocracy or the consolidation of wealth within family businesses and industries, and its transmission through inheritance (Goody 1977, 15-16; 1976, 1-2), and, even among the middle and working classes, one has the importance of family connections in occupational recruitment (Vincent 1989, 121-122). The existence of such structures in modern contexts, however, is neither "natural" nor "rational," but hegemonic, and their justification often relies on a symbolic logic characteristic of oral ways of thinking.

While understandably reluctant to bifurcate culture into oral and literate camps, Goody is equally chary of lapsing into a "diffuse relativism and sentimental egalitarianism" that would fail to acknowledge significant differences where and when they occur (Goody 1977, 153; Goody and Watt 1968, 67). The middle ground he seeks lies in the recognition that oral and literate do not characterize distinct levels of society, so much as points along a communications spectrum, and the relative weighting of one or the other mode carries with it profound implications for the cognitive and perceptual outlook of a culture. Their respective influence will be better assessed by degree or in essence, rather than in absolute terms, especially for more recent periods when the literate and non-literate lived side-by-side, often separated by class, community, or gender as well as by the ability to read and write.

Nonetheless, when approaching the classical ballad as a facet of oral culture, we are confronted not simply with a compositional process, a set of beliefs, or the poetry of a particular social stratum, but with an artform whose comprehension is

conditioned by a distinctive worldview. At a very immediate level, that worldview surfaces in the ballads' pronounced concern for kinship; the family is the centre of everything and conflict within it or threats to its stability are a ready source of dramatic tension (Gerould 1932, 45-53; Lüthi 1970). But the implications run much deeper, particularly for a consideration of the ballad landscape. What classical ballad cultures knew of the natural world, for example, they knew from tradition reinforced by localized observations of the environment, and inevitably their premises about grand-scale natural phenomena, often expressed symbolically, were founded on a direct link between sign and portent, rather than on a processual understanding of cause and effect. "Mackerel skies" and "mares' tails" were understood simply as signals of impending bad weather, not as the leading edge of a warm front which would bring with it periods of precipitation. The former perspective is that of those who stand in one place, watching as the systems of nature cycle around them; the latter, the conclusion of someone who has the ability to record temperatures, cloud formations, barometric pressure, wind velocity and direction, etc., at several points simultaneously, both laterally and at altitude, finally arriving at a general schematization of the weather system as an abstract whole, having the same relative structure regardless of where or when it appears. These rudimentary differences in mode of apprehension led to false assumptions by earlier anthropologists about the nature of intellectual activity in pre-literate culture, until Lévi-Strauss demonstrated that where primitive (Goody : oral) cultures have the ability to observe natural systems in their entirety, they understand them

systematically. Nor, as had been supposed, is the reading of the environment functionally contingent, for Lévi-Strauss was also able to conclude that “animals and plants are not known as a result of their usefulness; they are deemed to be useful and interesting because they are first of all known” (1966, 1-22; quote p. 9).

Rather than boiling down to a matter of rational versus irrational, the central issue appears to be that knowledge of the world evolves directly from how a culture is able to observe the world; in other words, it will be conditioned by the process that creates it, and for an oral community which lacks the communicative extensions, to use McLuhan’s term (1964), necessary for an intricate understanding of the world beyond its own borders, the *primary* perspective has to be local.

Blissfully, applying this kind of cognitive model in the study of classical ballads does not require us to construct an idealized notion of a “ballad community,” existing only in remote valleys or mountain regions completely cut off from the modern world (Entwistle 1951 [1939], 1-7; Hodgart 1962, 131-139). Like many stereotypes, the image contains more than a grain of truth, for even in southern Scotland at the end of the eighteenth century road systems were considered poor by the standards of the day and settlements so dispersed in comparison to English villages that William Cobbett described them as satellite communities (Craig 1961, 29). But most of the alleged ballad enclaves also had relatively long histories of contact with other cultures or with the major centres of their own culture. David Buchan describes well the geographic and social insularity of the Scottish northeast, but he also shows a protracted commerce with Scandinavia spanning many centuries

and having a marked influence on local culture, including the ballad tradition itself (1972, 14). Similarly, the region of Øvre Telemark, which provided Norway with the majority of its recorded ballads¹⁰ and which in the mid-nineteenth century corresponded generally to the model of a remote, mountainous, agrarian ballad community, had an established link with major ports to the south through water-routes of lakes and rivers, though the actual canal system whose construction began at the port of Skien in 1855 did not reach the upper regions of the county until 1892 (Østvedt 1975, 137). Basic literacy, taught by the church, was demanded by law in Norway as early as 1739, and although the bulk of the reading material of that period had religious content, it is worth noting that of the seventeen secular titles that Sverre Mo Skrede could place in the region prior to 1750, five were ballad books (1964, 53-54). By the middle of the next century, modest libraries were established in larger villages, and a survey of loans conducted by Olav Solberg indicates that the preferred subjects were practical -- topography, geography, and agriculture being, understandably, the most common -- but there was some literary interest as well: patrons of the library at Bø appeared to favour two works over others: *Præsten i Wakefield* by Oliver Goldsmith and the new American novel *Onkel Thoms Hytte* (Solberg 1977, 113). In this same period, the influence of modern, literate culture was such that local poets were satirizing the bourgeois pretensions of

¹⁰ Liestøl and Moe 1920, 11; for a discussion of the collection activities in this area, see Solberg 1994.

farmers who sought to emulate the manners and taste of the regional overclass of bureaucrats (*embettsmenn*), teachers, and priests:

Og navnet abekat passer næsten paa hver mand
for honde at være er altfor simpel stand
og derfor en mærkelig blanding finder sted
af pragt og uviden saa man kan blive kjed.

[And the name advocate applies to nearly every man
for to be a farmer is a much too simple state
and therefore a curious mixture appears
of splendour and ignorance such that one can be fooled]
(Jørund Ternes, quoted in Solberg 1980, 12)

With respect to another cultural field, Norwegian art historian and ethnologist Peter Anker has shown an urban influence on regional art and craft as early as the eighteenth century (1975, 37-38).

Yet one must bear in mind that it was, as Jørund Ternes described it, a "curious mixture" of cultures, and the impact of literacy has to be understood in relative terms. Anker, despite his recognition of external influence, also asserts that generally,

Boklig lærdom og utdannelse hadde liten berøring med og innflytelse i bondesamfunnet, selv om alle barn i teorien skulle lære å lese og skrive slik at de kunne gjennomgå knofirmasjonsforbredelse, og selv om religion og kirkegang spilte en større rolle i folks liv enn i våre dager. (1975, 15)

[Book learning and training had little contact with and influence in the agrarian society,¹¹ even though all children in theory did learn to read and write in order to undergo preparation for confirmation, and even though religion and church attendance played a larger role in people's lives than in our day.]

¹¹ The closest English equivalent to the Norwegian *bonde* is "peasant," though it does not carry the same pejorative connotations that the English word has developed.

In the final analysis, any assessment of the peripheries of Europe in the eighteenth and first part of the nineteenth centuries cannot help but acknowledge an exchange with cultural and economic centres, but it would be far easier to overstate the impact of modern, literate culture than to overstate the insularity -- or perhaps peninsularity -- of such communities. Moreover, the impact of literacy has to be measured not only in terms of its presence in a community but in terms of its acknowledged centrality to the functioning of the community. As David Vincent states:

What matters is not possession [of literacy] but practice. The impact of skills on individuals and their community depends on whether and for what purpose they are employed. If, for lack of incentive or opportunity, tools lie dormant, they will lose their edge. Literacy will not affect the way individuals think unless they use literacy in order to think. It will not alter their identity unless it is seen to have a specific function in the society in which they live. (1989, 18)

It is thus fair to argue, I believe, that the conceptual models that "naturalized," or made sense of, the motifs, images, and events of the classical ballad tradition continued to be predominantly oral and internal to the cultures. For this reason, while we shall strive to go beyond immanentist, genre-based readings of the classical ballads, we shall still try to perceive them as belonging to what may be termed "intrinsic culture," by which I mean any culture whose ideologies, beliefs, and aesthetic values derive from or are justified by the needs, practices, and values of the community itself as a relatively self-contained whole.

Given that landscape is one of our central interests in the analyses that follow, we will find that the intrinsic perspective promotes a re-thinking of the

"medieval" character of the ballad world, a model that extends in part from certain of the genre's commonplace themes and images, but also from the Romantic tendency to view the genre only in terms of its medieval origins. It has nonetheless left a strong imprint on critical descriptions, as in the following summation by G. Malcolm Laws. Of the classical ballads, he writes:

Their stories usually take place in the indefinite past, often in the Middle Ages, among people of high rank and fame. Castles and bowers, gold and silver, minstrels and harpers, kings and queens, high sheriffs and outlaws, fair ladies and wicked step-mothers, all help to transport the reader or listener far from his own prosaic surroundings into a world molded in many ways nearer to the heart's desire. The frequent use of the supernatural and the vestiges of half-forgotten beliefs add further to the charm of the old balladry (1957, 78).

Note that in addition to conventional scenography, belief also contributes to the view of the ballad as medieval. Indeed, as Bengt Holbek recently pointed out "... the early adherents of the Finnish school tried to reconstruct the cultural conditions under which motifs which seem magical or supernatural to us would appear to be more natural or logical" (1985, 20), and even as recently as the 1960s, Matthew Hodgart based his chronology of the ballad on the grounds that the supernatural belonged to an older -- medieval -- worldview (1962, 14). The desire to place ballad supernaturalism in a context where it could be seen as a fluid part of an "empirical belief system" -- to borrow Honko's somewhat incongruous term (1965, 9) -- coupled with our own ingrained notions about the chronological linearity of history (cf. Glassie 1967, 33), naturally meant that academic and revivalist perceptions of the ballad involved a pushing back through time, rather than adopting a stance that would allow for alternative worldviews in a contemporary context.

While few folklorists today, as Holbek admits, would adhere doggedly to this line of thinking, the conception of ballads as tales of the age of chivalry continues its reign in some sectors of the critical discourse. This seems particularly true in Scandinavia, where the term "*mellomalder* [middle-ages] *ballad*" is still widely used in reference to the genre and where the basic typology is entitled, *The Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad* (Jonsson, Solheim, and Danielson 1978; hereafter *TSB*). There is no denying, of course, a medieval genesis for the ballads, and in the rural traditions of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the ballads were primarily a received tradition and secondarily a creative tradition. Origins, however, are not necessarily at issue here, for the local understanding and interpretation of the ballads was subject to various indigenous cultural filters, as is evident from folk-art representations of other "received traditions." The accompanying figures are of Scandinavian wall paintings from the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries.¹² Despite the first impression of contemporary scenes, costumes, and activities, the paintings all depict narratives from The Bible, and in fact their primary function was to be hung as Christmas decorations. As representations of Bible stories, however, the images stand at some distance from the Holy Land. Prophets and other central religious figures, such as Abraham (Figure 1, top left), are portrayed in the black robes of a *soknaprest* [parish priest]; at the wedding in Cana (Figure 1, top right), guests in eighteenth-century festive costume dance to the

¹² This tradition has been covered most thoroughly from a Swedish perspective (Svardstrom 1944; 1949; Bringéus 1982; 1986; 1990; Plath 1966 [1948]; and Hernroth 1979), though significant Danish (Uldall 1971) and Norwegian (Anker 1975, esp. chs. 7 & 8) literature on the topic also exists.

Figure 1. Multi-scene wall hanging, from Sköne, Sweden; attributed to Nils Svenson, 1782 (Plath 1966 [1948], 175).

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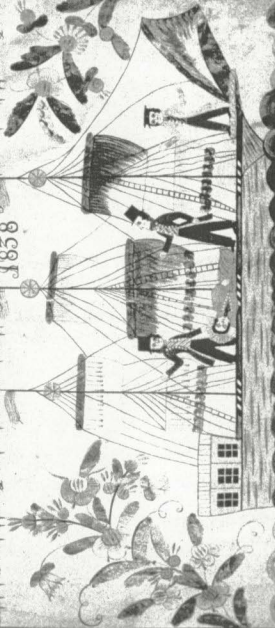
Figure 2. "David Slays Goliath," Swedish wall hanging, painter and date unknown (Plath 1966 [1948], 181).



Figure 3. "Jesus Sleeps in the Ship," wall hanging from Dalarna, Sweden, painter unknown, 1838 (Plath 1966 [1948], 211).

Deus. soner. i Skjæp. og. m. stor. form. vides. i. app. h. g. m. g. n. stor. ut. of. stor. Skjæp. i. m. s. i. 2. og.

1858



music of fiddlers and other musicians, while the groom pours bridal ale for the other people in attendance, as is his customary obligation. Figure 2 depicts David and Goliath, both waistcoated and cloaked, while the New Testament story of the storm on the Sea of Galilee (Figure 3) features top-hatted disciples on a three-masted ship. Comparing two Norwegian depictions of the story of Samson and the lion, Anker writes:

Like lite som Torstein Sand, forstod [Ola Hanson] noe av Samsons romerske kostyme, men istedenfo å lage ornament av det, kledde han Samson i skjøtefrakk, knebukser, hvite ullstrømper og en slags topphue, altså i en hjemlig drakt som var begripelig for all og enhver. (1975, 216-217)

[Ola Hanson understood just as little as Torstein Sand of Samson's Roman costume, and instead of making an ornament of it, he clothed Samson in coattails, knee-britches, white wool stockings, and a sort of knitted cap, therefore in a local costume that was comprehensible to one and all.]

This convention is so common in the tradition that Anker accords it the status of an epic law,¹¹ though he prefers to soften the term "law" to "tendency" or "principle" (1975, 217-218). It is all the more surprising, given our discussion of the impact of literacy on tradition, to learn that the images are not simply imaginative renderings of Bible stories heard orally by the artists, but were adapted from prototypes in illustrated Bibles available in the community. So strong is the influence of local tradition that indigenous systems of thought and comprehension can influence interpretation even when the source text is visual, as is also the case for a painting

¹¹ The convention is equated with *sagnets naturalisering* [localization of the *sage*], which is not strictly speaking an epic law, but is discussed by Olrik in a chapter on "The Life of the Narrative" (Olrik 1992, 79-86). Anker draws the idea from an article by Halvor Landsverk, which I have not had the opportunity to check, so I am unable to say where the misreading lies. Pedantry aside, the point still holds that Anker, and presumably Landsverk, saw localization to be prevalent enough to equate it with the idea of an epic law.

of an elephant by Norwegian folk artist Pål Grøt, which Anker traces to an illustration in a contemporary zoological text book. In Grøt's transliteration, minor details have gone askew, and his otherwise competent rendering of the elephant has the eyes of a cow and the paws of a bear (Anker 1975, 9); Uldall (1971, plate 6) provides a Danish example which depicts, again, an elephant, but with proportions and tusks more reminiscent of a boar. This phenomenon of conceiving external images in regional terms appears to be a common facet of tradition and quite understandable in "intrinsic" contexts that have limited access to universal knowledge. David Buchan has shown that in the tradition of the Scottish northeast in the eighteenth century, the conceptualization of ballads was subject to both "distancing" and "localizing" factors, whereby the aristocratic world of the songs often took on a rural, peasant tinge, as in "Lamkin" (Child 93) where the men of the manor are "at the barn-well threshing" and the women "at the far well washing." He concludes: "The ballad maker ... apprehends this imagined aristocratic life through the folk's rural life, and gives this aristocratic world a concrete actuality by utilizing the details of the folk's own world" (Buchan 1972, 80). Philip Caraman writes about Norwegian folktales and ballads in a similar vein: ". . . the king is a fat, genial, approachable figure who lives, not in a palace, but in a grand farm, himself a grand farmer -- his home is the *kongesgård*, a collection of farm buildings flanked by outhouses; his wealth is in fields, forests, and beasts" (1969, 184). These collated visions of the fictive worlds of oral narrative are too prevalent to be written off as mistakes, as *non-sequitur*, or as "Homeric nods," and,

where supernatural elements are involved, to be dismissed as "half-forgotten beliefs" or broken-down myths.

The intrinsic duality of the ballad landscape corresponds well to Lévi-Strauss's notion of "*bricolage*," whereby a limited set of elements, whether skills or concepts, is applied broadly to meet many exigencies. In this case, imagery drawn from local experience and activity becomes the means of reifying and comprehending the fictive universe of the ballads. Indeed, a point where I would take issue with Lévi-Strauss bears strongly on the question of place and its function in the aesthetic process. In a comparison of "professional" and primitive art, which he separates on the basis of what is structural (internal) and what is contingent (external) relative to three basic facets of art -- execution, function, occasion -- he concludes:

Professional or academic art internalizes execution (which it has, or believes itself to have, mastered) and purpose ('art for art's sake' being an end in itself). As a result it is impelled to externalize the occasion (which it requires the model to provide) and the latter thus becomes a part of the signified. Primitive art, on the other hand, internalizes the occasion (since the supernatural beings which it delights in representing have a reality which is timeless and independent of circumstances) and it externalizes execution and purpose which thus become part of the signifying. (1966, 29)

The implications of this statement, as might be expected of its author, are complex, but the concern for the moment is the assertion that professional art externalizes the "occasion," which I take to include such matters as subject, theme, historical and cultural backdrop, etc., whereas primitive art internalizes it. One of the problems in coming to terms with that distinction lies in understanding "occasion" as having both temporal and spatial components. Our natural tendency, when considering elite

art, is to construct occasion in relation to artistic periods or movements or as reactions to historical events; in other words to give it a temporal weighting. Where the primitive, or for our purposes the intrinsic, perspective is concerned, occasion is indeed internal, but I disagree that it is because such art or its motifs are "timeless" or "independent of circumstance": if such were truly the case, occasion would not be "internal," it would be irrelevant. Circumstance is of the utmost importance to the intrinsic perspective, but it is spatial circumstance. In intrinsic art, place becomes part of structure. Thus the differentiation of primitive and elite is not only a matter of a relation between internalized and externalized facets; it also involves a shift in the centre of gravity along the time/space continuum that, in part, defines the "occasion" through which the object, narrative, song, etc., acquires its full voice. Nor does this relation hold only for cultural extremes -- primitive versus elite -- for we find exactly this balance in Glassie's contrast of "folk" and "popular" material culture, the former rooting itself in spatial, the latter in temporal, conditions (1967, 33).

In the next chapter, we shall begin with an exploratory survey of the Telemark supernatural ballads in relation to their very distinct natural environment. Then we shall proceed to develop a structural model through which to explore the ballad world as a "naturalised" fictional landscape.

Chapter Five

Thresholds: The Landscape of the Telemark Supernatural Ballads

The most striking feature of the fictional landscape of the classical ballad is how clearly it coalesces with the agrarian topography. Though ballad narrative commonly drifts into territory occupied by the supernatural, it, like the legend, perceives such territory to border closely upon the world of everyday existence. The otherworld of the ballads is a neighbouring realm with which one must learn to co-exist, not the source of an intangible energy, malevolent or otherwise, that comes randomly from far beyond. Many have tried to paint ballad supernaturalism in a cloak that is "rikt på under og mystikk" (Liestøl and Moe, I, 1920-24, 23; rich in wonder and mysticism; see also Wimberly 1965 [1928]), but the fact remains that ballad mortals do not always stand in awe of the otherworld; they compete with it, and its beings are routinely bested, beaten, and even murdered by humans. Moreover, unlike the *Märchen*, the ballad does not venture into "kingdoms in the western world," accessible only through magical modes of transport or the assistance of magical agents. When it does travel far outside local borders, it is generally to other real-world locations: characters in Scottish ballads travel over the sea to "Norrawa," across the borders into England, or even farther south to the Turkish and Moorish countries; in Norway, the ballads reach outward to "Engeland" or

"Hollands land." For the most part, the ballads display a more limited range of motion, and even supernatural areas are encountered in ordinary travels and in the course of everyday activity.

In this chapter, we shall examine character movement within the ballad world with the ultimate purpose of showing how certain qualities associated with space help to generate narrative tension or to define conditions that are thematically essential to the narrative. This objective could be achieved through "immanent" analysis, by assuming certain generalities about space as defined by the genre itself, but a consideration of the ballad world in terms of how it becomes "salient," to use Pavel's term, in relation to a specific physical and cultural environment, not only produces a fuller rendering of the fictional landscape, but also gives greater insight into how the intrinsic culture employed fiction to address and comment on essential concerns that it confronted. The results will show, I feel, that ballad fiction succeeded by merging tensions associated with the biological struggle for food and shelter with those connected to the social issues of managing personal development and human relations.

As a first step in the process, we shall consider the region and ballad tradition of Øvre Telemark,¹ in south central Norway, with specific emphasis on the

¹ Øvre Telemark, as geo-political entity, no longer exists. Formerly, the Norwegian administrative system consisted of *amt*, *fogderi*, and *herad*, corresponding roughly to the English divisions of county, parish, and local council. Øvre Telemark was one of three *fogderi* in the *amt*, known officially as Bratsberg (Solberg 1980, 9). In modern Norway, the corresponding divisions are *fylke*, *bygd*, and *kommune*, and on a contemporary map, Øvre Telemark, at least as far as the collection of ballads is concerned, would include the *bygder* of Kviteseid, Seljord, Tokke, Vinje, and the northern part of Fyresdal. As we will see, most of the ballads came from a very limited area.

local supernatural ballads, which are covered in section "A" of *The Types of the Scandinavian Medieval Ballad*² (Jonsson, Solheim, and Danielson 1978; hereafter *TSB*). This region was virtually the sole source of ballads for the two men who produced the most influential Norwegian collections of the nineteenth century: Magnus B. Landstad, a parish priest whose *Norske Folkeviser* appeared in 1853, and Sophus Bugge, a professor and contributor to Grundtvig's *Danske gamle Folkeviser*, who published a small sample of his collection in 1858 under the title *Gamle norske Folkeviser*. Others who collected ballads in the area include Jørgen Moe (1840, 1848) better known perhaps for his work as a collector and editor of folktales; Olea Crøger, a music teacher whose collection provided the foundation for Landstad's; the musicologist L. M. Lindeman (1963 [1853-1867]) and from a later period, Moe's son Moltke Moe (Liestøl and Moe 1912, 1920-1924), the linguist Hans Ross, and Rikard Berge (1911, 1912, 1914, and 1916; see also Kvideland 1969-1970, 1988a, 1988b). Collections from other areas, particularly Sætedal in the neighbouring *fylke* of Aust-Agder, have added significant numbers of ballads, but even as late as 1925, Knut Liestøl was able to observe that "Telemark er uten

² Of the seventy-five types listed under the heading "Ballads of the Supernatural," thirty-nine have been collected in Norway. Some of them, however, are preserved only in archival collections (*TSB*, 21) or in publications that were unavailable during my research, and thus *TSB* numbers A17, A45, A62, and A65 are not represented in the analysis. In addition, the "A" section does not exhaust the theme of the supernatural in the Scandinavian corpus, and many types could have been drawn from other sub-genres, particularly the sub-group of "*kjempeviser*," or combat ballads, that deal specifically with supernatural adversaries (*TSB* E113-167). A survey of those types reveals very little, if any, deviation from the spatial patterns established in the "A" section.

sammenligning den landsdel som har været rikest paa viser" (forward to Landstad 1925, x-xi; Telemark is without comparison the region that has been the richest in ballads). Though Telemark covers a large area, the ballads were collected from a small district in the west central part of the county, just to the south and east of the *Hardangervidda*, an upland plateau in the long range of mountains that run down the spine of Norway. For all practical purposes, the district is bounded on the east by the community of Bø, to the south by Fyresdal, as far west as Haukeligrend, and to the north by Rjukan. A line drawn from Stavanger to Oslo passes straight through the heart of the area, and taking the centre point of the line as a hub, a radius of fifty kilometres encompasses all the communities named, and the names that turn up repeatedly in the collections -- Seljord, Kviteseid, Dalen, Mø, Skafså -- lie within a radius of half that distance.

The region features terrain for which Norway is famous -- mountains, many rising well above the tree line, contrast sharply with lakes in the dales below. As an example of the abrupt rise and fall to be found here, one can note two long, narrow lakes running parallel to each other: *Bandak*, lying between Dalen and Kviteseid, and *Vråvatn*, lying slightly to the south between Skafså and Vrådal. Though the two are separated by an average distance of only five kilometres, the land between them rises sharply to a height of almost one thousand meters above surface level of *Bandak* (70m asl), which is the lower of the two bodies of water; within a few kilometres of *Vråvatn*'s southern shore the land rises again to a height of over eight hundred meters (Dons 1975, 35-36). The ruggedness of the terrain, a

visual delight for the tourist's (or visiting ethnographer's) eye, poses quite a different reality for the person trying to carve a living from it. The immediate difficulty is the limited amount of room for the clearing of fields and pastures, but the mountains also impose a further burden on the farmer, in that high levels of acidity in the soil, a bi-product of the region's predominantly granite and quartzite geology, mean that only some areas are suitable for cultivation (Dons 1975, 39 & 43-48). Despite limited amounts of arable land, small-scale farming remained the region's primary mode of production throughout the last century, although an absence of available space for new farms put limitations on the size of the population that it could support; as a result Øvre Telemark had a high rate of out-migration, to industrial centres in the south and east, to other farming communities, and to America (Solberg 1980, 9-10). For those that stuck with it, working a farm meant making the most of scant resources.

The structure of the farm, or *gård*, and of farm life was highly conditioned by the need to cope with environmental limitations. In some areas, the topography allowed enough room for small communities to form, such as one finds at Haukeligrend, Morgedal, and at Lårdal, and in such cases, each household or *bruker* (user) would share the outlying areas and resources with a number of others. Equally prevalent were solitary farms, at times dug out of narrow ribbons of land between the foot of a mountain and the shore of a lake or river. The main centre of the farm was the *tun*, a cluster of buildings that adhered to a basic model found throughout Norway and indeed in many other parts of Europe. The Scottish

"fermtoun" described by Buchan (1972, 18-27) shares much in common with its Norwegian cousin, though some differences also exist; not the least of them is that most Norwegian farmers owned, rather than rented, the land they cultivated (Anker 1975, 127-129; Solberg 1980, 10-12; Gullestad 1991a, 482). Telemark farms³ tended to have fewer buildings than those in other parts of the country, usually not more than six to eight, and they were commonly laid out in a pattern known as a *rekketun* due to its linear form. For our present purposes, however, form is less of an issue than function, and even then we only need to observe a surface level distinction between *våningshus* (domestic space) and *driftsbygning* (work buildings). Of the latter type, only the *stallhus* (stable) appears with any regularity in ballads, though its aesthetic function is still an important one.

Domestic space is of greater concern. The *stoga*, *stue*, or *stuve*, which provided the main accommodations for the farmer and his immediate family, was a single- or (later) two-story structure of lofted timber, with or without exterior panelling. A common floorplan provided for one large room with two small ante-rooms, and of these, the former was the central living area and contained the fireplace, eating area, and the bed where the farmer and his wife slept. Even in a two-story house, the upper portion or *ivistog* was customarily used for storage or sleeping quarters for guests. Situated close by the *stoga* were two other buildings that provided extra living space and served other functions as well. The more

³ This description derives primarily from Anker 1975, ch. 3, with supplementary material as noted.

important of the two was the *loft* or *stubbur*, a two-level storehouse raised up on pillars to prevent animals from getting in, and whose upper story had a pronounced overhang on the front and sides, making it the most immediately recognizable building on the farm.⁴ Its ground floor was used to store food, while the upper story provided living quarters for guests, workers, or the farmer's children when they got older. Apart from its day-to-day functions, the *loft* also served as the place where brides prepared for their weddings (Berge n.d., Folder X, 56-65; Jensen 1975, 325), a ritual function that tends to carry over strongly to its appearance in ballads. The domestic function of the *loft* could sometimes be taken over or supplemented by a single-story building called a *bur*, which normally stood immediately beside the *loft*. Domestic buildings form much of balladry's inner world, with the *stoga* providing generalized interior space while the *hogeloft*⁵ and *huri* appear most often as the sleeping quarters of unmarried youths. A related space mentioned frequently in ballads, the *hogeloftsvala*, is an exterior corridor that provides access to the upper loft.

Beyond the immediate confines of the *tun* lay cultivated fields and inner pastures, but the actual limits of the farm, as defined by areas of production, extended considerably farther. As Anker writes:

Gården bestod i videre forstand ikke bare av tunet and husene og den nærmeste byen omkring, men av utmark, eiendommer og bruksrettigheter

⁴ The *stubbur*'s distinctive facade has made it one of the central icons in the national and folk revivals in Norway, much as the dory and schooner are in Atlantic Canada.

⁵ Interestingly, the lexicographer Ivar Aasen, perhaps assuming an aristocratic background for the ballads, defines *hogloft* as "*prugvarels*" or stately room (1918, 316).

som kunne strekke seg milevis* innover i skogen, opp i fjellet til setrer, fiskevann og dyregreaver eller ut på sjøen til fiskegrunner og fuglevær. (1975, 48)

[The farm consisted in a broader sense not only of the tun and houses and the nearest fields around, but of the outlying fields, property and rights of usage that could stretch for miles into the woods, up on the mountain to the seters, fishing holes and traplines, or out on the sea to fishing grounds and rookeries.]

The issues that extend from this statement are important, though first I want to emphasize Anker's use of the phrase "in a broader sense," because in the ballads the term "*gård*" is used quite clearly in a limited sense and implies a well-defined area. Yet the outlying areas were critical extensions, and the totality encompassed by the notion of *jordbruk* (land use) included all areas that were able to contribute to farm production. The most important of the external areas were grasslands up on the mountains that could support cattle, goats, or sheep during the summer months, and/or provide a second source for hay, cut and dried on the mountain and then brought down and stored for winter use. These secondary mountain farms, known as *støl* or *støyl* in Telemark but more widely by the term *seter* or *seter*, were such an established part of farming in many parts of Norway, that they constitute one of the most important topics of folklore and folklife in the agrarian society, and as with the *tun*, one finds analogues throughout Europe (Solheim 1952; Reinton 1955-61; and Reinton 1976). *Seter* use, as defined by type of produce (*avdrått*), distance from the main farm, size and number of outlying farms utilized, and length of season, varied considerably throughout Norway, and indeed it is not always easy to

* Here, a "mile," sometimes known in English as a "Swedish Mile," equals ten kilometers.

garner from the literature the precise nature of the practice in a given region. Reinton, for example, includes Øvre Telemark as a region of *slåtteseterbruk* (1976, 28-29), meaning that haymaking was the primary activity, and while it seems clear that dairy production -- a mainstay in some other areas -- was not a significant part of *seter* use in this region, it is equally clear from comments in Solheim and elsewhere that the people of Telemark did drive animals to the mountains (Solheim 1952, 185, 232, 239, & 262; Botnen 1975, 298-299). But once again, from the perspective of a fictional landscape, details are secondary and generalities will suffice.

The move "*til seters*" began in late spring, initially to a mid-station or *heimseter* and, as the season progressed, to a *langeseter* farther afield, and where haymaking was involved, a number of *seters* would be exploited by each farm. The distance covered could be as little as a few kilometres or over fifty. Given the volume of supplies required, pack animals were essential, and in descriptions of *seter* life, from both practical and customary standpoints, horses are everywhere in evidence (Solheim 1952, 571-575; Reinton 1976, 38-45). Significantly, it was primarily women and children who made the trip up into the mountains and who did the work there. Boys and girls between the ages of eight and fifteen acted as *gjeiter* (goatherds) and had responsibility for the management of a small flock. Older girls also had charge of preparing meals and other housework, while women looked after the main facets of *seter* production, sometimes working in outlying fields at some distance from the *seter* itself. It was a system that must have taught

independence at a very young age. Work on the mountain farms lasted for varying periods of time. In some cases, people were on their way home by the end of August; in others they stayed late into the fall.

Beyond work, there were many prominent social and cultural facets to *seter* life, and among the more important of them is that in its systems of work and socializing, its customs and rituals, it was in many ways a distinctly female culture. For some at least that was one of its attractions. As Reinton points out,

. . . sikkert er det at mange jenter før glede seg til å koma på setra, m.a. fordi dei då var meir frie enn heime. . . . Og mange koner treivst på setra fordi der var fred og ro og alt var meir einfelt enn heime, i matsell, i kledehald og livsførsel. Der fekk livet enkle linjer. (1976, 73)

[. . . it is certain that many girls were happy to come to the *seters*, among other things, because they were freer than at home. . . . And many women thrived on the *seters* because it was peaceful and quiet there and everything was simpler than at home, cooking, doing laundry, and in the drive of life. There life had plain lines.]

Though potentially remote and isolated,⁷ *seters* often lay in clusters throughout the hills, in which case there was opportunity for visiting and for gatherings among the women. Nor were males completely absent through the summer, for men and boys from the farms occasionally went up to take supplies, carry back produce, and, in the case of the farmer himself, to check on the progress of the work and the condition of the animals.

There were also informal visits by older boys on the farms who went up to the *seters* after work on Saturday. They were known as *Laurdagsfriarne* (Saturday

⁷ Solheim notes an instance of two milkmaids whose only external contact was with each other but whose *seters* were separated by a river. They could see each other and wave, but the river was too wide for conversation (1952, 518-519).

suitors), and their visits are described, perhaps with more than a little reserve, by a source from Sogn, just north of Telemark, who writes:

Skikken har ned gjennom tidene vakt stor forargelse hos moralistene, men å bli kvitt den . . . ser ut å bli vanskelig. Og det er i grunnen ikke så rart. Ser vi nemlig på dette forhold, vil vi finne at det i de fleste tilfeller ikke er tale om noe umoralsk eller usedelig ved slike besøk lørdagskveldene. Det var en skikk som hadde vært i bruk fra arilds tid, og en skikk med en uskrevet lov som forhød større intimitet mellom kjønnene, en religiøs kultus der gjennom århundrer var fastgrodd hos folket. At skikken i enkelte tilfeller har utartet, og at den særlig i senere tid ikke er bevart i sin opprinnelige renhet, er så. (quoted in Solheim 1952, 528).

[Down through the years, the practice has caused great indignation among moralists, but to be rid of it appears to be difficult. And that basically is not surprising. If we look at the situation, we will find that in most cases there is no talk of anything immoral or unseemly in such Saturday evening visits. It was a practice that had been in use from [the earliest] times and a practice with an unwritten law that forbade great intimacy between the sexes, a religious observance which through the centuries was instilled among the people. That the practice in certain cases had degenerated, and that it particularly in later times was not preserved in its original purity, is so.]

Despite the author's moralesque version of *gesunkenes kulturgut*, the author does allow that even in a more idealized form, the Saturday evening visits permitted adolescents to "flirte ukontrollert" (flirt unchaperoned) and that there were those who strayed from the straight and narrow: "Var det en gutt som hadde dårlig ord på seg, ble han ikke mottatt, unntagen av eldre, gifte-lystne budeier, som på denne måten tok sjansjen på å få seg en mann" (If there was a boy with a bad reputation, then he was not received, except by older, marriage-hungry milkmaids, who in this way took a chance of getting themselves a husband). The degree to which such conventionalisms actually describe reality is, for our purposes, not at issue, for the ethnographic significance of this and the preceding comment has no more to do with historical actuality than it does with morality. The statements are important as

indicators of a cultural discourse about tensions that emerge from a spatial distinction -- farm/*seter* -- habitually connected with gender distinction. Indeed, comments by Reinton show that this discourse gets carried over into artistic representations of *seter* life, in which Saturday visits are among the favourite themes. In an image such as Adolph Tideman's "Besøk paa Seteren" (1853; visit to the *seter*) -- a prim young woman, illuminated by a hearth fire immediately to her right, glances half surprised over her shoulder toward a young man stepping cautiously in through a darkened doorway -- the sexual tension is blatant (Reinton 1976, 139). Yet there is very little either here or in Solheim to suggest that courtship in any formal sense had a sanctioned place in *seter* life; in his chapter on gatherings, Solheim provides only one instance of a husband and wife who associated their courtship with a *seter* gathering, and they met at a large fair-like event, and thus in a more public and controlled situation (1952, 576; also Reinton 1976, 113-114; see Powell 1994 for a discussion of the theme of courtship in songs about hiring fairs in Britain, though in that context the fairs themselves are seen as places of promiscuity). One senses that embedded within the cultural discourse about *seters* there was an assumption that relationships established in the mountains might, like the *seters* themselves, be impermanent and marginal.

Some occasions for gatherings in the *seter* arose in conjunction with calendar customs and holidays spread across the summer months, and at larger events, folk from a widespread area gathered at a central location for a fair of sorts. Like most events of this nature, they were celebrations of local values: of productivity and

skill through elaborate presentations of food and handcrafts; of devotion through Masses, a particularly important function given that those on the *seters* had few opportunities to attend church; and of strength and stamina through physical competitions. Of the latter, a contest known as the *skeid* stands out. It was a competition of horses and horsemanship, and it speaks again to the centrality of these animals in the agrarian culture. As described by Solheim, the *skeid* had two components: *kappriding* (riding competition) and *hestekampar* (horse fights). Nominally a race, *kappriding* had an added challenge in that the horses were not usually saddled; falls and even serious injuries were common. The *hestekampar*, as the name suggests, pitted horse against horse. A description from 1771 states:

Paa denne Dag samles en stor Mængde af Almuen med deres Heste paa en Plads . . . som kaldes *Skejvolden*. Naar de er forsamlede, frembringe de paa Pladsen en Hoppe, og til denne Hoppe løslade de 2 Graheste paa Gangen, som følgelig bides og slaaes om, hvem der skal blive Mester af Hoppen. Naar disse ere trættede, fremlede de 2 nye til samme Skuespil, og saaledes holde ved saalænge, som de hav Heste tilbage. (Solheim 1951, 569)

[On this day a great many of the common folk gather with their horses at a place that is called the *skej* field. When they are gathered, they bring a mare out to the place, and to this mare they let loose two stallions at a time, who thereafter bite and kick each other, over which one shall be master of the mare. When these are tired, they bring out two more for the same spectacle, and thus they continue for as long as they have horses.]

Though both appear to have been longstanding traditions -- Solheim cites a Telemark reference from the early seventeenth century (1951, 573) -- neither the violence of the horse fights nor the toll in human injury caused by *kappriding* was overlooked in the modern era, especially by priests, and both customs were in abeyance by the middle of the last century. Functionally, perhaps, one can look

beyond the cruelty of the *hestekamp* to the issue of mating the strongest horse with the mare. Indeed, Solheim offers examples of *kappriding* in which male rivalries over a woman were played out, which suggests a parallelism in the ultimate ends of both the *hestekampar* and *kappriding*: in both cases, "the winner gets the girl," so to speak. It was at a *skeid* that the couple mentioned above met. But where horses are concerned, the question remains of why expose such essential animals to such risk? It is significant that the *skeid* was held at the very end of the summer, after the greatest demands on the horses, such as ploughing and breaking ground, were long past. But the answer resides in part, I feel, in an essential paradox that was an innate component of the cultural worldview; essentially, there was an immutable and irresolvable contradiction between the beneficence and violence of nature itself, which is a theme that we shall encounter again and again in other forms, including the ballads. Whether or not one wishes to see the *hestekamp* as a symbolic re-creation of that paradox is moot -- and given that both the positive and the negative aspects of nature are not reified in the practice, such a reading would be tenuous at best. But there is ample justification for regarding the paradox as implicit in the horse fight and for realizing that the local worldview would not recognize the spectacle as an incongruous and economically precarious act. It was simply the nature of nature.

In *seter* life we have a good example of how landscape, environment, and culture become ineluctably fused. In fact Solheim's *Norsk Sætertradisjon*, one of the masterworks of Scandinavian ethnology, begins as an exploration of the role of

traditional belief and custom in the management of an environment, yet it becomes every bit as much about the management and regulation of culture within an austere environmental circumstance. The two are inseparable. Land and the environment, as essential resources, are focal *topics* of discourse, but their centrality is such that they become also a *mode* of discourse, part of a system of signification in which they are integral signifiers as well as concrete signifieds. As Lévi-Strauss observes, it is a mistake "... to think that natural phenomena are *what* myths seek to explain, when they are rather the *medium through which* myths try to explain facts which are themselves not of a natural but a logical order" (1966, 95). Property boundaries, for example, which were established between *seters*⁸ as well as farms by specially inscribed stones known as *deilde*, take on profound moral implications in narrative, both obliquely in rudimentary memorats of farmers lying in wait for and then thrashing goatherds whose flock had strayed onto their property (Reinton 1976, 109), and more dramatically in the legends concerning the "*deildegasten*," which is the ghost of someone condemned for moving boundary markers. Like Sisyphus, the *deildegasten* rolls a stone out of a lake and up a hill in an effort to return it to its rightful place, only to lose his grip at the last moment, and he must watch in agony as the stone rolls back into the water. Through a comparison with other legends, Olav Bø (1955b) finds that folk judgement reserves such condemnation for the culture's most dire crimes, and thus at a direct level the severity of the penalty

⁸ By 1958, the Norwegian government found it necessary to institute a *Hogfjellskommisjon* (high mountain commission) to map *seter* boundaries, which had been established previously by convention alone (Reinton 1976, 132-33).

indicates that the acquisition and maintenance of property was a pre-eminent concern of the culture and that the potential for boundary disputes posed a grave threat to community stability.

But whereas the legend on its own demonstrates that belief can teach a lesson about the value of land, there are other instances where the aesthetic representation of or reference to landscape has the function of teaching about morality, where, in essence, landscape is not itself a theme but a way of giving an empirical frame of reference to an abstract concept, and making it more easily apprehended. Bø's essay on *deildagasten* evolved from his study of the Norwegian visionary ballad "Draumkvæde" (TSB B31, "The Dream Song"; Bø 1955a; see also Alver, Brynjulf 1971; Barnes 1974), which includes a related reference among the visions of hell. It is contained in the second of the following series of incremental stanzas depicting the tortures of sinners and their crimes (text from Blom and Bø 1973, 110, st. 10-13; see also 113):

Kjem e meg åt manne dei
dei blei nå fyste ve
lite bân i fangje bar
gjeik i jore alt opande kne

I came to a man
who was now the nearest being
bearing a little child in his clutches
walking in earth right up to the knees⁹

Kjem e meg åt manne dei
haev hendar otor bloe
Gud nåde di syndige sâline
ha' flytta deild i skogje¹⁰.

I came to a man
with hands of blood¹⁰
God help the sinful souls
who have moved *deilde* in the woods

⁹ Bø and Solheim (1967, 256n) suggest that the stanza depicts a murderer forced to carry the one he has killed, and the weight of the crime, so to speak, is so great that he sinks into ground.

¹⁰ Bø gives the line as "Dei bar på glo'nde jord" (1955, 107; they carry the burning ground). Just as the thief sinned by carrying a stone, his judgement is often to carry burning coals in hell, hence the bloody hands. Bø also connects the line to an actual medieval punishment for thieves, which was to have their hands bound to heated rocks.

Kjæm eg me åt Gjeddarbro'e	I came to Gjeddar bridge
ho hængje så høgt i vinde	it hung so high in the wind
ho va fast me krokur slænje'	it was fast with hooks bound
å nagle me korjom tinde	and nailed at every peak

Bikja beit å ormen stak	Dogs bit and serpents stung
stuten sto å stanga	bulls stood and gored
eg slap ikkje af Jeddarbroe	I did not relax by Jeddar bridge
før domane dei kom vrånge	for the judgements come heavily]

In this collage of images, landscape has polysemic functions that intertwine, and that are literal and metaphorical simultaneously. The second stanza reaches out, albeit abstractly, to points in the actual world -- property boundaries -- yet in the context of the ballad, whose theme is a general one of sin and punishment, the spatial boundary evoked by the *deilde* acquires a semiotic equivalence with moral transgression ("transgression" itself being a spatial metaphor). There is more to the image than the simple statement that "to move a boundary stone is a sin," for in order to support the theme of the song, that is, in order for the punishment to appear just, a cultural understanding of the implications of the crime must underlie the image. There has to be some recognition that the person who steals ground, who thus tries to encroach on another's livelihood, warrants a punishment not much different from someone who kills a child; there has to be a recognition that landscape belongs to a cultural mode of signification bearing directly on life itself. Moreover, taken cumulatively, the stanzas construct their own landscape, one in which hell becomes a place where one is consumed or overrun by nature. The motifs of the dogs and the bulls, in particular, possess an ability to signify that extends beyond the literal threat of being bitten and gored, for as aspects of

cultivated nature they show that transgression leads to a reversal of humanity's ability to control nature, which at one level is the fundamental essence of humanity.

The natural world is one final area where we may find a significant, intrinsic connection between the environment and the fictional world of the ballad, and once again the two can be shown to converge on issues surrounding farm production. In *Norske Sætertradisjon*, Solheim points out that levels of production within this restricted environment were such that the margins between profit and failure were often narrow, or at least perceived to be so, and so in addition to the static limitations of topography, the farmer was also deeply concerned about unforeseeable encroachments from disease and from predatory animals, chiefly bears (*bjørne*) and wolves (*ulvar*). These two animals and traditional attitudes toward them offer further examples of the paradox of nature that was engrained in the local worldview. In accordance with the idea that nature presupposed a balance of forces that were conversely destructive and beneficial, there was particular concern for anything that interfered with or appeared to depart from that balance. Wolves were considered "*utanfor lova*" (outside the law), a concept that needs to be interpreted not in a social sense but in a natural one. Wolves, according to local perception, did not follow the laws of nature; they killed indiscriminately and regardless of the need to satisfy hunger, and as Solheim states, "Det var denne vilje trong til å drepa som verke den sterke motviljen hos folk som økonomisk hadde fått kjenne verknaden av ulvetennene" (1952, 229; It was this wilful desire to kill that caused the strong hostility among people, who felt the economic effects of the wolves'.

teeth). They constituted, in effect, an imbalance and represented a purely destructive force; in consequence, they were "hata og jaga av alle" (hated and hunted by all). Bears on the other hand, while predatory, came closer to a balance appropriate to nature. They were destructive and regarded, Solheim states, with "urn og trege" (disquiet and trepidation), but they exhibited traits that enabled farmers to see appropriateness in their behaviour: like men, bears were both herbivores and carnivores; they possessed the positive traits of strength and intelligence -- "ti manns styrke og tolv manns vit" (ten men's strength and twelve men's wit) according to proverb (Solheim 1952, 230). Consequently, the depredations caused by bears were often endured more stoically than those caused by wolves. As one farmer put it, "Bjørnen er den andre kårmannen min" (Solheim 1952, 280; the bear is my other *kårman*¹¹), likening them to someone that the farm was obliged to support but who did not contribute meaningfully to farm production. To that extent, bears were associated with what Solheim refers to as "*minkande kraft*" or "diminished strength" (Solheim 1955, 230), which implies anything that could cut in to the farmer's margin of profitability.

Despite their relative differences, bears and wolves were both incorporated within a worldview that treated adversity as an inevitable part of the give and take of nature as a system; if the behaviour of the one was considered comprehensible and that of the other vicious and relentless, they nonetheless both belonged to a

¹¹ *Kårmann* indicates a person who remains on a farm after transferring ownership to someone else. The term is commonly applied to parents who continue to live on a farm that they have given over to one of their children.

natural order that was uncontrollable in any kind of absolute sense. As Solheim concludes:

... i eldre tider kunne folk ikkje ha nokon tanke om at dei skulle greia å gjera ende på udyra. Det dei prøvde og vona på, var at dei skulle greia å halda udyra mest mogeleg frå livet og gjera skadeverkndene så små som råd var. Striden mot udyra vart på ein måte uavgjort, den bylgja fram og tilbake og varde ved, og hørde altså naturleg med til livet sjølv. I folks tanke-, forestellings-, og kjensleliv gjekk udyra inn som eit fast element. Dette galdt då serleg dei to største og farlegaste rovdyra: bjørnen og ulven. Desse stod i folkeleg tenkjemåte som *institusjonar*, til synes like faste og urikande som andre lekkur i den gamle, tradisjonelle samfunnskipnaden. (1952, 279-280)

... in former times people could not have any notion about putting an end to predators. What they strove and hoped for was to keep predators as far from their lives and the adverse effects as minimal as means allowed. The battle against predators was in a way uncertain, it wavered back and forth and (caused concern) and belonged just as naturally as life itself. In people's conscious, conceptual, and emotional life, predators fit in as a stable element. This especially concerns the two largest and most dangerous predators: the bear and the wolf. These stood in popular worldview as *institutions*, to be viewed just as firm and unmoveable as other links in the old, traditional social network.

Surrounding the issue of predators and other adverse forces are a plethora of beliefs, many of them involving elements of sympathetic magic: herders, for example, should not use stocks with the bark removed, nor should they go hungry to their flocks. In other words, anything that suggests lack or want will produce the same. Interestingly, should either of the above prohibitions be violated, the anticipated effect was that bears or wolves would prey on the flocks.

The otherworld itself was also strongly associated with the notion of "diminished strength," as it too was held responsible for the loss or injury of animals: "Hende det krøtera noko vondt, fekk dei underjordiske skulda, og det var jamt tale om at krøtera hadde vore haugtekne" (1952, 340; If anything evil

happened to the herds, the otherworld got the blame, and it was usually said that the herds had been hill-taken). Within Telemark tradition, otherworld beings consist almost entirely of trolls (mountain men) or "*nykkjen*" (water sprites), revealing again a very concrete synthesis of topography and fiction, and one can also note in the concept "*haugtekne*" (hill-taken) a direct correlation between the adverse forces of supernature and the local topography. Within these perceptions, which link predators, trolls, and sprites, the natural and supernatural realms just beyond the boundaries of the cultivated or controlled areas can be seen as ever-encroaching upon the farmer and his ability to survive. But like nature itself, supernature, far from being fundamentally evil, belonged to a system of give and take, and as the ballads reveal, dealing with it involved neither submission nor an all-out quest for control, but a relationship of reciprocity and symbiosis.

To summarize briefly before proceeding, the Telemark community begins with the *tun* at the centre and radiates outward to the *seters*, which overlap with and share some qualities with natural space, though the latter maintains an exteriority that makes it distinct and marks it off as the farmer's primary object of competition. It is a landscape, however, that is both concrete and ideational, an actuality and a cultural construct all at the same time. It embodies a literal struggle for existence, but that struggle wells over into narrative formations that have culture as the protagonist and nature as the antagonist, though the relationship is not inevitably hostile. Indeed, the variations on the theme are highly complex, such that clear, indivisible meanings for a given kind of space are difficult to ascribe. Yet

between the fictive and the real world there is what might be described as a "parallelism of essence" that is inescapable, and at a structural level, landscape and environment, as they emerge as crucial components in ballads, divide quite conspicuously into domestic, social, sacred, natural and supernatural realms. We shall find that ballad stasis lies in a social centre that ventures off into extremes, through nature to supernature, through sacred areas to death, and also into confined interiors in the domestic sphere.

The following list, derived from a breakdown of the scene structure of each ballad type in the sub-genre (see Appendix I), virtually exhausts the spaces that occur in the supernatural ballads in Telemark, and it shows that the most significant places or kinds of places normally fall under one of three main categories: domestic, sacred, and natural. We shall discuss them in the order sacred, natural, domestic, in part for the sake of convenience, as this is the order of ascending complexity, but also because the structure of the first two realms reveals certain facets of spatial relations in the ballads that make an important feature of domestic space more visible. The various relationships that will be explored should also justify the decision to treat the otherworld as a sub-set of nature, rather than a separate kind of space. Each of the major categories breaks down into sub-groups of what may be termed *base sets*¹² identified by their relative position to the social centre, which, as

¹² The term "set" is used here in its conventional dramaturgical sense, that is, a background against which action occurs. However, because we are looking at space as a signifying element in ballads, we will find instances where simple reference to space, as in a desire to be or the threat of having to be in a certain place, may have narrative significance without actually functioning as an active set.

Domestic Space

Boundary

I gård (into the farm)
Dygni (to stoga)
Stalhus (stall)
Gate (gate)

Enclosed

Generalized interior
Stoga (cottage)

Mantle Threshold

Durakinn/Durastok (door jamb)
Dygni (doorway)
Högelofisvala (corridor leading to loft)

Mantle

Seng (bed)
Högeloft / Buri (room in a loft, often
occupied by unmarried youths)
Bord (table)
Tårne (tower)

Sacred Space

Boundary

Kyrkjeveggen (church road)

Enclosed

Kyrkje (church)

Confined

Onde stein (under a stone :
unconsecrated grave)
Vigde molle (consecrated grave)
Himmerike (Heaven)
Helvite (Hell)

Natural Space

Boundary

Bru (bridge)
Utav gård (out of the farm)
Lange lie (grassy hillside)
Eng (meadow)
Åker (field)
Lund (grove)
På veggen fram (forth on the road)
Under lie (beside/near a hillside)
Framette mæ å (along a river)
Under å (beside/near a river)
Under øy (beside/near an island)
Til lands (to land)
På kvite sand (on white sand)

Wilderness

Skog (wood)
Fav (sea)
Heio (heath)
Salta (marsh)
På sond (on the sound)
Fjord
Fremmande land (foreign land)
Engeland's by (England's town)
Rosenlund ("flowering place")
Lio nor (north mountain)
Å (river)

Otherworld

Trollbotten (troll's cave : hell)
I bergje (in the mountain)
I stride straum (in the cruel stream)
OW seng (bed)
OW bord (table)
OW voggen (cradle)

just noted, is an area of stasis, of neutrality, and which often forms a boundary region leading into a ballad's main spheres of action, that is, they tend to serve as points from which characters launch into the most significant narrative action and to which they return afterwards. Not surprisingly, this first layer tends to consist of threshold areas, and it is also where each of the major divisions of space borders with the others. The middle regions have an "interior" quality about them; even where the wilderness is concerned such areas evoke a sense of being "in" nature and to some extent enveloped by it. Lastly, there are spaces that either overwhelm or threaten to overwhelm the central character. They are places of confinement, captivity, and death, and ballad narratives generally deal with characters' attempts to break free of such space or with the means through which they are lured into and trapped by it. A rough graphic presentation of this spatial arrangement may be found in figure 4.

The structure of sacred space provides a quick introduction to the basic pattern, and because it is used relatively sparingly, it also allows us to see the three essential qualities of space in a fairly clear cut manner. First, at the boundary level there is the *kyrkje vegg* (church road), a simple transitional area that leads to the church. Second, there is the interior of the church, where one is completely within a hallowed area, but with a certain degree of freedom to come and go as one chooses. At the third level, in the grave, in heaven, or in hell, such freedom obviously is lost, and one is now dealing with a condition of "confinement" that can only be overcome, if at all, by divine intervention. Though straightforward, such

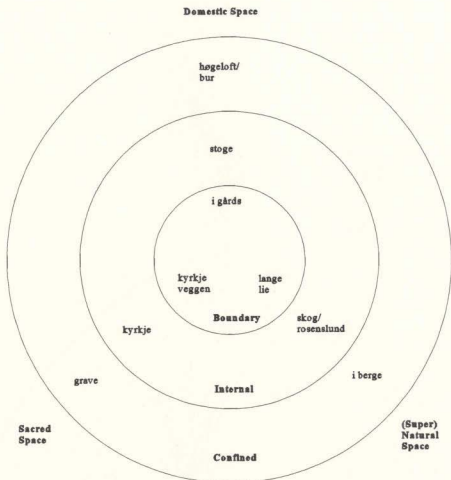


Figure 4: Spatial Structure of the Telemark Supernatural Ballads

spaces also can reveal how dynamically ballad sets interact with the narrative. One of the more common ways that this occurs is through a simple principle of contrast, that is, the quality a place evokes stands in a relation of significant opposition to other places or to characters situated in other places. The church interior, though it occurs only twice in the sample, is in both cases intruded upon by the otherworld. In "Agnete og havnmanden" (TSB 47; cf. Child 41),¹¹ the heroine, having been captured by a *bergemann* (troll) and borne seven sons by him, is drawn by the sound of bells back to her home, and it is in the church that she meets with her family. The opposition is a simple one but effective: the church, as the spiritual and moral centre of the community, accents the exteriority and the Otherness that has grown to be a part of her during her time in the mountain. The same opposition may be found in two versions of "Nøkkens svig" (TSB 48; Nykkjen's deception. This song has no direct analog in Anglo-Scots tradition, but it bears relation to either "The Elfin Knight," Child 4, or "The Daemon Lover," Child 243, depending on outcome). Here, a water-sprite comes ashore to seduce a woman, whom he follows into church, where again we have a sacred centre being invaded, this time by a clearly demonic figure.

The church road also appears only twice, though in both cases in ballads of considerable dramatic intensity. In "Jomfruen i ulvehem" (TSB A19; Maiden in wolf form), a transformed heroine must get a taste of the witch's -- her

¹¹ Here and elsewhere, the titles used are the standard ones ascribed in *TSB*. Thus, at times, can result in minor incongruities, as in the present case, in which the central male figure of the Norwegian version is a troll, not a merman.

stepmother's -- blood in order to break the spell. Knowing this, the stepmother has been afraid to go to church for many years. Finally, she is compelled to go, and as she ventures out on the church road, the wolf is there waiting for her. If there is a certain inevitability, or "epic unity" as Olrik describes it (1992 [1921], 47), to the narrative, there is also a decisive spatial tension drawn between the stepmother and the church -- between the potential for forgiveness and the inevitable retribution that stands in the way -- that makes the ballad work. As a transitional area, the church road feels a gravitational pull from sacred space while remaining distinctly separate from it, a dynamism that comes across strongly in "Margit og Jon i Vandelidom" (TSB A57), in which two infants, the illegitimate offspring of a human mother and an otherworld father, are buried along the *kyrkjevegg*. In this, the pivotal scene of the ballad, a triple tension juxtaposing all three of balladry's key areas -- domestic (the mother), natural (the otherworld father), and sacred (the setting on the church road) -- weighs heavily upon the mother's human fiancé, who is depicted at the side of the road digging the infants' graves.

The grave itself is the most common of the sacred areas, which is hardly surprising in a genre in which sudden and often violent death is such a prevalent motif (McCarthy 1989, 117). In a very general sense, it constitutes a marker of tragedy, a flag that the consequences of the forgoing action are absolute. Both "Ribold og Guldborg" (TSB A41; cf. Child 7) and "Elveskud" (TSB A63) end with the following formula, which is as conventional in Scandinavian balladry as the "rose and briar" motif is in the Anglo-Scots genre:

Der va m i sorg hell der va gama
der va tri lik til jore m e sama.

[There was more sorrow than there was joy
Three corpses went to the earth together

Fyste va Rikeball    e hass m y
den tre e hass moir av sorg e doyr.

The first was Rikeball, the second his maid
The third his mother who of sorrow died.]
(TSB A41, Blom and B  1973, 38, st. 44-45)

In narratives where there is little sympathy for the deceased, the ballads make a clear distinction between consecrated and unconsecrated ground, such that the punishment for extreme transgression is not simply death but ignominious death. The murderesses in "De tvo systar" (TSB A38; cf. Child 10) and "Hedebysgjenganger" (TSB A69; Hedeby's revenant) are both "grov . . . livans ond en stein" (Blom and B  1973, 29, st. 34; buried alive under a stone). Yet this same distinction can be applied inversely, creating a wonderfully positive effect. A common figure in Norwegian supernatural ballads, and one that has no analog in the British tradition, is the magical horse, which appears in "Liten Lavrans" (TSB A24), "Rosensfolen" (TSB A25), "Blak og ravn" (TSB A26; The black and the raven), and "Beiarblakkjen" (TSB A39). In all of these ballads, a supernatural horse performs extraordinary feats of strength on behalf of its owner, only to die of exhaustion at the ballad's close. The horse's endurance in comparison to its human owner is a particularly strong feature of the    narratives. Beiarblakkjen carries a rather weak-kneed human rider on a journey over the fjord, to the ends of the earth, and into the next world. As he casually steps over hell, he thinks nothing more than "hau . . . her var heit" (Blom and B  1973, 25, st. 15; "Whew. . . that was hot"). But the magical horse ballads are only partly tongue-in-cheek, and their

formulaic ending provides both a suitable narrative coda and an assertion of the inestimable value of the horse in agrarian life:

Ha de kje vore for manneor ha Blakkjen silt ftingje vigde jor.	[Had it not been for the word of man Blakkjen would have got holy ground.
Ha de kje vore for mannetale ha Blakkjen silt fengje kjørkjegaren.	Had it not been for the speech of man Blakkjen would have got the church yard.]

(Blom and Bø 1973, 23, st. 36-37)

Here again is paradoxical nature, manifest in an animal that is essential to culture, but which must remain separate from it. Despite its beneficence, it remains essentially wild.

The most significant feature of the grave, however, especially with respect to how it helps define equivalent areas in the other versions of the spatial paradigm, is its confinement, its inescapability. As in the British ballads, revenants may "visit" to expose a villain, right an injustice, or console a grief (see Buchan 1986), but these returns are temporary. In "Hedeby's gjenganger," the victim's revenant exposes the circumstances of his death. A more interesting ballad, from a spatial perspective, is "Moderen under mulde" (The mother under the earth) or as it is known in Norway "Mor som gjeng att" (The mother who came back). A deceased mother, upon looking down from heaven and seeing her children abused by their step-mother, approaches the Lord for permission to return to rectify matters. The permission is granted but with very specific instructions as to where she may and may not go:

Du må deg på jorderik gå når du kjem atte te hanen galer to	[You may go to the earthly realm If you come back as the cock crows two
--	--

Gakk ikkje i åker å ikkje på eng inkje må du fygge din herre te sengs	Go not in fields and not to meadow Nor may you follow your husband to bed
Gakk ikke i åker å ikkje på jor inkje må du fygge din herre te bors	Go not in fields and not on ground Nor may you follow your husband to table
Signalill kom i stetti Josbor der ho motte	Signalill [the mother] came to the doorstep There she met Josbor [the step-mother]
Kvi vi' du her i stetti stå kvi vi' du 'kje hell i stoga gå	Why do you stand here on the doorstep Why wouldn't you rather go into the cottage
Eg vi' meg inkje i stoga gå	I will not go into the cottage]

(TSB A68; Blom and Bo 1973, 73, st. 17-21:1)

She is confined to a threshold and must avoid the places that are not simply associated with life, but which are life-giving: the fields, the bed, the table, and the *stoga* where she herself would have nurtured her family according to her own desire. Such places establish a concrete opposition to the afterlife where she is now confined and from whence she can not escape. What is significant, though, is her attempt to reach out from the area of confinement to protect her children, for it constitutes the "causality" or "agency" -- in this case an agency that is both divine and familial -- that really holds our interest in the ballad and provides the catalyst for the main narrative transformation. As already mentioned, such attempts to break free of closed space -- literal or figurative -- are especially important part of ballad dramaturgy.

Natural space, though it appears in more diverse forms than sacred space, works according to very similar principles. Its boundary areas are relatively benign and often signal a departure from or return to narrative stasis, and thus their function bears relation to Renwick's view of "roving out" in broadsides, which "...

refers to ground where everyday rules do not apply and where one is freed to participate in an unusual adventure -- probably an adventure, in fact, that is tabooed by intravillage norms" (1980, 19). As with British broadsides, the Norwegian ballads have a number of formulaic incipits that concretely invoke this movement into treacherous territory, as in the following:

Ridder Stig rider alt over ei bru	[Sir Stig rode over a bridge]
Rikebal reiser å veie lange vegin å breie	[Rikebal travelled and roamed the road long and broad]
Olav han ri seg framette mæ å	[Olav he rode forth by a river]
Kong Nikelus rei seg sø under øy	[King Nikelus rode south t-y an island]

Yet in the Norwegian tradition, even such innocuous, generalized space already appears to be feeling the pull of the otherworld, as such openings are met with primarily in ballads dealing with the supernatural. The *Riddarviser*'s (ballads of chivalry) conventional openings more commonly feature a king issuing a call to arms from his feast table or a hero in his stall saddling his horse. One again encounters the "riding out" openings in *Kjempeviser* (hero combat ballads) that feature supernatural adversaries.

The boundary areas of nature do, however, have a broader function in the supernatural ballads, for they represent a kind of no-man's land between secure social space and the deeper wildernesses, where the supernatural begins to dominate, and the otherworld itself. As with the *kyrkjevegen*, they are intermediary spaces between two more fundamental areas, and can act as a stage in a progression

between them. In Bendik Folland's version of "Rihold og Guldborg" (TSB A-41; Blom and Bø, 1973, 32-35; cf. Child 7), once the heroine and hero have made the decision to elope, they proceed through a series of regions, each of which represents an incremental step into deeper wilderness. At first they proceed "på vejen fram," a fairly simple movement along a road, but clearly breaking free of the bride's home and out from under the protective gaze of her father and brothers. But their freedom is short lived, and the initial openness, as it were, soon leads to exposure and then to entrapment. Along the road they encounter an old man who recognizes the heroine and proceeds to her father with news of the elopement. Shortly thereafter, the bride glances back "ivi hær" (over the heath) to see her father with other riders in pursuit. The road has disappeared and we are now in an open expanse. The hero decides to stand and fight, and as is typical for the type, he slays all but one of his adversaries, who inflicts a mortal wound. Though dying, he along with the heroine proceed on horseback "gjennom so tyk ein skog" (through so thick a wood) finally arriving at his own farm, where he dies. Through the transition from road, to heath, to wood, constituting a particularly fine example of ballad montage, one gets the sense of the hero and heroine being gradually enveloped by the wilderness, and thus of a procession into realms that become increasingly beyond control. The transitions make sequential narrative sense in that they follow logically one after the other, but they are also thematically stylized, generating tensions that run parallel to the predicament of the central characters.

By revealing increasing degrees in tension in spatial transitions, this example helps to justify the gradations of natural space suggested in the model. The distinction between boundary and wilderness areas, though sometimes hazy, is perhaps clearest where the former are a part of the built environment -- roads, bridges -- or have an agricultural function -- fields, meadows. They are, as Yi-Fu Tuan would say, "place" as opposed to "space;" they are external but have been marked by human activity in some way that keeps them distinct from the randomness of true wilderness (1977, 2-4). In other instances, there appears to be little basis for drawing semantic differences between some of the areas listed. Yet as constructed in ballad narrative, there is a marked structural difference between concepts such as the "lange lie" and "lio nord" even though there is an equally clear connection in the basic signifiers. In "Harpen's Kraft" (TSB A50), the final view of the hero and heroine depicts them riding across the "lange lie," and having just escaped from *nykkjen's* captivity, they have clearly broken free of the wilderness; the heroine in "Margit og Jon i Vandelidom," on the other hand, who at the ballad's opening "gjæter på lio nor" (herds on the north hill), is equally as clearly in a place of exposure where she is seduced by an otherworld being. This particular spatial motif bears relation to "bergo nor" in a version of the ballad "Vilgår Hertugson" (TSB D50; cf. Child 8), which has a story-line similar to "Ribold og Guldborg," except here the hero and heroine escape without injury. At the same time, their flight has a duplicity about it; it leads to freedom but also to exile and isolation:

Dæ va konjen af Kanaroy rej ette mæ hondre mand Vilgor rie mot bergo nor å cismal æ han	[It was the king of Kanaroy Rode out with a hundred men Vilgor rode toward the north mountain And solitary is he
Kongjen fek inkje anna atte hel brotne salar å tome Vilgor rie mot bergo nor han flyte si rosens blomme	The king got nothing in return But a broken saddle and rein Vilgor rode toward the north mountain He fled like the rose's bloom] (Blom and Bo, 1973, 137, st. 24-25)

As these examples show there are subtle complexities to the natural landscape of the ballads that make reading it a tricky business, but there is no mistaking a comprehensive spatial logic to the genre that both separates boundary areas from true wilderness and exploits that difference to enhance dramatic effect.

The most dramatic evidence of the distinction lies in the degree to which wildernesses proper, as other researchers have pointed out (Sørensen 1965 [1959]; Syndergaard 1988; Buchan 1989c; Jacobsen and Leavy 1989, ch. 3, esp. 65-76; Maik 1989, 121), possess a general quality of liminality: they are unstable, unpredictable, and they are places where characters undergo intense trial resulting in irreversible change. Sørensen and more recently Jacobsen and Leavy have particularly stressed the ability of a trial in the wilderness, especially if it involves a confrontation with an otherworld being, to symbolize traumas faced not only in liminal places but at liminal times in the life cycle, in other words, during key rites of passage (Van Gennep 1961; Turner 1969), which returns us again to the idea of landscape as a mode, as well as a topic, of discourse. "Harpen's Kraft" (TSB A50; see Sørensen 1965 [1959], 164-165; and Syndergaard 1988) gives perhaps the clearest exposition of this pattern, and as with "Mor som gjeng att," we find a

highly conscious and conspicuous use of spatial metaphors reinforcing the main theme of the narrative. Having initially expressed fears about whether suitors will come to visit her, the heroine, Magnil, soon finds herself engaged, but she is equally as incapable of facing the prospect of being married as of not being married:

Hell ho gjekk ut hell ho gjekk inn	[Whether she went out, whether she went in
Alt sá rann dei stríe tárinn på kinn	The cruel tears ran all down her cheek]
	(Blom and Bø 1973, 49, st. 3)

The stanza reifies the bride-to-be's angst through erratic movement back-and-forth between the interior of the house and outside, and thus not only is its spatial relevance immediately apparent, but it also offers an excellent example of the classical ballad's propensi *y* to translate emotion into action. Magnil, however, has the good fortune of an attentive and observant fiancé who inquires after her distress, and she explains to him that she fears crossing Vendel's river. He promises to build a sturdy bridge and to provide an escort to see her across, but despite his efforts, the bride's horse stumbles and she is thrown headlong into the "Stríe straum" (cruel stream) where she is captured by the *nykkjen*. From this point, the ballad has close parallels with the Scots ballad "King Orfeo" (Child 19), with the hero breaking the otherworld's hold on the heroine by the playing of music, and she returns safely to land, which signifies her re-integration and the completion of the ritual process.

Such ritualistic interpretations are highly attractive: they are psychological and mythic all at once, and moreover in many cases, they work. They seduce us

with an anthropologically tidy package. There are limitations, however, to how far the model can be taken. First, the rite of passage itself appears to be less of an issue for the ballad maker than the disturbance associated with it, and so the psychological aspects come forward as the important ones. This assertion is supported by the many instances where "re-integration" simply fails to take place. Second, there are instances where, from an analyst's perspective, one experiences difficulty in deconstructing a particular ballad in terms of a possible relation to a rite of passage or, where ritual is present, but the obstruction does not appear to be caused by a moral, social, or psychological complication. The stable element one tends to find, however, is some kind of trial in a wilderness. Take the example of "Elveskud" (TSB A63; Blom and Bø, 1973, 64-71). Riding to his wedding, Olav Liljekrans encounters an elfin dance in the woods and is invited by the elf-queen to come live with them in the wood. He refuses, saying he will be true to his betrothed, and he proceeds to ride through the dance ring, whereupon the elf-queen "throws runes," that is casts a spell, which ultimately causes his death. He returns home, where his family prepares his bed for him, and when his bride arrives, he dies. The ballad concludes with the "tri lyk til molle med samma" (three bodies to the grave at once) formula. The hero's punishment cannot be explained on moral grounds, for he acts with complete propriety in all respects. Sørensen notes that some researchers have tried to suggest a prior relation between the knight and the elf-queen, thus providing a motive of jealousy, but as he also notes, there is only

vestigial support for the idea in tradition (1965 [1959]; 163).¹⁴ He himself sees the hero suffering "as a lover," and his explication is given as follows:

Hans dødelige sammenstød med dæmoner er ubegrundet, det eneste der meddeles om ham er at han står i begreb med at gifte seg . . . og ingen bør agte giftemål så ringe at han anser dette for en helt uvæsentlig detalje. Oluf befinder sig ikke i en tilfældig situation, men i den afgørende situation hvor følsomhedslivet har nået sin smukkeste udfoldelse og hvor mennesket på en gang er stærkest og svagest. Træder hr. Oluf søra en blidereætling af de gamle mytiske helte de diemoniske kræfter i møde, er det ikke som prometeisk kriger, men som elsker, of det er som elsker han rammes: på sit ømmeste punkt. Dæmoner lurer ikke på mennesket i tide og utide, de træder først frem når det står i en særlig, kritisk situation -- "forlovelsessituation." (1965 [1959], 163-164)

[His deadly encounter with the demon is unfounded; the only thing that is given about him is that he is going to be married . . . and one should not suppose marriage so insignificant as to regard this as a completely unessential detail. Oluf finds himself not in a chance situation, but in a decisive situation where emotional life has attained its fairest ripening and where humans are at once strongest and weakest. If Sir Oluf emerges as a milder descendant of the old mythic hero in the face of demonic powers, it is not as a Promethean warrior, but as a lover, and it is as a lover that he suffers: at its most sensitive point. Demons do not trap men in season and out of season, they first come forward at a particularly critical situation -- the time of betrothal.]

Sørensen's first two points can be conceded off the top: one, the narrative itself offers no motivation for the assault, and two, the wedding is important. But the reference to Olav suffering as a lover is ambiguous. Obviously, unrequited love is not the problem, for Ingerli, his bride, commits suicide after he dies. What Sørensen suggests is that love itself is the block, that the hero is unable or not

¹⁴ The evidence supporting the revenge motive comes from cross-reference to "a couple of Faeroese versions" and to a lesser known ballad, "Frillens Hævn" (TSB D239), in which the hero is stabbed by a former lover when he tells her of his engagement to another. Such reliance on secondary forms to support readings of the mainstream of tradition represents a problem area in some folkloristic interpretive approaches. To my way of thinking, it harks back to a historic-geographic style of comparativism, which, operating according to an elite aesthetic, translates obscurity to value, and the part suddenly develops a credence whereby it not only addresses the whole but in fact becomes the whole.

ready to cope with the prospect of loving or of loving only one woman. To him, love is inexplicable and, as Sørensen puts it, he “buckles under” in the face of it (1965 [1959], 168). Yet there is no moment in the ballad where such an emotional state gets reified; there is no expression, no action, no tension, no direct contrast with another character from which one could extract the idea of a psychological block. Ballad narratives may be gapped and compressed, but they are generally quite clear in their presentation of character relationships and of the motivation(s) guiding the central character. If one thinks of British ballad heroes that might sustain the reading Sørensen gives here -- Lord Randal (Child 12) for example, who hasn't the wherewithal to do much of anything without his mother's prompting, or Lord Thomas (Child 73) who also lacks the maturity to make basic decisions about love -- one recognizes that their deficiencies are plainly exposed through narrative interaction or dialogue. Olav, by contrast, seems perfectly at ease with those around him. When he arrives home, all members of his family -- mother, father, and brother -- participate equally and appropriately in helping him to bed. He even expresses credulity as to why he has been stricken:

Eg hev 'kje gjort Ingerli større harm	[I have not done Ingerli greater harm
hel ei gång eg låg på hennars arm.	Than one time I lay in her arm
 Eg hev 'kje gjort Ingerli større kvie	 I have not caused Ingerli greater sorrow
hel ei gång eg låg på hennars arm.	Than one time I lay by her side.]
	(st. 22-23)

Needless to say, it would be an overly puritanical reading that found the source of his downfall in these lines. Sørensen, to some degree, is pushed toward his reading of “Elveskud” by his desire to dispense with the metaphysical notion of “fate.” Yet

by looking at the spatial moorings of the ballad world, we can begin to give a more empirical grounding to the concept of fate by recognizing its embodiment in a duplicitous nature that surrounds the ballad culture. What appears to happen to Olav Liljekrans is that despite his loyalty and his integrity, in the days just prior to his marriage when he is at the height of youth, he becomes the victim of that part of nature, of the wilderness, that is willfully destructive.

Equally tragic is the fate of the heroine in "Margit og Jon i Vandelidom" (TSB A57). From the opening line -- "Margit gjæter i lio nor" -- we know two things: that the heroine is an adolescent and that she is situated in an exposed wilderness. She gives in to the seduction of *seter* freedom and bears two children to an otherworld father, though her penalty, every bit as severe as Olav's, is imposed by culture rather than nature. By some means or other -- the ballad is not clear on this point -- the infants die and are buried by the heroine's mortal fiancé. The narrative's closing image, one of the most chilling in all of balladry, speaks to the uncertain fate of the principals:

Vene va no hesten den
en sjave Targjei rei
endå venare va' no den
'ea akta sinne møy.

[Fair now was the horse
that Targjei himself rode
still fairer now was the one
he prepared for his maid

De va no han unge Targjei
han reiste mæ sorg å sut
lause løype brurehesten
etter svoddo ut.

It was now young Targjei
he travelled with sorrow and care
loose ran the bride's horse
that after followed out.]

(Blom and Bø, 1973, 63, st. 32-33)

The bride has simply ceased to exist. Nowhere in balladry is a character so tragically caught between the wiles of nature and the condemnation of culture. And

one should perhaps note that the echo of the wilderness rings throughout the ballad in its chorus¹⁵: “Die va mi å alli di som jalar upponde lio” (It was me and never you that wailed up on the hill), a reminder that if women found a certain freedom and independence on the *seters*, it was also a place of isolation, exposure, and toil.

A good argument could be put forward that in both “Elveskud” and “Margit og Jon i Vandelidom” marriage as a rite of passage is a motif rather than an essential theme. That is, the ballads use an impending marriage as backdrop for their more pressing concern, which in both cases is arguably the dissonance of nature, which in the latter ballad reflects a parallel concern for the dissonance of human nature. Conversely, the *integrity* of human nature may be found at the heart of one last ballad involving a trial in the wilderness. In TSB A058, “Jomfru narret dvergen” (“Maiden tricks dwarf”) the mountain king arrives at a man’s farm and demands his daughter for a bride. The farmer explains that his daughter is too young, but the troll persists, threatening to send fire to ravage the farm if he does not have his way. Somewhat surprisingly, the farmer complies, and after a lengthy and involved preparation, the heroine rides off with the troll. When they reach the mountain, the troll dismounts, at which point the heroine bolts with the horse and rides home to her father. Looking at this ballad in relation to *seter* life, what appears to be an extraordinary and unthinkable event, a father sending his daughter

¹⁵ The chorus is considered a much more integral component in Scandinavian ballads than in the British tradition, and they commonly exhibit a fairly close thematic connection with the narrative. Landstad states that in the *hygge* of Valdres choruses were called *veistev* (roughly “way lyric”) because they “show the way” (1968 [1853], 449n; see also Liestøl and Moe, 1920-1924, I, 13 and Bo 1972, 20).

off to the mountain under threat, becomes a very ordinary circumstance in the life of the community. That it has a felicitous end is not a matter of cheap comedy or a sign that tradition at some stage has replaced or modified what was originally a tragic ending (Landstad 1968 [1853], 441), but rather a reassurance that the system, in spite of its privations, works. A related ballad, "Hake og Bergemannen" (TSB A60), begins as well with a father giving his daughter to a troll under threat of death. In this case, the rescue is effected by the heroine's brother, who comes to the mountain and kills the troll. As they ride toward home the girl begins to cry, and when asked why she replies that it is for all the gold she saw, which perhaps has implications for the mountain's economic importance.

These ballads lead us conveniently into the last area of natural space, which is the otherworld itself, and like the grave it is a place of confinement, a place where one loses freedom of action and movement and where one has to fight for control. In some cases, the otherworld is a direct analog of the grave: when the cruel stepmother gets packed off to "*trollebotten*" (cave of the trolls) at the close of "Jomfruva Ingebjørg" (TSB A16), her fate is no different from the characters who get buried under a stone. But the otherworld is not always as impenetrable as one might expect. It is a mirror image of the domestic world: the mountain king has a farm, lives in a *stoga* flanked by lofts, and eats and entertains at table much like anyone else. The poetic function of the otherworld, in general terms, appears to be as a place of *ongoing* separation and isolation from the quotidian world. It marks adverse states of affairs that have a quality of permanence about them or transitions

whose consequences will be permanent. Its combined qualities of difference -- it is after all the "Other" world -- and continuity, make it an ideal vehicle for presenting situations in which a character's essential way of thinking and behaving is challenged and which stress the need for a modification of those patterns, however painful the process might be.

Given that the characters who are most frequently trapped in the otherworld are women -- "Herr Bøsmø i elvehjem" (TSB A49) is the only male captive in the sample, and he is captured by a mermaid -- and given what we have seen of *seter* life as predominantly female culture, one might be drawn conveniently to the notion of "women married to the mountain," and extend the readings from there.

Unfortunately, it is not that simple. While these ballads can be seen to draw meaning from certain aspects of *seter* experience, one will find it difficult to treat them as encapsulated expressions of *seter* life. They help support the earlier assertion that the relationship of the local landscape and the ballad world should be understood as a "parallelism of essence," rather than as a direct equation, for in the latter case, landscape as a trope ceases to act as metaphor, and instead becomes euphemism; there is a danger of the whole process sinking into allegory, with the vital sliding rapidly toward the ridiculous once a monolithic reading is forced to account for all narratives. One can find a discursive correspondence in the issues broached in the otherworld ballads and those noted in the survey of *seters*, but there are not sufficient grounds to suggest that "*berge*" life equals *seter* life. Thus, where spatial dynamics provided a more viable reading of "Elveskud" than did Sørensen's

psychological interpretation, in this case I feel his approach has much to offer, and for much the same reasons, which is that the narratives themselves point us in that direction.

We can follow through by looking at the otherworld ballad "Jomfruen og Dvægekongen" (TSB A54; The maid and the dwarf king), which Landstad regards as one of the most popular songs in Telemark tradition; he himself prints four separate variants (1968 [1853], 431-451). The ballad opens with Liti Kjersti and her mother sitting at a table playing dice when the mother notices milk spattered over her daughter's shirt. Kjersti confesses that she has been seduced by the mountain king and that he had given her a number of gifts, among them a harp, which when played summons him to her. She plays the harp and the troll arrives, but upon learning of her confession, he becomes angry and carries her off to the mountain. The remainder of the ballad I will give in full, for a number of reasons: first it shows how the otherworld is naturalized in real-world terms; second, the gradual progression to the mountain gives an excellent example of a ballad's very explicit use of space to generate tension; and third, the segment shows some narrative details that raise questions about the possible significance(s) of this ballad:

Dei rei gjennom så myrk ein skog
liti Kjersti gret å bergekungen kvo.

[They rode through so dark a wood
Little Kjersti wept and the mountain king sang

Dei rei gjennom så myrkt eitt hav
dei såg natta å ingen dag.

They rode through so dark a sea
they saw night and no day

Då dei kom seg riand i går
bergekungens dynni va' slegne i lås.

They came riding into the farm
the mountain king's door was slung in the lock

Han klappa på dynni mæ fingane fin
Statt upp min kjær datter å slepp meg inn

He tapped on the door with fingers fine
get up my dear daughter and let me in

Statt upp min kjær datter å slepp meg inn no flyt eg heim kjær moderen din.	Get up my dear daughter and let me in I have brought home your dear mother
Hass dotter ha på seg stakkjen blå så skreier ho dei lokin ifrå	His daughter put on a blue shirt then she drew back the lock
Liit Kjersti ho kom seg i stoga inn der sat hennes sjau døttanne adde i ein ring	Little Kjersti came into the cottage there sat her seven daughters all in a ring
Hass dotter ho klappa på høyendi blå sit her kjær modir å kvil derpå.	Her daughter she tapped on the blue cushion sit here dear and rest thereon
Hori æ du fodd å hori æ du bori å hori æ dinne jomfruklæer skorne.	Where were you born and where were you raised and where were your maiden's clothes cut
I Beiarlunden æ eg fodd i Beiarlunden æ eg bori i Beiarlunden æ mine jomfruklæer skorne.	In Beiarlunden I was born, in Beiarlunden I was raised In Beiarlunden were my maiden's clothes cut
Hør du min datter hot jeg siger dig du tappar meg i ei konne mat vin.	Listen my daughter what I say to you Draw me a pot of wine
Du tappar mjøen i sylvehorn Du legge dern i tri ville korn.	Draw mead in a silver horn Put therein three wild corns
Den fyste drykken ho derav drakk då ha' ho Beiarlunden forlatt	The first drink she drank then had she forgotten Beiarlunden
Den are drykken ho derav drakk då ha' ho bergje i hikarta satt.	The second drink she drank then had the mountain set in her heart
Den tree drykken ho derav drakk då gloynde ho kven hænar ha' skapt.	The third drink she drank then she forgot who had made her.]

(TSB A54; Blom and Bø 1973, 55-56, st. 21-35)

A logical interpretation of this narrative in light of *seter* life would probably read it as a moral tragedy, along the same lines as “Margit og Jon i Vandelidom”: a mountain seduction resulting in banishment. Yet that reading does not really work here, because among other things the ballad does not appear to be a tragedy in a conventional sense. Landstad notes

that among his informants the emotional centre of the ballad lay in the mother's return to her children, regardless of its consequences, and one of his versions even presents a stanza describing the children dancing around the heroine when she arrives, about which he states:

Disse Vers, der beskrive Smaabørnes Glæde og festlige Modtagelse af den længe savnede Moder, som man maa tænke sig at komme baade glad og bedrøvet, ere særdeles skjønne, og gjorde et synlig Indtryk paa Enhver i den lille Kreds, for hvilken [Sangeren] med en vakker veemodig Melodi foredrog dette Kvæde. (1968 [1853], 449)

[This stanza, which describes the children's happiness and lively reception of the long missed mother, who one imagines becomes both glad and overwhelmed, is especially pretty, and made a noticeable impression on everyone in the small circle, for whom [the singer], with a beautiful, wistful melody, performed this song.]

For the singers themselves there is a logic to the return that is anything but tragic; Kjersti is going where she belongs, which is with her children. There is nonetheless a severity in the logic, a harsh reality that necessitates a "drink-of-forgetfulness" in order to ensure that she remains in her rightful place. These are precisely the threads that Sørensen picks up in his interpretation. In his view, the absence of a consecrated marriage is not necessarily a fact, so much as an abstraction of Kjersti's inability to break free of maternal attachments, and he adds that an essential repulsion in the idea of the otherworld may be suggestive of an undesired match. He states:

Måske er det just disse stærke følelser for hjemmet der ikke har tilladt hende at give sig helt hen til dværgen, men kun halvt. En kærlighed der ikke har viljens velsignelse er netop demonisk. Det nye som forstyrrer et menneskes hidtidige følelsestilstand (dets livsfotolkning), kan snart vurdres som godt fordi det bringer befrielse, snart som ondt fordi det vender sig tilintetgørende mod det gode gamle, og således kan elskeren fremtræde både som befrier og som tilintetgører. (1965 [1959], 170)

Perhaps it is just this strong feeling for home which has not allowed her to give herself completely to the troll, but only partly. A love that does not have desire's blessing is simply demonic. The newness that disturbs someone's accustomed emotional state (their sense of life), can at once be considered good because it brings liberation, and at the same time evil because it wreaks its devastation on the good in the old, and thus lovers can step forward as both liberators and as destroyers.

And there may be more to Kjersti's reticence than merely equivocal emotions, for when the mountain king learns that their relationship has been exposed, he becomes abusive:

Han slo ti hena på hvide kinn	[He struck her on the white chin
så bløi de skvatt på skarlaksjinn	so blood spattered on her rosy skin]
	(Blom and Bo, 1973, 55)

The dominant tensions influencing the heroine are triangular: a secure place that is now unattainable, an apparently loveless relationship, and the bonds and duties of motherhood that force her to remain in the latter. There is, however, no leveller for these tensions, and in the end she simply loses her sense of self.

We find the same structure underlying the ballad "Agnete og Havmanden" (TSB A47), which opens with the heroine following the troll to the mountain, where she stays nine years and bears seven children. One day while rocking the cradle she hears church bells ringing, and she asks the troll for permission to visit her family, which he grants on certain conditions. They are of course broken and he goes to bring her back. The ballad concludes with one of her children chiding her for her absence: "Vor lille broder han er nu så tørst / fordi vi ventet deg, vor moder, i høst" (contr. by Bugge to *DgF* III, 818, st. 24; Our little brother he is so thirsty / Because we waited for you, mother, this autumn). Bugge notes that other

Telemark versions conclude with the drink-of-forgetfulness motif. The significance of the supernatural in these ballads, as Sørensen points out, is that it both seduces and repels, a trait rendered explicitly in the description of the troll entering the church in TSB A47:

Bergemannen ind gjennem kirkdøren tren [The troll stepped in through the church door
alle små billeder de vendte sig omkring All the little pictures turned themselves around.

Hans hår det var som pureste guld His hair was of the purest gold
his øine de vare så frydfuld His eyes they were so frightful.]
(contributed by Bugge to *DgF* III, 818, st. 16-17)

The otherworld being possesses the necessary characteristics for showing, in one basic concept, the positive and the negative facets of love relationships, and thus an essential trait of characters married to supernatural husbands is that they are never at ease, they are driven by an inner turmoil, and they seek release. It therefore stands to reason that the essence of the otherworld, as fictional space, is its ability to confine, to prevent release, and to reveal turmoil as an ongoing and inevitable part of existence.

Sørensen's reading, however, being essentially psychological, is also universal, and there are ethnographic factors to consider that enrich the meaning of these ballads, even if they cannot be put forward as core meaning. In Telemark, as in many other regions dependent on primary resource economies, the division of labour and labour skills was such that after marriage brides more commonly went to live in their husband's communities, and so the idea of women being forced to relocate and acculturate in "strange and alien" surroundings and at the same time longing for the familiar, should be regarded as bearing on the otherworld ballads

(cf. Kodish 1983, 139-140). In the *seter* tradition, the community also has an institutionalised period of family separation, which inevitably has a contributing influence on both the popularity and understanding of this ballad and its variants. As in the song, the *budeia* (cattle herders) and *seterkjerringa* (*seter* women), some of whom, Reinton states, were women in their thirties and forties (1976, 71-72), were dislocated from family life, albeit in this case, from their married life, and thus a "tension between two homes" was a motif common to both the ballad and the *seter* tradition. Moreover, like the otherworld itself, the *seter* was a place of many contradictions: seductive and liberating from one perspective, but also isolated, hostile, and confined from another. In this light, it might be possible to regard the drink-of-forgetfulness not as a sign of absolute submission, but as a metaphor for self-sacrifice. The motif of the children has relevance as well, though in context their actual situation could vary considerably. Often, children were taken to the *seters* with their mother, and so in real life, as in the ballad, they would constitute one of her obligations on the mountain. In poorer districts, however, children were hired out as *gjeter* to other farmers (Reinton 1976, 106-109), in which case, the motif of separation still applies, although indirectly. We might allow that while a direct correspondence between the fictional and the real worlds tends to be weak at the narrative level, it remains evident that the ballad fictionalizes desire and obligation in a way that has profound relevance to familial dislocations that occurred as a direct result of *seter* use.

There is one last otherworld ballad that warrants mentioning, “Havfruens tærne” (TSB A51; the mermaid’s servant), which involves a brother who rescues his sister from captivity by a mermaid. The significant part of the ballad, however, appears to be a protracted homecoming, in which the heroine is first represented to her parents as a serving girl, and questions about her skills appear to offer evidence of tension between the heroine and her father:

Kan du veva og kan du baka	[Can you weave and can you bake
hell' kan du skinni fer kongin maka?	Or can you prepare a hide for the king?
Eg kan veva og eg kan baka,	I can weave and I can bake
men aller skinni fer kongin maka.	But never prepare a hide for the king.]
(Landstad 1968 [1853], 500-501, st. 47-48.)	

She produces a weaving of immaculate artistry for her mother, and as she presents it to her, she reveals herself to be her missing daughter. Stripping the narrative down to a base level, we have the following elements: a brother mediating his sister’s release from a long captivity, an implied Oedipal tension which may have precipitated the absence, and a task involving intense, creative labour, finally resulting in reintegration into the family. It is a fine representation of Lüthi’s principle of “*familiarismus*,” which holds that ballad narratives emphasize domestic tensions played out within the family itself, as opposed to the *Märchen*, which seeks resolution of domestic turmoil in an exterior setting (Lüthi 1970, 1976). It is also consistent with the reading of the otherworld as a place of ongoing, simmering turmoil.

Thus, in a broad sense, the natural and supernatural realms of the ballad world reveal an attempt within tradition to understand human nature through correspondence with nature in terms of its caprice, seductiveness, relentlessness, disruption, and hostility. More specifically, it is possible to read the wilderness as a kind of temporary and sudden assault on the senses or the body, giving rise to experiences that are either survived and left behind, or which prove insurmountable and end in fatality. The otherworld, conversely, speaks to more long term disruptions, both those that are inevitable and which, though unpleasant, must be endured, and those that can be overcome but which require gestures of solace and periods of healing (cf. Buchan 1986 [1989]).

Finally, we come to domestic space, which despite the limited number of actual places, provides the setting for a tremendous amount of ballad action -- how could one expect it to be otherwise in a genre whose central concern is the family? Of the boundary areas leading into domestic space, there is little to be said that has not already been said about the corresponding areas in the sacred and natural realms. One of the most common formulas in Scandinavian balladry describes a character who "kom seg riands i gård" (comes riding into the farm); we have seen examples of it already. As with entries into other boundary areas, it functions as a lead-in to significant action, and it is not normally used simply to announce a return. In other words, it introduces scenes and virtually never closes them. In some ways, it is the structural pairing for riding "fremmede mæ øy," in that it signals the breaching of a threshold which precipitates action. Also, as with the

kyrkjeveg and the *kyrkje*, boundary areas are sometimes juxtaposed to good effect with interior space. The most notable examples are found in connection with magical horses, which insist on having the very finest household amenities in their stall:

Han vil ikje drikke a bronni
utas guldringen lå på bonni.

[He will not drink at the well
unless gold rings lie at the bottom.

Han vil ikje æta godt hoi
utas der sto kringom både fruer
å møt.

He will not eat good hay
Unless attended by both ladies and maids.]

The poetic function of the horse's opulent demands parallels that of the sacred burial motif also found in these ballads, highlighting the same cultural function of acknowledging the indispensable role of the animals in the life of the farm. As with the "riandes i går" formula, we find that the boundary areas fulfil straightforward operations found elsewhere in the model.

Interior spaces, however, are another matter. Taken at face value, the *stoga* appears to have a rather minimal function in the ballads, normally appearing as generalized interior space within which relatively little transpires. In a few instances, a general domestic setting is implied simply by a contiguity of characters whose relationship suggests such a setting: a hero goes to see his mother or comes "before the king," who, in this sub-genre at least, is primarily the head of a family and incidentally a head of state. For the most part, the domestic interior is a secure space, but often deceptively so. The most prevalent actions happen "*til bords*" (at table), though the precise nature of the action tends to be important, particularly with respect to conversation. Liti Kjersti and her mother play games over a table,

which is a conventional domestic scene of mother and child, but as already noted, the scene is an illusion, a fantasy of the heroine, who has in fact moved well beyond the frame of maternal security. "Havfruens Spådom" (the merwoman's prediction), opens with the king and queen talking jokingly over a table, with the former kidding his wife for her concern over a wise-woman's prediction. The light atmosphere dissipates when the woman is summoned and predicts the king's death. A key feature of the *stoga* and of interior space generally is that it tends to be under the control of a specific character, who thereby exerts an influence over the actions of others who share the space. Parent-child relationships constitute the most prevalent form of this structure, and the frequency with which one encounters the appositions hero/mother and heroine/father, underscores the extent to which Oedipal tensions are played out in ballad narratives. In ballads of love relationships, moving out from under such control is, understandably, a primary concern of the central characters, and thus when lovers talk over a table it is often *i löyndom* (in secret).

In a number of cases, the degree of control is such that it represents more than a simple problem of moving out from under the parental roof, and one detects barriers and obstacles beyond the ordinary. Interestingly, in more than a few instances the primary obstacle is not the parents but the hero or heroine. In "Stig Liten" (TSB A4), the hero rides over a bridge, a typical incipit placing the hero in a boundary region and throwing the narrative into an essential state of disequilibrium. He "throws runes" at Liti Kjersti, trying to seduce her, but he

"misses" and the spell falls on the king's daughter Inger liti. Panicked, he seeks advice from his mother, who responds:

Å hoyre du sonen min fager å fin du lukker atte døren skrei lokunne te.	[Oh listen my son, fair and fine Close your door and push the lock to
Og bæte rå eg selvare kann eg salar ut min gangar so ri eg av land.	Better advice I can give myself I'll saddle my horse and ride from the land.
Å du mone rie um du vi væri omkring alt stander Inger liten for sengen din.	You may ride, if you want, the world around Little Inger still stands before your bed.] (Blom and Bø, 1973, 11, st. 4-6)

The mother's advice, which the hero finally heeds, is two-sided. She provides support at a time of crisis, yet she does not let him give in to a rash solution that would undoubtedly fail. As such, her advice, while representing an appropriate attitude of protection and nurturing, also forces the hero into a situation where he must confront, rather than evade, the realization that her care is a shell from which he must break free. This scene establishes the mother's control over the son, and at the same time it represents that control as a condition he will ultimately have to move beyond. So far from exerting her influence in an unreasonable manner, she promotes rather than opposes the union. It is the son who hesitates, and the ballad signals his reticence by his inward retreat, farther into interior space, where the primary confrontation over the love interest will unfold.

This deep interior space can be profitably thought of in terms of a "mantle," drawing reference from both denotative and connotative meanings of the word. In its geo-physical sense, the mantle is at once an interior area but one that envelopes the core; as applied to the ballads, one can think of the mantle as an interior space

that envelopes the "core" character, as it were, restricting their movement to other areas, situations, and conditions. Mantle also means "cloak," and thus it covers and protects, but it also conceals, as when one does something "under the mantle of night," ultimately something that one fears to do publicly or openly. The spaces defined by this concept -- primarily the *høgeloft* and *bur* -- constitute a portion of domestic space that corresponds to the grave in the sacred realm and the otherworld in the natural realm: it is a place of confinement and seclusion where one must struggle to break free.

Because emerging from this space is not only a natural but a crucial part of human experience, it is not surprising that the threshold of the mantle becomes one of the most significant places in all of balladry, and when focussing on this location, ballad montage, the chop and change of individual images, is remarkably tight. The next scene in "Stig liten," a formulaic one in Scandinavian balladry, wonderfully portrays the heroine tapping at the door, trying to draw out the recalcitrant hero. Note that in Norwegian there is a word play operating between "lukke," to close, and "lokke," to seduce:

Å Inger litt klappa på dynni mæ finganne små stand upp ridder Stig skrei lokunn' ifrå.]Inger rapped on the door with fingers small get up Sir Stig and push the lock back.
Slett ingjen heve eg stevnare lagt slett ingjen lukkar eg inn um natt	I have no appointments made None do I let in at night.
Inger litt mæ dei finganne små ho skreidde dei lokunn' både te å ifrå	Little Inger with the fingers small she pushed the lock both to and fro.
Inger litt sette seg på sengjestokk å leika mæ ridder Stigs gule lokk.	Little Inger sat at the bed-head and played with Sir Stig's golden locks.

Á Inger liti lae seg í sengi ne
men ridder Stig han snudde veggjen te.

Oh little Inger lay down on the bed
but Sir Stig turned toward the wall.

Ho klappa ridder Stig på kinni så ro
ridder Stig låg som han va dø.

She patted Sir Stig on the cheek so red
Sir Stig lay like he was dead.]
(Blom and Bø 1973, 11-12, st. 8-13)

The next morning Sir Stig hurries to the king to complain about his daughter's behaviour, and the king is so impressed with him for not taking advantage of the situation that he gives him his daughter in marriage. Despite the lightness of its tone, the ballad does give voice to the pall that hangs over Stig at this particular juncture in his life, especially in the scene where the bride-to-be at first stands at the threshold, then enters in more completely, and finally wins his heart. We find a pointed reference to the threshold of the "mantle" again in "Jomfru narrer dværgen" (TSB A58). After the farmer reluctantly consents to give his daughter to the troll, he goes to the *hur* to get her, though in keeping with the narrative context, he is more brusque in his approach:

Han bankad på dynni með hnókunne smá
statt up liti Kersti og klæde deg pá!

[He banged on the door with knuckles small
get up little Kersti and clothe yourself!]
(Landstad 1968 [1853], 438, st. 11)

One will recall that in this ballad, the heroine is thought to be much too young to marry, and therefore the demand that she go with the mountain king constitutes a premature departure from her protective space, a fact acknowledged both by her father -- "Liti Kersti hon er sá liti of ung / hon kan inki bera brúrkrona sá tung" (sta. 6; Little Kersti is so little and young / she can not bear the weight of a bridal crown) -- and by the heroine herself:

Bergekongin klappad pá hyendi blá
kom her liti Kersti og set deg pá!

[The troll patted on the blue cushion
come here little Kersti and sit down

Ég er inki trött, ég er inki mót,	I am not tired, I am not weak.
vil ég kvíle, sá kvíler ég hjá mó'r.	If I will rest, I will rest at my mother's.]
	(st. 22-23)

When she escapes from the troll, it is totally appropriate for her to return to this protective, maternal situation; that is, it is still fitting for her to be under the control of her parents.

There are over ten ballads in the sample that appear to consciously employ the mantle as a place where characters are restricted and under the direct control of another character, usually a parent (see appendix I) -- in two cases, a heroine is quite literally a captive, and in both cases she is rescued by a magical horse (TSB A25 and TSB A26). Unlike the otherworld, however, where characters either conform to the constraints imposed by "captivity" or can break free of them only with assistance and arduous struggle, the bonds of the mantle are more easily broken. It is a place from which one should emerge in the normal progression to adulthood, and hence the importance of the threshold: half the ballads in question specifically isolate a fringe area, usually the door to the *loft* / *bur* or the *hogeloftssvala*, the corridor leading along the outside of the upper story of the loft. It is worth noting that the thresholds to equivalent areas also occupy a prominent position in British tradition, whose youthful characters, when about to enter the world of romance and courtship, are frequently depicted standing in bower doors or sitting in bower windows (see for example, Child 41 A & B; Child 63B; Child 104A, and others). Andersen's discussion of the supra-narrative function of the formulas "Sewing her silken seam" and "Kaiming her yellow hair," is also of

interest here in that the locus of these actions is invariably a bower, and often a threshold -- a door or window -- is specifically pinpointed (1985, 108-116). In his reading, these actions are expressions of desire, a theme that accords well with the present reading of the mantle as a place of restraint, a place of subordination to another character, but a place from which the character is about to break free. Clearly, it represents yet another space that has very strong psychological overtones.

In her survey of ballad *deixis*, Natascha Würzbach found that literal reference to space, as a basic index of narrative orientation -- along with character and time - offers few insights into the ballad world. She writes:

Explizite Angaben zur räumlichen Orientierung in Landschaft und Baulichkeiten sind äußerst knapp; sie geben einen repräsentativen Bestandteil oder eine pauschale Benennung des Handlungsortes. . . . Die quantitative Verteilung expliziter Angaben ist gering; einzelne Situationen und ganze Phasen eines Handlungsverlaufs bleiben oft ohne jede explizite raum-zeitliche Orientierung. Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Figuren findet gewissermaßen auf nahezu oder gänzlich leerer Bühne statt. . . . (1985, 52)

[Explicit details about spatial orientation in the landscape and in buildings are extremely terse; they give a representative component or a generalized naming of places of action. . . . The quantitative distribution of details is small; single situations and entire phases of a plot often remain without any explicit time-space orientation. The discussion between characters occurs likewise on an almost or completely empty stage. . . .]

But if there is a poverty of description or concrete exposition for the various spaces of the ballad world, they may still be seen to have a broad array of paradigmatic links, and their various strands of associations, both those that are immanent to the genre and those that draw reference from without, merge and interact in relation to character movement and motivation. Through their individual and collective effects,

they demonstrate how the genre fuses with its cultural surroundings, establishing itself as part of a complex and fluid discourse about the environment, about social relations, and about human behaviour and psychology, each of which becomes salient to varying degrees according to the push and pull of the narrative. One of the strictly aesthetic implications of this is that we are no longer dealing with straightforward laws of contrast, with simple issues of black and white. We are now talking about hues and shades and echoes and intonations; all the things that ballads are supposed to lack.

Many of these details come to life by regarding the classical ballad as part of an "intrinsic" culture, which looks to its immediate field of experience for the interpretive models it needs to engage and comprehend the fictive universe. Earlier, though, we noted that classical ballads in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries belonged to cultures that were making the transition from oral to literate and were increasingly coming under the influence of external forces and ideas. Even in the supernatural ballads, which one might expect to fit squarely within the older system of understanding, one finds expressions of tension between the rural enclave and the modern world. In "Lindorm-bruri," the heroine is seduced by a serpent, who, once they have slept together, is re-transformed into a prince, and they celebrate their wedding in "Engelands by" (England's city; TSB A29, Liestøl and Moe, 1920-1924, III, 40-41). This is a rare instance of an unequivocally happy ending that leads a character outside her community. A more explicit example of the "curious mixture" that Jørund Telnes found creeping into Telemark society in

the middle of the last century can be noted in "Kongssonen av Norigsland" (TSB A33; Liestøl and Moe, 1920-1924, I, 107-108), which like "Rammen ber bod" (Raven carries message; TSB A18) and its British analog "The Gay Goshawk" (Child 96), involves a bird acting as a go-between for two lovers. In this case, it is the prince of Norway courting an English princess, who is agreeable but states that if she were to come to Norway she would impose a heavy tax on the farmers: when the bird returns to the prince, it lies and tells him the princess is not interested.

It is unnecessary to describe such examples as "incidental," for they are indeed not supplementary to the tradition, and as the nineteenth century progressed, this type of discourse became increasingly relevant in the life of the community. Nonetheless, it is also fair to say that the landscape that characterizes the Telemark supernatural ballads is that of the community itself, and the regions that become salient in narrative radiate along three axes -- sacred, natural, and domestic -- each of them revealing a consistent structure of boundary, internal, and confined areas. In the foregoing analyses, we have seen how these spaces combine and re-combine to generate different kinds of tensions and give voice to different kinds of concerns that arise seasonally and in the course of life itself. Ballad narratives frequently feature movement between cultural realms -- homes, farms -- and natural realms such as hillsides, strands, roads, the deeper wildernesses of woods, the north mountain, "rosens lund," and into the otherworlds beyond. Such sets force central characters to confront their attitudes and their limitations; they are places of

challenge and uncertainty. In the following chapter, we shall turn our attention from issues of landscape and explore those relevant to a dialogue between nature and culture as represented in balladry's use of natural motifs as poetic symbols. After briefly surveying some Norwegian examples, we shall devote the rest of the chapter to examples from British balladry.

First, having seen how deeply the ballads engage in a discourse about the relationship between humans and the natural and supernatural forces that surround them, it might be fitting to close this chapter by briefly examining a ballad that shows that relationship to be one of mutual benefit and even neighbourly aggravation. In "Haugbonden" (The hill farmer; TSB A73), a ballad unique to Norway, a farmer wanders up into "*rosens lund*" on Christmas eve to pay his respects to *Haugbonden*, a troll who lives off the same fields and pastures as the farmer himself. When they meet, the *Haugbonden* complains that on the previous Christmas the farmer's men had abused him, beating him on the head with the beer mugs, and he adds that had it not been for the farmer there would have been trouble. By way of response, the farmer mentions that he had lent a ship to the troll nine years earlier and had yet to see rent. Obliging, the troll instructs him to go the stern of the vessel where he will find nine chests, a pot of silver containing nine men's loot, a gold mug from which fifteen men can drink their fill, a blue muff sewn with silver, a red cape sewn with gold, and a silk shift decked with wreathes and lilies. Such reciprocity with nature -- at times turbulent and agonistic, at times benevolent -- underlies the essential paradox that animates the ballad world

as it shifts back and forth between cultural, natural, and supernatural realms. One might find it interesting at this point to refer back to the Christmas wall-hangings in the last chapter, and particularly to multi-frame painting (figure 1). Each of the small panels features a deliverance in the wilderness or, in one case, boundary area: Abraham and Isaac on the mountain; Jonah under the sheltering vine outside Ninevah; Hagar and Ishmael being guided to a well by an angel; the Nativity in the manger; and another angel assisting Elijah in the desert. These wilderness vignettes, each of them touched by the sacred, surround the larger, dominating scene of the wedding at Cana, which brings one into a social centre at its fullest moment. Within the whole there is a harmony of nature and culture, and a unity of beneficence, good-fortune, and thanksgiving.

Chapter Six

Natural Symbols as Ballad Metaphors

Solheim's exploration of the Norwegian *seter* tradition reveals three main strands in the agrarian culture's conceptualization of its natural environment. The first consists of the relatively static physical properties of the landscape; the second includes wildlife, whose activities and behaviours are commonly viewed in terms of how they both interact with and appose humans; and the third is the semi-natural, semi-spiritual otherworld, which both parallels and apposes the human world, and can thus be seen as a idealized extension of nature itself. It is the second strand that we shall be concerned with in the present chapter, and as before the main question is, what is salient? What aspects of real and fictive nature stand out as essential?

In the sub-genre of Norwegian ballads that we have been examining, there is a group of ten ballads in which (nominally) wild animals or plants take on a visible roles in the narrative, though only one narrative presents us with an animal in a completely natural form without any fictive enhancements at all. Its Danish title, "Varulven" (TSB A20; the were-wolf), suggests a supernatural villain, but in the only published Norwegian version there is little to indicate anything beyond the purely natural. The narrative runs as follows: on her way to a root cellar, a woman

is accosted by two wolves and she climbs a tree to escape. Her cries for help are heard by the hero in his *bur*, and though he calls for his horse, when he reaches the scene, he “såg 'kje barre bló á bleike kinn” (contributed by Bugge to *DgF* III, 828; saw nothing only blood and a white cheek). Given the community attitudes toward wolves noted in the last chapter, it is not surprising that this animal can sustain narrative significance all on its own. We do not require any motivation other than the wolves’ instinct to kill, and despite the ballad’s brevity and straightforwardness, one might conjecture that it parallels “Olav Liljekrans” through its depiction of nature in its most brutal form. Indeed, in half the ballads in this set, predation is a conspicuous theme.

One way of approaching this particular sub-group of ballads is to distinguish between motifs that personify or humanize nature and those that naturalize humans, which somewhat interestingly produces two groups: one corresponding to Buchan’s marvellous creature “mini-genre” (1990) and another to his witch category (1986 [1989]), in which transformation is the central narrative act. Both groups play with the fine line that separates nature and humanity, and at the same time, each group in its own way presents nature as both beneficial and hostile.

There are five ballads in the first group: “Synd og bod” (TSB A13; sin and message); “Ramnen ber bod” (TSB A18; raven carries message); “Blak og ravn hin brune” (TSB A26; horse and raven rescue bride); “Rådengård og ørnen” (TSB A32; Rådengård and the eagle); and “Kongssonen av Norigsland” (TSB A33). In each case, as in the marvellous creature ballads, the pseudo-natural character is a talking

bird, and all but the fourth intercede productively, or at least with good intent, in human affairs. In the first ballad, a bird comes to a maiden in her *bur* and she asks it why people do not sleep at night, to which it replies that the answer would cause her both sorrow and care. She persists, and it foretells that she will have nine children by her youngest brother, a fate that gradually unfolds through the remainder of the narrative. TSB A18 and A33, as noted in the last chapter, both feature birds acting as go-betweens; in the first it secures the relationship, while in the latter it prevents a potentially disastrous union. In TSB A26, a raven flies to the king with a message that his daughter has been imprisoned by her husband, whereupon the king dispatches a magical horse to rescue her. In each of these examples, as in the British sub-group, the birds act as informers. But there the correspondence between the two traditions ends. Buchan's talerole schema for the marvellous creature ballads reveals in each instance an amatory relationship that is under threat, or that has been dissolved, because of a rival, and thus he associates faithlessness -- and its obverse -- as the primary cultural concern underscored by this particular talerole. In the Norwegian group, rivals are totally absent, though there are certainly problems in the relationships: one is incestuous, another abusive, and a third represents a direct threat to the welfare of the community. Even the successful courtship starts out problematically. The hero requires a go-between because something more than distance prevents him from going himself; he has a pain in his head and cannot sleep at night. By the very fact that marvellous creatures are required to support human endeavours, they also signal human failings

in love relationships. Here one can even see an interplay between the natural and the spatial motifs in this sub-group, for each of the principals who dispatches a bird messenger is situated in a mantle area from which they are unable to move. Essentially, there is a tension between the symbolic -- literal in TSB A26 -- place of confinement and the freedom of movement that the birds represent.

The last ballad in the "nature personified" group tells of a knight's encounter with an eagle in the woods. The eagle asks why he is alone, to which the knight replies that his hawks and hounds are hunting on the marshes and his servants are on the "vilde hei" (wild heath) tending the animals. Recognizing an opportunity, the eagle then asks what the cost might be -- to the knight -- if it were to visit his farm for a day or two; the implication being that with nobody around the eagle could feast on whatever it pleased. The knight thinks he would lose not much more than a small cow or a foal, but the eagle says that it would be more interested in his fosterdaughters and his betrothed. At this point, the knight realizes that action is necessary, and using runes that he learned from his mother he binds the eagle to a stone, from which it will never escape (TSB A32; Bugge 1971 [1858], 11-14). The tale is a simple one that pits culture against nature to show the superior strength of wisdom and applied knowledge. Predation stands out as a central theme, but one can take it in either a literal or metaphorical sense; that is, the ballad argues for constant vigilance against the adverse forces of nature, but more generally it draws on the cultural recognition of predation as a life-threatening force in order to represent the value of the transmission and application of

knowledge as a uniquely human means of combatting apparently insurmountable problems.

The theme of predation is paramount in ballads in which humans are "naturalized;" each of the group's four types contains a character transformed by a stepmother into a raptorial or predatory animal: "Jomfruen i fugleham" (TSB A16; maiden in the form of a bird); "Jomfruen i ulveham" (TSB A19; maiden in the form of a wolf); "Liten Lavrans" (TSB A24); and "Jomfruen i Linden" (TSB A30; maiden in the linden). From the role of the stepmother and the prevalence of female characters in the titles -- though the "bespelled" in TSB A24 is a king's son -- one will note a general correspondence to the patterns isolated by Buchan in the Scottish witch ballads (1986 [1989]). Through his analysis, he concludes that "misshapit" refers not merely to a physical transformation but more significantly to a psychological one, to which women are particularly susceptible and which stems from a breakdown in a fundamental relationship, amatory or familial. The Norwegian ballads treat the latter only. They also reveal some differences in the specifics of transformation and in the means of "unspelling," which seem to represent a further variation in the poetic function of the complex in this particular cultural context.

First, there is a tendency toward multiple transformations. In "Jomfruen i fugleham," for example, the heroine is changed initially into a hind, which the hero sets out to snare -- unsuccessfully. Shortly thereafter, the stepmother "auka dei syndine meire" (Blom and Bø 1973, 14, st. 10; stirs up the sin more) and re-

transforms the heroine into an eagle, which the hero continues to pursue. Finally, a man living in the forest tells him that the only way to catch the eagle is to offer it a piece of his own flesh; once he does that, the spell is broken and the heroine regains her human shape. The double transformations create the impression of an exacerbated problem, one that simmers and aggravates if steps are not taken to solve it. It is of course no accident that the hero fails in his attempts to take such steps by trapping her and reining her in. As Buchan found in Scottish tradition, the hero's approach must be to give of himself, a notion that gets a rather literal representation here.

Second, the Norwegian transformation episodes also employ a significant opposition between useful and harmful animals: the hind is an animal that humans exploit by hunting it, while the eagle exploits the efforts of humans by preying on young animals. Again the duplicity of nature comes forward in a powerful ballad metaphor. This device is found also in "Liten Lavrans" (TSB A24) in which the king's son is transformed first into a horse and then into a bear. His father, who discovers the stepmother's cruelty, also becomes a victim of the second transformation, and father and son are condemned to roam as wild bears "te de tæke báni otor morsmagjen / å for dekkon up af ein man" (Blom and Bø 1973, 20, st. 24; til you take a baby from a mother's womb, and raise it yourselves to be a man).

The final image -- two bears tearing a child out of a pregnant mother -- is, to say the least, a horrifying one, but nonetheless one that represents a consistent

element in this ballad complex, which is the idea of "blood for life" as a principle of unspelling. A milder form of the motif was present in "Jomfruen i fugleham," where the hero has to cut a piece out of his own flesh in order to re-transform the heroine, and it appears again in the two other ballads in the group. In "Jomfruen i ulveham" (TSB A19) which often features many transformations -- horse, sword, knife, and finally a wolf, the spell can only be broken if the wolf drinks the stepmother's blood. As we saw earlier, that opportunity arises when the stepmother tries to attend church for confession. In one version (contributed by Bugge to *DgF* III, 829-830), the spell can only be broken if the wolf gets some of her brother's blood, though through convoluted kinship that stipulation misfires when the stepmother has a son of her own, and thus the wolf can get some of her "brother's blood" by killing the brother's mother. The Norwegian versions of "Jomfruen i Linden" (contributed by Bugge to *DgF* III, 830) normally feature an initial transformation into a linden tree followed by re-transformation into a wolf, or with the heroine assuming the shape of a tree and her brother that of a wolf. Thus, the Norwegian ecotype tends to combine the two ballads. The appearance of a tree in this context may at first seem odd, but it is used to remarkable effect through a dialogue between the transformed heroine and her sister, in which the ballad explains in very naturalistic terms the conditions of her isolation from family life (in some versions the transformed heroine speaks; here the sister apparently expresses sympathy for the heroine's predicament):

Når andre site inne, klær sin kropp. [While others sit inside, clothe their body
 då må du stande utedi med frosen topp. You must stand outside with frozen top

Når andre site inne, klær sin fót, While others sit inside, clothe their foot
 då må dú stande úti mæ frosi rót. You must stand outside with frozen roots]
 (contributed by Bugge to *DgF* III, 830, st. 4-5)

The ballad continues to play on the tension between interiority and exteriority by describing parts of the tree that have been cut off and used to build components for the church, and in doing so it puts a macabre stress on the underside of community life, which carries on, apparently quite darkly, in the heroine's absence:

Dei högge av deg den kyrkekamm, [They cut from you the church chamber
 dú skjúler so mang en synduge mann. You conceal so many a sinful man.

Dei högge av deg de kyrkeskrúv, They cut from you the church [spires?]
 dú ser so mang ei sorgfull brú. You see so many a sorrowful bride.

Dei högge av deg dei kyrkesvalir, They cut from you the church balcony
 dú höyrer so mange dei löynde talir. You hear so much [of] the secret talk]
 (contributed by Bugge to *DgF* III, 830, st. 6-8)

Following this episode comes the re-transformation into a wolf, with its usual outcome.

As in other areas of the tradition, the narratives of transformation highlight classical balladry's ability to access a holistic, real-world landscape in the formation and re-formations of metaphoric complexes. They present the exploited -- hind, horse, linden -- and re-transform it at a glance into that which exploits -- bear, eagle, wolf -- instilling the realization that the harm inflicted on individuals, if severe enough and left uncorrected, ultimately returns to prey on the perpetrator and even the community as a whole. They also exhibit the tendency found throughout the tradition to mold poetic complexes through intrinsic fusions of culture, environment, and fiction, each playing off the other to create intense dramatic effects.

For the remainder of the chapter, we shall shift our attention away from the Scandinavian ballads to the British tradition, which likewise maintains the essential idea that humans are both the masters of, and at the mercy of, nature. Its characters, too, live in a tripartite world of domestic, natural/supernatural, and sacred space, and they move from bower and hall to greenwood, strand, lea, and occasionally into otherworlds beyond. The spatial structure of British balladry does expose an aristocratic and class-based society, but that is as it should be: even the "fermtouns" of Aberdeenshire operated under the management of a laird (Buchan 1972, 18-19), and so when word goes to both "kitchen" and "hall," it points to a system of social stratification that applied in rural Scotland, even if its "boundaries" there were not as rigidly demarcated as they were in other parts of the island.¹ As in the Norwegian tradition, however, the landscape of the British ballad is not completely insular; it ventures "oer the faem" to "unco lands," and it is sensitive to cultural borders -- not only those separating England and Scotland, but lowland and highland, as well. But for the most part it presents a remarkably contained environment. That "Young Beichan" (Child 53) travels to Moorish lands or "Hugh Spencer" (Child 158) to France does little to alter our notion of the prevailing landscape that is the ballad world.

¹ Craig (1961, ch. 1) shows that even in Edinburgh prior to the expansion of the city in the early nineteenth century, aristocrats, merchants, tradesmen, and labourers all lived in the same neighbourhoods, commonly separated by nothing more than that they lived on different floors in the same tenement. The fluid exchange of traditional, popular, and elite art forms that he finds in Scottish literature from the period, he attributes to these unsegregated living arrangements.

One example of how strongly balladry feels the pull of the natural world brings to the fore an issue which is normally given short shrift in scholarship of the British tradition: the choruses. As noted in the last chapter, the scholarship on Scandinavian tradition has long recognized a lyric function in the burdens, which are seen to provide a thematic *continuo* or drone that plays steadily underneath the melodic line of the narrative, but that function has never been held to apply to the British ballad. In fact, a quite opposite viewpoint has prevailed, for the floral imagery normally found in the burdens is generally regarded as posing an awkward contrast to darker themes explored by the narrative: the burden "Fine flowers in the valley," for example, appears in versions of two ballads, one dealing with soricide (Child 11, B and G), and the other with infanticide (Child 20, B and L). Accordingly, Hodgart writes of "the apparently irrelevant refrain which intersperses the bare recital of tragic events with a rich pattern of flowers and trees: the quenching of human life is ironically contrasted with the continuity of natural life" (1962, 32). The only relevance he can find for the ballad choruses comes from meanings derived from folk belief:

... refrains which mention herbs and flowers look nonsensical only because their original meaning has been lost through corruptions: e.g. "Ivery rose is merry in time" for "Savory, rosemary, thyme". Comparative folklore shows that such herbs were used as apotropaics, for warding off evil spirits. The refrains are therefore relevant to the themes of ballads in which a maiden defends herself against a demon lover. (1962, 166n)

The difficulty with this position is that not all, and in fact few, of the trees and flowers mentioned in the ballad burdens have the appropriate associations with folk medicine, and so one is faced with the unwise option of writing off a majority of

the sample as "corruptions." Even where specific correlations can be noted, what grounds can be offered to suggest a fluid exchange of meaning between balladry and traditional belief? There simply are not enough links between the two fields to suggest that the structures inherent in one are automatically transposed to the other. Nor can one expect to argue a specific meaning for such general referents as "fine flowers," "the norlan flowers spring borney" (Child 18, B) or "Amang the blue-flowrs and the yellow and a'" (Child 25). Moreover, any apparent incongruency here is just that -- apparent -- and follows from the "pastoralism" of modern literary criticism, which considers flowers as metaphors of tranquility, love, and purity. I would argue that the same paradox in nature that we have noted in the Scandinavian symbolic complexes underlies this imagery also. It is nature that is enticing and outwardly benign, but which belongs to regions that are inherently unstable, unpredictable, and uncontrollable. Narratively, one finds this tension in the formulaic motif of a heroine venturing into the boundaries of nature to "pu a flower," an apparently innocuous act but one that inevitably prompts a seductive or life-threatening encounter (Toelken 1967, 93-95; Andersen 1984, 116-119). Flowers, being in nature and of nature, evoke precarious tensions. In this light, it seems not only possible but desirable to regard the Anglo-Scots choruses as having a lyric function comparable to their Scandinavian counterparts. As an undercurrent to the narrative, images of flowers establish more than a simple ironic tension between beauty and atrocity; given the preceding discussions of the spatial tensions in ballads

we can suggest also that they draw the imagination away from security and into places of exposure and uncertainty.

In the British tradition, an area where the juxtaposition of nature and culture finds particularly strong expression is in a metaphorical complex involving animals used in hunting, primarily hawks and hounds. We have already suggested at several points a poetic correlation between the duplicity of nature and the duplicity of human nature, and the primary narrative function of hunting symbols appears to be as agents of characterization. That is, there appears to be a connection between the motif and the psychological, moral, and motivational qualities of the character with which it is associated.² The following analysis is based on an examination of eighty-four versions of forty-two ballad types (see Appendix III). As with other complexes that we have been exploring, narrative context appears to play an important role in shaping the specific quality of the motif, for what happens to the hunting animals or their expressed relation to their owner is of great significance to their function as symbols in the ballads. In those instances where a character is presented as simply "riding to hawks and hounds," the dramatic texturing achieved by the motif seems to advance little beyond a straightforward presentation of the hunt and the semiotic function of the signifier is weak. By contrast, where the presence of the animals is dramatically highlighted, where they are given

² Andersen provides for this when he states that the supra-narrative function of ballad formulas "may find room for such stylistic features as character portrayal" (1984, 31).

demonstrable relevance to the character and the story, that it where their greatest potential as metaphor is realized.

For centuries, animals employed in the hunt have been among the more pre-eminent social symbols in Europe, and as Edith Rogers states, “. . . ‘the insignia of a gentleman from Norway to Spain,’ both in fact and in song, are his hawk and hound” (1980, 7). Hawks and falcons especially are ubiquitous icons in medieval heraldry, as well as on seals, coins, and in portraiture of the period.³ Some medieval writings even suggest a social stratification of hawking by ascribing specific species of birds of prey to various levels of nobility, yeomanry, and peasantry, although current research indicates that the regimen implied by these lists never existed in practice (Hands 1975, 54-55 and 116n; and 1971). As a result of its medieval significance, hunting, and again falconry in particular, later became a potent antiquarian and romantic symbol in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Hawking, essentially defunct in England since the Restoration, went through a sustained revival at the same time (and for more or less the same reasons) as the great ballad revival. Significantly, like the ballad collectors, the latter day austringers and falconers turned to those who still practised the lost chivalric art -- the lowland Scots, among whom hunting with raptorial remained constant through the centuries (Slavin and Brodrick, 1971 [1855], 3-8). In hunt imagery, then, there

³ Wood and Fyfe (1943) offer an excellent overview of this material. Their book is lavishly illustrated with images of hawking throughout the ages: paintings, carvings, engravings, manuscripts, illustrations, coins, photographs, etc. Commentaries on various aspects of hunting and the arts are included as “Appended Material,” 419-556.

is an enduring symbolic value extending from medieval to modern times and having a singular relevance to the region where the ballad traditions were strongest.

Semiotically, an inescapable feature of this overarching symbolic network is the fact that hunting animals have links to both natural and cultural domains. They are animals, yet they are also trained and counted among a knight's possessions. The images carry a burden of the cultivation of nature; the possessor of hawks and hounds is in control of his environment.

<u>Nature</u>	<---	Hawk/Hound	---->	<u>Culture</u>
Wild				Trained

The key element here, however, is the human one, the animals' master, for as writings from both the medieval and revival periods show, training, care, and use of hunting animals is a painstaking process, one that routinely tests the ability, self-control, and self-discipline of the hunter himself. In describing the requisite characteristics of a falconer, for example, those who have written on the sport place ample weight on its physical demands, but they give equal attention to the intellectual and temperamental demands. The comments below, excerpted from a modern translation of *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus* by Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, speak to the need for such traits as appreciation of the aesthetic as well as the practical principles of hunting for sport, a propensity for self-evaluation and criticism, resourcefulness, courage, maturity, patience, and diligence⁴:

⁴ Wood and Fyfe 1943, 105-106 & 150-151; comparable comments are found in Slavin & Brodrick 1971 [1855], 14-15. For a literary exploration of an individual confronting his own human failings through the training of a hunting hawk, see White 1951.

- * The falconer's primary aspiration should be to possess hunting birds that he has trained through his own ingenuity to capture the quarry he desires in the manner he prefers. The actual taking of prey should be a secondary consideration.
- * The falconer should . . . keep in mind both the good and the evil that he encounters in his contacts with falcons, whether they be *his own*, the bird's, or of some other origin [my emphasis].
- * He must possess marked sagacity; for . . . he will . . . have to use all his natural ingenuity in devising means of meeting emergencies.
- * He must be of daring spirit
- * He should not be too young, as his youth may tempt him to break the rules governing his art.
- * A bad temper is a grave failing. A falcon may frequently commit acts that provoke the anger of her keeper, and unless he has his temper strictly under control he may indulge in improper acts toward a sensitive bird so that she will very soon be ruined.
- * Laziness and neglect in an art that requires so much work and attention are absolutely prohibited.
- * The falconer must not be an absent-minded wanderer, lest because of his erratic behavior he fails to inspect his falcons as often as he should.

At the very heart of the falconer's art, and by extension the symbolic network surrounding hunting animals, is the character of the hunter himself, and thus the metaphorical implications of hunting imagery extend beyond the elitist, chivalric applications to basic issues of human nature.

In his essay *Mythologies*, Roland Barthes demonstrated how semiotic systems get built up in chains, such that that any established sign, that is the concrete union of a concept (signified) and image (signifier), has the ability to become a signifier in

another system, in which it becomes linked to other concepts or signifieds and results in a new level of signification. He referred to such structures as "second-order semiological systems" (1972, 112-115). This is precisely the kind of chaining of significations one encounters with hunt imagery in the classical ballads. To begin with, the ballads draw heavily on the conventional associations of hunting symbols and the human characteristics they elucidate: strength, grace, discipline, masculinity, and most importantly control. On the basis of such associations, Rogers interprets hawks and hounds in European balladry as signifying security and peace of mind, but as she allows, the ballad maker's favourite application of symbols of strength is to strip them away to display the failings, insecurities, and weaknesses of the character behind them. In Kinloch's version of "Young Beichan," for example, as the hero lies in jail he laments to his captor's daughter:

'My hounds they all go masterless,
My hawks they flee from tree to tree,[']
(Child 53 H, st. 9)

The immediate function of the motif, as Rogers notes, is to signify duress (1980, 8). Duress, however, suggests a momentary emotion or an isolated response to a given situation. One can also argue that the motif establishes two traits in Beichan's character that stand in opposition to each other. On the one hand, he is a possessor of hawks and hounds, which gives him qualities of strength; on the other, he is unable to control them, which gives him qualities of weakness. The tension between these traits operates on two levels: first, it intensifies the immediate scene by presenting polar contrasts of strength and helplessness. Beichan is not simply a

man in duress; rather, his powerlessness is given intensified meaning by his customary position of power. Second, it sets up a fundamental conflict within the character and gives a multi-dimensional facet to his personality. Through the extremes of character dynamic suggested by both the possession of hawks and hounds and the inability to control them, this particular (negative) manifestation of the motif establishes a textural imbalance in which Beichan's capricious, inconstant character finds parallel and which explains his irresolute behaviour after being freed.

Structural breakdown of the textual environments in which hawks and hounds appear confirms a ballad tendency to portray them and the *dramatis personae* with which they are associated only in adverse situations, thereby suggesting a pattern of positive / negative polarities established through the presentation of these motifs. In all but three⁵ of the texts examined, the relationship between hawk/hound and owner either is distorted in some way, or, when an image of social or personal security is signified through hunt icons, it is soon inverted through misfortune. These adverse relationships between symbol and character may be grouped in three major categories, "Parallel Relationship," "Distanced Relationship," and "Inverted Relationship," and two lesser groups, "Incidental" and "Miscellaneous" (see Appendix III).

The first group is the most important for it is here that the relationship between character and image is most explicit. It includes instances where a specified

⁵ These texts, listed under the heading of "Miscellaneous," all feature hawks or hounds included in lists of other animals.

condition of the hawk or hound reflects the general condition or quality of the character in question. The example of "Young Beichan," noted above, is a case in point. Here, the uncontrollable state of the animals reflects the ineffectual and irresolute character of the hero. A parallel relationship is manifest narratively in "Lord Randal" (Child 12) where the poisoning of the animals is revealed just before the revelation of the hero's murder. It is more subtly presented in such ballads as "Edward" (Child 13) and "The Twa Brothers" (Child 49), where deep psychological imbalances in the characters, caused by their culpability in the death of a relative, find expression in the symbolic killing of their hawks, hounds, and steeds, the very items which establish, metaphorically at least, the security of their station in society. The explanation normally offered for the killing of the animals is that they were uncontrollable, which highlights again the function of the motif in establishing positive and negative extremes within the character: an individual is in possession of symbols of great status but is unable to cope with their care and handling. By senselessly slaying their animals, the characters are committing metaphorical suicide; the image becomes an extension of their remorse. In the B version of "Edward," the animals are killed despite their excellence, which may imply a both a lack of remorse and a premeditated killing, thereby enhancing the atrocity of the murder and the odiousness of perpetrator.

Not all the formulations of the motif are negative. The hero's killing of his hawks, hounds, and steeds in "King Henry" (Child 32), for example, underscores the quality of self-sacrifice which he must possess to unspell the "grievous ghost." Here

the animals are killed with reason; for food, as sacrifices to the woman in distress, and given the image of senseless killing in other manifestations of the motif, it is significant that the bodies of the animals are in this instance consumed and not wasted. Child 32 is among the ballads examined in Buchan's tale-role analysis of witches, in which he suggests that magical bespelling is a metaphor for a psychological transformation caused by severe emotional trauma. The heroine, "grievously altered and injured by a previous relationship" (the loss of her mother and her replacement by an unsympathetic surrogate), is restored through "exemplary demonstrations of trust, love, physical courage, and the indispensable knowledge that 'a woman will have her will'" (1988, 136-37). The forthright sacrifice of possessions which are emblematic of social strength emphasizes the compassion of the hero, a trait that allows him to deal sensitively with the transformed (emotionally embittered) heroine and achieve a successful union.

Positive applications of the motif are found also in ballads where threats directed toward hawks or hounds reflect the challenge faced by the hero himself. In most ballads of this type, the hero pursues a noble fight heedless of the risk it represents. Sir Lionel (Child 18), instructed by a giant to forfeit his "hawks and lese also" for killing a boar, instead combats and defeats him. In "Johnny Cock" (Child 114), when the hero's hounds are placed in iron bands, he not only continues to hunt but also defeats seven foresters who attempt to arrest him. Jamie Telfer, following the plundering of his house and cattle, seeks but is refused help from the

man who should be his protector. Undaunted, he vows not to let the matter lie, even though

My hounds may a' rin masterless,
My hawks may fly from tree to tree.
(Child 190, st. 12)

Child says that this instance of the formula "could not be more inappropriately brought in than here" (*ESPB* IV, 5) referring to an apparent incongruity in linking symbols of estate, such as hawks and hounds, with a man like Telfer who was relatively low down on the social scale. The motif, however, is clearly used to characterize the inner man, not his social station; his cause is noble even if he is not. Telfer bucks the odds, persevering when both social convention and his supposed protector work against him, and the motif reveals in him the resolve and determination that he must have if he is to see the wrong corrected.

Distanced relationships between signifier and character occur in seven types. Here the character is tangentially connected to the hunting animal, either through a dream or wish, through an obvious metaphorical link, or through social juxtaposition. In "Sir Aldingar" (Child 59) the heroine dreams of rescue by a hawk, while "Fair Annie" (Child 62) wishes she were a hound and her sons were hares that she might run them from her life. Metaphorical links are established in "Fause Foodrage" (Child 89), in which the mother must clandestinely refer to her son as a "gay gose-hawk," and in "Jamie Douglas" (Child 204), where the strong-willed heroine refers to herself on the eve of her divorce as "The hawk that flies

far frae her nest.”⁶ A heroine and the hero’s dogs are socially juxtaposed in “Child Waters” (Child 63). In some versions, she is obliged to lead a pack of hounds at each town the couple visits and in most she must eat a lower grade of bread than that given to the hounds. It should be apparent from the types presented that this form of the motif invariably deals with female characters, and so the “distance” between character and signifier also connotes the social distance of women from positions of power in patriarchal culture, again emphasizing the theme of control over one’s destiny and one’s environment. In the above types, all the women but one⁷ are able to attain their goals in spite of their subordinate social positions.

“Inverted Relationships” occur in ballads where stable and secure representations of hunting animals stand in contrast with the vulnerability of the owner or with his subsequent defeat. For the most part, such images draw reference from the notion of the hunter becoming the hunted. In the first group, “Secure hawks: Vulnerable lover,” the tenuous position of the hero is magnified through an ironically naive allusion to his hawks and hounds. The adulterous heroines in “Little Musgrave” (Child 81) and “The Bonny Birdy” (Child 82), for example, reassure their lovers, quite wrongly it turns out, that no danger is near by

⁶ Her husband, historically described as “morose and peevish, and incapable of managing his own affairs” (*ESPB* IV, 91) is characterized as “The hawk that flies from tree to tree” in a balancing version of the motif in the second line of the stanza that follows.

⁷ It is debatable whether the resolution of Child 204 is positive or negative; the heroine’s marriage ends in divorce, but it is a marriage she is well rid of. In context, however, and regardless of any sympathy that might be directed toward the heroine’s plight, her situation would have to be a disadvantageous one. Essentially, that is exactly what the motif seems to establish through a contrast of the dynamic yet socially powerless character of the heroine with her ineffectual but socially empowered husband.

saying, "Is not thy hawk upon the perch?" The motif of hunting as a prelude to misfortune, dealt with at length by Rogers in her study, is present in many ballads. Here again, those setting out to hunt ultimately become the quarry. Among the texts surveyed, however, this application of the motif appears to achieve relatively little metaphorical depth, and all that connects it with the preceding interpretations is the simple fact that the hunt leads to disaster and thus constitutes a negative image. In the "I" version of "Tam Lin," for example, the hero claims that as a boy his uncle sent for him, "To hunt and hawk, and ride with him / And keep him companie (Child 39 I, st. 29). During the hunt he is captured by the fairy queen. The image lacks any explicit connection between the motif and the hero -- in fact, the animal itself is not mentioned, merely the act of hawking -- and nothing is revealed of the emotional or psychological condition of the character. This is true of most of the examples under this heading as well.⁸

Two ballads in this category, "Earl Brand" (Child 7) and the "E" version of "Sheath and Knife" (Child 16), stand out by featuring women as participants in the hunt, in both instances with unfortunate consequences. In Child 7, a woman asks her lover to take her riding to hounds, during which they are attacked by her father's men and the hero is mortally wounded. The connection between image and

⁸ See, for example, "The Gest of Robin Hode" (Child 117), "The Hunting of the Cheviot" (Child 162), "The Death of Parcy Reed" (Child 193 B). It is perhaps significant that these are all English ballads. The episode in "Tam Lin," unique to this version from Scott's *Minstrelsie*, also draws attention to itself by virtue of its expository function. It is very rare in oral narrative, according to Olrik, for a character to stop mid-stream to give such a detailed account of his past and the circumstances leading up to his present situation. While I hesitate to dismiss it as Scott's handiwork, the possibility is present.

character here is vague and the semiotic significance weak; it appears to differ little from other examples in the group. In the version of "Sheath and Knife," two princesses ride out as "sister and brother" for a day's hunting. During the hunt one of the sisters is injured and, inexplicably, left to die, unmourned and unburied. The emphasis on hunt imagery coupled with the sexual overtones normally associated with this ballad type suggest perhaps a lesbian relationship between the two characters -- the sexual implications of the line "an' the hawk had nae lure,"⁹ would certainly lend support to such a reading. Further, the dying sister's abandonment may be interpreted perhaps as a severe censure of homosexuality. This appears to be the sole instance of hunt imagery having an overtly sexual expository function, though it does constitute an example of what Rogers calls the "puritanical tendency" of ballads to apply commonplaces metaphorically as "acceptable substitutes for the direct mention of taboos" (1975, 294).

In another type of inversion, found only in "The Gay Goshawk" (Child 96), the hawk is a dramatically interacting character in its own right and is not presented as the possession of another character. Here, the inversion is not created through the relationship of motif and possessor, but through the juxtaposition of this particular hawk and another ballad character: the dutiful messenger, the willing servant who crosses field and flood and leaps castles walls in his fanatical execution of his lady's errand (see for example Child 65 A, st. 18-22). By contrast, the bird messenger, who perhaps significantly runs his errand for a male character, is

⁹ The lure is an artificial bird used to attract a hawk after a flight.

somewhat apathetically involved in his cause, asking in all versions for instructions and in one version demanding to be paid for his services. As we have seen, this ballad follows the same scenario as "Ramnen ber bod" (TSB A18), in which the hero stays in his *bur* and sends a bird to do his courting for him, leaving the impression of a certain tentativeness about breaking out of his adolescent shell. The hawk in this particular form of the ballad coincides well with that reading, through its ability to signify character frailties.

The remaining types of relationships also fluctuate in the degree to which they illuminate the relationship between motif and character, and the function of hawks and hounds as agents of characterization is not deeply felt in two of the three ballads in the third category of inverted relationships, "Faithful Animals of Deceased Hero," or in several of the "Incidental" references, where hawks and hounds are the possessions of secondary characters. In one version of "Young Hunting" (Child 68 J), for example, in which the deceased hero is described as the keeper of the king's hawks and hounds, the potential for the motif to present key emotional insights into the character and his psyche is limited. Nonetheless, even when animals are associated with secondary characters, their metaphoric potential for signifying human weakness can remain strong. In "Young Allan" (Child 245), vacuous pride is characterized by men bragging about their hawks and hounds. In Child 31, the decidedly unchivalrous knights in Gawain's company run for their hawks and hounds when faced with the possibility of marriage to the hideous lady. One of the more interesting examples occurs in "Lord Ingram and Chiel Wyet"

(Child 66), where a heroine's brothers, usually the most active opposers of marriages in the ballads, are "bought" with gifts of hawks from the unwanted suitor. Here, normally superordinate character-types are not only demoted to subordinate roles but are symbolically upbraided for shirking their familial responsibilities.

Thus, while symbols of the hunt are consistent in their overall textural effect, they are at times dramatically interwoven with the character and at others permitted to linger in the background as subtle reminders of a personality flaw or an attribute left wanting. Such variation in degree of semiotic impact is accounted for by James Fernandez who has argued for a holistic view of traditional metaphor, one which is symphonic in its approach. In his view, individual tropes, like instruments in an orchestra, are at times brought to the fore and at others left in the background but serve a function that, by virtue of sonority, is in many ways constant (1986, 200-202).

Throughout the British ballad corpus, then, references to hawks and hounds illuminate the *potential* for character weakness and vulnerability, qualities which have reverberating implications for the character in his or her relationships with other *dramatis personae*. The stress on "potential" is important, for not all possessors of hawks and hounds are weak and vulnerable. It is the extremes of superordinate and subordinate behaviour exposed through the motifs which are the key to their metaphorical value. The semiotic function of the motifs is in essence *refractive* (cf. Lévy-Strauss 1966, 263), in that they establish multiple possibilities through the presentation of a single image. We noted at the outset that the semiotic

operations of hunt imagery in ballads conform to Barthes's notion of a "second-order system." But in this case, the ballad takes the pre-established sign and creates a mirror image such that both positive and negative attributes are established simultaneously through a conflict between the popular image and its genre-specific applications. In the case of hawks and hounds, the conventional image is weighted toward the positive side of the paradigm, toward culture and control, while the generic expectation pulls in the opposite direction, toward nature and chaos. The weighting of the symbols intensifies their effect. It is the tendency to bifurcate and oppose the original sign at the second level that appears to make this facet of ballad poetics distinct.

A comparable refractive function, finding support, perhaps, in Axel Olrik's Law of Contrasts, can also be noted in Andersen's reading of formulas: "He's taen her by the milk-white hand," for example, is shown to precede the murder or rape of a girl (1984, 161-174), and thus the innocence connoted by a fair-handed maiden contrasts sharply with the brutality of such violent acts. Similarly, misfortune soon befalls the character who looks over a castle wall (Andersen 1984, 138-147), thereby negating the strength and security represented in a fortress. To extend the analogy of refraction a step further, one can think of the transparency of a prism as equating the "emptiness" (Honko 1985) or "depthlessness" (Lüthi 1982, 11) of the folklore text, and just as the refraction of light through crystal produces a full spectrum, so too the interplay between image and what Anna Caraveli eloquently

terms "the song beyond the song" (1982) throws the ballad world into complex, animated relief.

The refracted image can also be seen to work in concert with other appositional structures in ballads. In "Young Johnstone" [88], for example, the hunting motif serves a key role in defining the narrative function of the pivotal third scene and provides motivational insights into the hero's character. "Young Johnstone" is constructed of four scenes chiastically structured (Buchan 1972, 113-131) such that the central two are framed by the first and last. The ballad begins with the murder of the "young Colonel," an act prompted by his stating that he

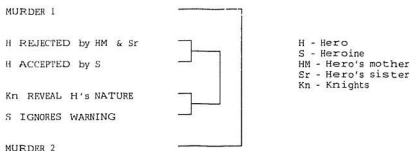


Fig. 5: Narrative structure of "Young Johnstone" (Child 88).

would have Johnstone's sister as "leman" (concubine) but not as bride. In the second scene, the murderer, fleeing for his life, seeks help from members of his family who reject him, and then from his lover who agrees to provide shelter. When knights arrive to ask his whereabouts they are met by the heroine, and the discussion between them focuses on the nature of the hero's hawks and hounds:

'What colour were his hawks,' she says,
 'What colour were his hounds?
 What colour was the gallant steed,
 That bore him from the bounds.'

'Bloody, bloody were his hawks,
 And bloody were his hounds;
 But milk-white was the gallant steed,
 That bore him from the bounds.'

At a strictly narrative level, the remainder of the scene amounts to little more than a diversionary tactic by the heroine to protect the hero, a ballad form of the "he went that-a-way" episodes of Saturday matinees. Rather, it is at a supra-narrative level that the scene takes on its real significance in the story. Through their response, which uses the contrast of blood-red and milk-white¹⁰ to intensify the exposition of positive and negative character traits indicated by references to the hero's hawks and hounds, the knights warn of Johnstone's volatile nature, a warning the heroine either fails to recognize or chooses to ignore. The revelation of his true character both explains his family's refusal to render assistance and establishes the psychological motivation for the heroine's subsequent murder in the final scene. The ballad is a portrayal of an inherently destructive personality. Within the frame of fiction, there is not only motivation but also justification for Johnstone to kill a man who would make a whore of his sister, but the ballad moves on to demonstrate that his propensity for violence is capable of lashing out and destroying the object of his love as easily as his enemy. As Child concludes, "Awake or waking, Young

¹⁰ In other versions, the colour element is less forceful but still present. In the "D" version, the nut-brown hawk contrasts with the yellow-fit hound, while in 88C, featuring a slightly different formation of the motif, a dark grey fox is juxtaposed with light grey hounds.

Johnstone's first instinct is as duly to stab as a bull-dog's is to bite" (*ESPB* II, 288). Narratively, the key actions in the ballad are the two killings -- one motivated, the other quite senseless and tragic -- but the central issue, that which explains both deaths, is the personality of the hero and his tendency to strike blindly when pressed by such strong emotions as anger or fear. The motif provides the symbolic link between the internal, behavioral make-up of the character and the external realm of his actions, and here, as in other examples, the metaphorical function of symbols of the hunt underscores classical balladry's innate concern for the exploration of character and human relationships.

It is, of course, not without interest that one of heraldry's more potent symbols should be in folk expression an indicator of vulnerability, which might suggest that the motif has a generic function of illuminating class tensions at some level. In other words, were hunting viewed as an elite activity, it might have generated negative associations among the lower classes who sang the ballads. As we saw above in the discussion of "Distanced Relationships," the motif is most certainly used to comment on inequalities in power relations *vis à vis* gender, but class issues do not appear to get the same degree of palpable expression. Moreover, in spite of the chivalric overtones of hunt imagery, one must bear two things in mind. First, prior to enclosure, hunting was enjoyed by all levels of society; the lists of the medieval manuscripts conclude with the birds for the yeoman and the poor man. Further, such ballads as "Johnny Cock," as well as the prevalence of poaching in Britain, demonstrate the popular reaction to enclosure and

the disregard of the laws it imposed. Second, even among the nobility, the falconers and austringers who trained and cared for the hunting birds were (like many notable ballad singers) members of the servant class. Thus, hunting was of sufficient significance among the lower classes to reject the notion that it and its symbolism were the property of the landed gentry.

Internal evidence suggests further that balladry's inversion of the conventional symbols has less to do with social issues than with domestic affairs. Some rather striking patterns emerge if one divides the ballads into two groups based on the source of tension within the relationship. The first group, ballads of domestic tension, feature conflicts between lovers or immediate family members, while the second, ballads of public tension, involve disputes between social (normally male) rivals. Of the forty-two ballad types surveyed, twenty-eight (66%) focus on domestic issues, and in eighteen of these (64.3%) the motif illuminates subordinate behaviour in males. Underlined by the motif, then, is a concern for the vulnerabilities of males in domestic relationships. In the ballad world, as in the real world, icons of social strength are of little value when one has to confront the deeper issues in life: compassion in love, coping with grief or remorse, culpability for one's transgressions, and the ability to stand firm in times of trial. An absence of such qualities in the human character cannot be glossed by symbols.

Chapter Seven

The Borders and Beyond:

Landscape and Social Relations in Broadside Ballads

Among the ballad sources listed in Child's headnotes, there is a singer identified simply as "John Martin, the painter" (*ESPB* IV, 70). Born in 1789 near Newcastle, this reciter of the F version of "The Gypsie Laddie" began working life apprenticed to an engraver, but was soon drawn by the economic and cultural opportunities of London, where he established himself as one of the most the popular, if not critically acclaimed, artists of his generation. Historians of art have found Martin's work of interest mainly for its architectural studies, which draw from baroque and classical models but magnify them to a degree where they threaten to inundate the landscape on which they rise. Familiar in form but visionary in scale, they were conjectural renderings of Blake's "New Jerusalem." His paintings, however, are far from static. Large, lavish, vividly operatic, and painstakingly detailed, they revel in cataclysm, and in Martin's heyday, Londoners flocked in droves to see his re-creations of Biblical catastrophe (Balston 1947). Typically, his architectural forms, their tiers of colonnades receding into a hazy distance, are set against boiling skies whose clouds billow in tunnels toward another, spiritual, vanishing point, while in the foreground clusters of minuscule human figures cower,

feeble and exposed, as the drama is played out. That images of this sort commanded attention in the early nineteenth century is not surprising, for their prevailing theme of individuals dwarfed against, and in many respects pressed between, immovable social institutions and an equally dominating morality, recurs over and over in many facets of Victorian popular culture, including the broadside ballads.

Broadside printers were of course well aware of the changing topography of the social and cultural landscape, as were the people, urban and rural, who bought and sang the "new" ballads, and who felt the effects of modernity on many fronts. W. H. A. Williams, expanding on Buchan's treatment of the transition from oral to literate modes of composition in Scots balladry, argues that the diffusion of literacy and print culture throughout Britain was accompanied by

. . . the gradual collapse of the social and economic systems which had supported the oral culture. Enclosures whittled away at the old feudal land customs, and new political alignments spelled the eventual end of clan-knit polity. At the same time an agrarian revolution emerged to support the industrial revolution in the cities. While the actual time sequence of these events varied greatly from one region of Great Britain to another, capitalism, industrialism, urbanization, and the political changes which accompanied them, created an entirely new kind of society. In the rural areas, as the poor were pushed off the commons and the smaller tenants lost their land, class differences became more important. (1976-81, 50)

This modern mixture of "old rural habits and new urban circumstances," embodies ". . . the cultural response of people from a rural, essentially traditional, environment who came into contact with urban industrial society either directly, through migration . . . or indirectly through the impact of industrialism upon rural social and economic life" (1976-81, 52). Williams refers to it as "vernacular"

culture in contrast to "folk," "oral," or "traditional" culture. Debora Kodish adopts the same term in much the same sense in her discussion of more recent song traditions in Newfoundland (1983, 132).

Inevitably, we must regard the transition from what we have been calling "intrinsic" culture to "vernacular" culture, or in Buchan's terms from "oral" to "verbal" tradition (1972, 2), as an historical process, but only to the extent that the one cultural condition is logically prior to the other. It would be difficult to see the transition as an event grounded in a certain time and place, or one that begins and ends within a certain time frame. Since we are dealing with worldview, we are dealing with something quite metaphysical and which leaves few material traces outside of expressive artifacts. Raymond Williams, trying to come to terms with the notion of a rural "Golden Age," shows that the real issue is a "problem of perspective," one that envisions an ideal, self-contained, and self-regulating folk community being overrun by the press of modern ways.¹ Far from able to fix an historical setting for this viewpoint, William reveals it to be a recurring theme throughout the history of literature (1973, chap. 2, 3, and 4). Broadside tradition is obviously more contained temporally, but it does tend to reflect a worldview shaped by an increased concern in traditional society for the effects of very real, large-scale issues that were fundamental influences throughout the modern era: 1) the

¹ This is a perspective, of course, that has implications for balladry, since it was a part of an older scholarship, going back to the days of Percy (1886 [1765], I, 379), that saw remote regions as the faithful preserves of oral culture. Indeed Child himself, as we have seen, was more than ready to regard the modern broadside as a debased form of tradition. To that end, the use of the term "classical" to identify a form of balladry may be just as problematic as the terms "oral," "traditional," and "popular," which have been applied to the same genre.

achievement of universal literacy by the working classes, urban and rural; 2) an explosion in transportation technology, which enabled among other things the mass migration of rural populations; and 3) the systematic bureaucratization of government, business, and public record keeping. Exactly when the effects of these developments and transitions were felt in any given area is hard to establish. Their roots and early effects go back as far as the seventeenth century; in England and some parts of America they peak in the nineteenth and have become ingrained in our sense of Victorian life; and they continue to create integral tensions within certain regions well into the present century, especially in areas like Atlantic Canada, where the exploitation of rural-based, primary resource industries continue to be a mainstay of the local economy, promoting the continuation of small, relatively close-knit communities. Such communities have always existed, and, as noted, there has always been an exchange of ideas and fashions between social and cultural strata as well as between centres and peripheries.² What arises in recent history, as W. H. A. Williams states, is the normalization of exchange, the institutionalization in small communities of modern economic, political, and cultural structures, through the pervasive workings of the state, education, the church, mass culture, and industrialist and capitalist interests (see also James 1963, 1976; Vicinus 1975; and Vincent 1989). But insofar as balladry is concerned, we are interested less with this process as it transpired in specific social or cultural contexts than with

² For discussions of this exchange relative to traditional song, see Dugaw 1984, 1987; and Spufford, 1984.

its fictional embodiment in a "literary context," which may be understood as a perceptual artistic frame that encompasses and illuminates a recognizable cultural condition; it is a literary world that emerges from, comments on, and shapes understanding of the real world.

In broadsides, the upheavals of modernity were captured metaphorically in the contemporary motif of "the world turned upside down" (Neuburg 1977, 104) -- cultural expectation reversed. Throughout the genre as a whole, this new outlook on social existence also found reflection in fundamental changes in the structure of ballad drama: changes in character motivation and interaction; changes in the objectives that characters pursued and the obstacles mounted against them; and changes in the basic sets that provided the backdrop for the action. As such, the broadside stage itself came to encapsulate a world that was remarkably different from that of the classical ballads. The list below (see also figure 6) extracts the salient spaces from ballads in Laws's categories "Ballads of Family Opposition to Lovers" ("M") and "Ballads of Faithful Lovers" ("O"). His category "Ballads of Unfaithful Lovers" tends to repeat the spatial structures and tensions exhibited in the "M" group, and we shall deal separately with a significant group of types from his class "Ballads of Lovers' Disguises and Tricks" ("N"). There is sufficient redundancy in the groups selected to put the model forward as representative.³

³ There is, in fact, tremendous redundancy throughout the broadside tradition, and even though broadside poets did not rely on formulaic language, their productions were in some respects as conventionalized as were the classical ballads. One reason for this is that if a scenario or situation proved popular, it was exploited repeatedly (Shepard 1978 [1962], 80j). To a certain extent, it is a truism that where classical ballads used conventionalised language to tell relatively distinct stories, broadsides used relatively distinct language to relate highly conventionalized narratives.

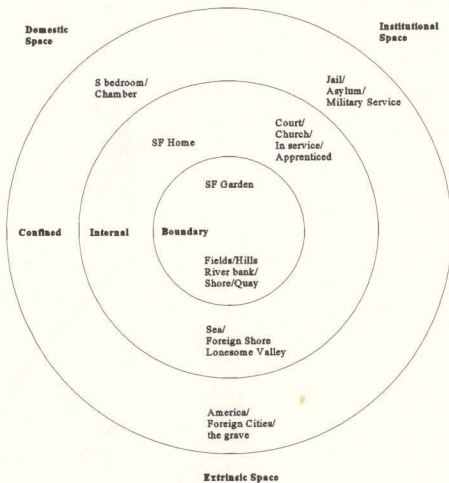


Figure 6: Spatial Structure in Broadside Ballads of Love Relationships

Domestic Space

Boundary

SF Garden
Grove/Arbour
Fields
Bower

Interior

Generalized interior
Cottage
Her father's hall
Mansion

Mantle Threshold

Bedroom window

Mantle

Bedroom
Chamber
Dungeon (in SF hall)
Tower

Institutional Space

Boundary

(As for domestic boundary)

Interior

In service
Apprenticed
Church
Court

Confined

Jail
Military service
Insane asylum

Extrinsic Space

Community Margin

"out"
Fields
Flowering fields
Meadow
River bank
Shore
Strand
Quay
Street/Highway

Outworld Transitional

Sea
Lonesome valley
Foreign shore
Cities (Char's in transit)
The wide world
"wander distracted"

Outworld Permanent

Cities (Char's settled)
America
Foreign homes & institutions
Grave

The model suggests a number of significant changes. First, the only general category of space that carries over from the earlier arrangement is domestic space. The natural spaces of the classical ballad, including the otherworld, are replaced by a more generalized strand of "extrinsic spaces," some of which are natural, but which may also be urban, foreign, or even representative of states of mind and body. The otherworld itself vanishes completely -- save for the occasional revenant -- and sacred spaces take on other narrative functions: churches fill a largely institutional role, while the grave -- along with insanity -- serves as an irreversible negative terminus.

The broadside world possesses two internal realms, which divide the local community into a domestic sphere and a social counterpart that consists of official, institutional spaces.⁴ In many cases, enough in fact to consider it a structural precept of the genre, the two strands meet in an area controlled by the heroine's father -- or sometimes her parents as a unit -- who fills the double role of parental authority and of the hero's employer. Therefore, areas represented as belonging to him, his gardens, groves, and other cultivated land, represent a domestic boundary area for the heroine and the boundary of institutional control for the hero. Occasionally, the gender roles are reversed, as in "Betsy is a Beauty Fair" (Laws M20), but the basic structure remains. The merging of the domestic and social

⁴ Were scope of this study expanded to include Laws's category "Ballads of Sailors and the Sea," mercantile space would appear with far greater frequency than in the present sample, as the interaction between sailors and merchants, tavern keepers, and prostitutes figures prominently in that sub-genre (Doerflinger 1951; Huggill 1961; Moreira 1984, 178-182, and 1990).

strands is corroborated by the parents' ability to have institutions act according to their whim to put obstacles in the way of their children's relationships.

We can begin the discussion with the extrinsic space, as it presents the landscape of the modern ballad in broad stroke and offers a fairly comprehensive perspective on the world and worldview that we are dealing with. It begins in the community margins, which consist mainly of the areas Renwick identifies as places where characters "rove out" and where they are likely to participate in extraordinary encounters (1980, 19). One will note in figure 6 that of the three strands of space the community margins exhibit the greatest degree of diversity in terms of the actual number of types of space, which is a direct reflection of their frequency in the genre as a whole. Dramaturgically, they form a no-man's-land between the community proper and the larger world beyond; they are areas from which characters may proceed in almost any direction and the range of possible experiences is broad.

In terms of their relation to a real-world landscape, however, they reveal right away the expanded range of vision in the broadsides, for they incorporate virtually all natural areas of the classical ballads. In fact, the kinds of focused distinctions between boundary spaces and true wildernesses do not hold up in the broadsides. Moreover, the broadside reveals a very different conception of and attitude toward nature. Though it remains a precarious place in such ballads as "Young Sailor Bold" (Laws M19), "The Banks of Dundee" (Laws M25), "The Bramble Briar" (Laws M32), "The Constant Farmer's Son" (Laws M33), and "Sir

Neil and Glengyle" (Laws M39) -- all of which feature violent deaths in a marginal area: a valley, a wood, or the shore -- natural settings are characteristically benign, and so are the experiences associated with it.

In Laws O5 to O11 (see Appendix II), for example, a chance meeting between a hero and heroine in a natural surrounding leads quickly and without opposition to marriage. These ballads resemble, to some degree, the "pastourelle" -- though only "The Lass of Glenshee (Laws O6) adheres closely to this form -- in which a highborn male (usually) wanders out to enjoy the beauties of nature and meets a young woman herding flocks. She initially rebukes his advances, saying she is not worthy of a gentleman, whereupon he persists and finally proposes marriage. These ballads contain at most two sets: the country landscape and the marriage home, both of which are highly romanticized settings, in the strict literary sense. The countryside has little, if anything, to do with a duplicitous nature; here one faces the unexpected, but not the innately dangerous:

As I walked out one morning when May was all in bloom,
I walked into a meadow sweet to smell the soft perfume;
As I walked in that flowery vale I turned my head awhile,
When I saw Cupid the pretty ploughboy, which my heart did beguile.
(Laws O7; Barrett, 1973 [1891], 29, st. 1)

The "flowering place" is no longer a space of exposure and threat but of pastoral beauty, tranquillity, and personal ease (cf. Shepard 1978 [1962], 73-74). The same is true of the home where the couple finally settles, which is free of tension or opposition to the union, barring the occasional pang of envy over the beauty of the bride. The transitions played out in the "pastourelle" and in ballads like it are not,

of course, inherently concerned with space. Narratives of this sort, deal with tensions between levels of culture, between classes, not between nature and culture. Moreover, often implicit in class division in the broadside world, is an added tension between the country and the town, for one commonly finds class structured in a way that apposes an agrarian working class with an urbane -- if not urban -- mercantile or aristocratic overclass. There is even one instance of an inverse pastourelle, in which a gypsy wanders from the country into the city streets to tell fortunes; there she meets a lawyer and the scenario unfolds as usual (Laws O4).

Community margins are also used frequently for scenes of departure. A number of ballads in the "Faithful Lovers" category -- ten in all, representing twenty-five percent of the whole group⁵ -- consist of dialogues between lovers who meet on the shore, on a quay, by a riverside, or even in "flowering fields," and vow to be true until they are re-united. Promises, coupled with protests of devotion to duty, are usually enough, but some couples marry before the hero sails, and in other cases the heroine, unable to bear parting, disguises herself and follows her love to sea.⁶ As with the pastoral scene of nature in broadsides, scenes of departure are idealized, and, in the eyes of conventional criticism, not infrequently saccharine and effusive:

⁵ Laws numbers O19, O22, O23, and O27 to O33.

⁶ These dialogue ballads do not exploit the narrative potential of female sailors to the degree that one finds in more action-based songs, such as "Mary Ambrose" and the later incarnations of "Willy Taylor" (Laws N11) or "Caroline and Her Young Sailor Bold" (Laws N17) (Dugaw 1989, esp. 121-142; see also Adele Friedman 1979).

["Oh, believe not what the landmen say
 Who tempt with doubt your constant mind,
 They tell you sailors when away
 In every port a mistress find.
 Oh yes, believe them when they tell you so
 For thou art present, for thou art present
 Every where I go"]

The boatswain gave the dreadful call,
 Our sails the swelling bosoms spread,
 She could no longer stay on board,
 They kissed, he sighed, she hung her head.
 The listless oars unwilling rowed to land,
 "Adieu," she cries, "adieu," she cries
 And waves her lily hand.

(Laws O28; Creighton and Senior 1950, 132, st. 5-6)

Yet these ballads give voice to a pre-eminent cultural concern of the modern period, one that finds constant expression in the broadsides: protracted separation.

Ultimately, broadsides of love relationships focus on distance as their primary theme. On the one hand there is the social distance of class, and on the other there is the physical distance of economically related absences. Even at this rudimentary level, we can see that in contradistinction to the paradox of nature that animates the classical ballads, the broadsides try to cope with a paradox of culture, which is that the political and economic structures necessary for the maintenance and protection of family life, also represent the strongest barriers to a settled and cohesive domestic existence.

The two areas that I have referred to as "outworlds" fulfil the same narrative function as the classical ballad's "wilderness" and "otherworld," while at the same time exhibiting significant differences. They are marked by a clear separation from the local community, to the extent that characters in such space are beyond the

reach of local authority, but they also situate characters at a distance where they lose the ability to participate in local affairs as well. They are areas that, like the wilderness and otherworld, are at various times and for different reasons both sought and feared. There is very little, in fact, to separate the broadside transitional outworld from the wildernesses in classical ballads, even to the extent that the sea and remote valleys and hills are among the more common specific areas, though such space can also include unfamiliar towns and cities or the shores of foreign countries, which like wildernesses possess the quality of being undefined space, at least from the character's point of view. In such areas, as in wildernesses, one is exposed and undergoes a trial of sorts, and ballads that conclude with a character entering a transitional outworld are generally tragic. "Early, Early in the Spring" (Laws M1) and most versions of "Drowsy Sleeper" (Laws M4) end with a defeated hero returning to sea or wandering hill and wood. Similar ends are met by the partners of murder victims, who roam the world (Laws M35), lonesome valleys (Laws M37), or simply "wander distracted" (Laws O37).

This last motif, madness, permits a contrast of broadside and classical style and structure through the treatment of a common situation. The following stanzas show the linear structure of broadside narrative method, as well as the genre's tendency to lead a defeated hero out into the world at large:

That nobleman was taken out, the gallows for his doom,
 For murdering pretty Mary all in her youthful bloom,
 And Henry, distracted ran and wandered til he died,
 His last words was Mary, who died on the silvery tide.

(Laws O37; Creighton and Senior 1950, 209, st. 10)

Young Henry the shepherd, distracted and wild,
 Did wander away from his own native isle
 Till at length, claimed by death, he was brought to this shore
 And laid by the side of his fair Fanny Moore.

(Laws O38; Brown 1952, 77, st. 8)

The classical ballad, using the genre's conventional parataxis, binarily apposes the victim and the bereaved, and situates the latter in much closer proximity to the community, though in a natural space, which illustrates of the much more contained universe of the oral ballad:

Nae meen was made for this young knight,
 In bower where he lay slain,
 But a' was for sweet Maisry bright,
 In fields where she ran brain.

(Child 70 B, st. 25')

There are a few broadside ballads of elopement that end in a transitional outworld, usually with negative or ambiguous consequences. In "William and Harriet" (Laws M7) and "Riley's Farewell" (Laws M8), the hero and heroine run away to sea, but are cast away and die. The hero and heroine of "Locks and Bolts" (Laws M13) elope to the hills, normally with the father or an uncle in pursuit. Endings vary, though there is usually, as the Indiana text says, "some hurt done on both sides" (Brewster 1940, 302, st. 7). Two ballads that end in transitional space, and do so positively, are interesting by virtue of the fact that they imply returns to the home community. In "The Merchant's Only Son" (Laws M21), an exiled hero rejects the advances of an heiress in America, saying that he must

⁷ See also Child 65 H, st. 39. In Child 66 B, st. 28-29, 66 B, st. 20, and 66 D, st. 9, the formula situates the insane character in a bower rather than a field, though as a mantle area it has its own tensions that help to intensify the image.

remain true to his sweetheart; the woman is so impressed that she provides him with the funds to return to his home in "sweet Recail." Likewise, "The Turkish Lady" (Laws O26) is so impressed with the English hero's resolve not to forsake his God and marry her, that she decides to forsake hers, and they sail away together. Clearly, we have returned to the hyper-idealized broadsides in which anything is possible, and the only other ballads in the sample that conclude positively by leading into transitional space are three departure ballads that also have hero and heroine sailing together (Laws O19, Laws O27, and Laws O41).

For characters who can survive the disruptions of transition, the permanent outworlds offer forgiving space. After eloping and making their way to Belfast, the couple in Laws M11 emigrate to America, where they are assisted by "a true Irish friend" who helps them get established. At the ballad's close, the narrator states:

They wrote me a letter to Philadelphia town:
If I would go home again I would get five hundred pound.
This news I sent to them from Philadelphia town:
Where they are worth a shilling there, here I am worth one pound.
(Mackenzie 1928, 119, st. 5)

Greater hardships are faced by "Mary Neal" and her lover (Laws M17), who flee to Quebec on a vessel that founders on the Nova Scotia coastline. Mary is washed overboard, but the hero rescues her. Once settled on shore, the couple receives a similar request to return, which they too reject. Likewise, the hero and heroine of "The Bonny Laboring Boy" (Laws M14) head for Belfast and then to America once they have broken free of parental restraint.

This ballad brings to mind another, however, which shows that remote extrinsic space is not completely benign. Both Peacock (1965, 2, 560-561) and Kodish (1983, 135) print Newfoundland versions of a ballad that is not covered by Laws but which shows narrative connections with "My Bonny Young Irish Boy" (Laws P26).⁸ The songs exhibit a similar scenario but with considerable differences; most significantly, one has a successful conclusion while the other ends tragically. In both cases, the hero leaves for America followed, after a brief period, by the heroine. In the Newfoundland texts, she searches through a number of cities and is about to give up hope, when the hero arrives at her door and they are happily reunited. In Laws P26, on the other hand, when the heroine arrives she finds the hero has taken another lover, and she dies broken-hearted. Thus, while the category "Ballads of Unfaithful Lovers" offers nothing that alters the structural model in any substantive way, it does contain a handful of texts that show the alternate side of this particular broadside realm. "The Lovely Banks of Boyne" (Laws P22) and "Caroline of Edinburgh Town" (Laws P27) also deal with love tragedies that befall heroines who have re-settled in a city. Nor are women alone at risk, for the hero of "The Girl I left Behind" (Laws P1A) comes to regret the transition that led him away from his family. The conclusion to this song carries an echo of the "drink-of-forgetfulness" motif of the Norwegian troll ballads, though it is here expressed through very plain language and action:

⁸ There is disagreement on the relationship between the songs. Peacock, though he publishes texts of both songs as "A" and "B" versions under the same title, states that the two are not variants of a common type; Kodish meanwhile is quite happy to regard her ballad as a version of Laws P26.

Says she, "If you will marry me and say no more you'll rove,
 The gold that I possess is yours and I will constant prove;
 But your parents dear and other friends that you have left behind,
 Don't ever, if you marry me, bear them again in mind."

To this I soon consented, and I own it is my shame,
 For what man can be happy when he knows he is to blame?
 It's true I've gold in plenty and my wife is very kind,
 But my pillow oft is haunted by the girl I left behind.

(Doerflinger 1951, 306, st. 7-8)

Here we have another example of broadside and classical ballads treating quite similar themes, but employing completely different narrative methods and constructing structures of spatial relations that show that quite different cultural contexts are involved.

This last example, coupled with the model itself, raises the question of whether there is a fictive correspondence between the otherworld of the classical ballads and "outworld" of the broadsides. To some extent, the analogy holds: both places stand opposite to the domestic world, at the same time paralleling its social structure; both are ambiguous in terms of the relative degree of threat that they represent to characters that enter them; and both entail separations that are more often than not permanent, though this is much more true of the otherworld than of its broadside counterpart. There are differences, however, that are equally important. Whereas the economic implications of the otherworld are sub-textual, those of the permanent outworld are very much on the surface -- it is a place where one measures one's present and former statuses in a ratio of pounds to shillings, and the number of instances where wealth proves to be a shallow achievement, as in the above text, are very few indeed. The outworld, though it has oppressions

and tribulations that can lead to ruin, does not carry the same sense of confinement embodied by the otherworld and the other extremes of ballad space. If one succeeds, if one avoids death or institutionalization, the permanent outworld is an open and accommodating space. It is both secure and permeable, a combination of features that no space in the classical ballad can offer. In the broadsides, escape is possible.

But if the fringes of the broadside world offer the possibility of escape, the internal areas reveal a structure that appears to provide the motivations. For the most part, the broadsides parallel the classical ballads to the extent that characters respond primarily to romantic and economic influences, but the print genre differs by revealing a marked concern for political influences and for the effects of political structures, which again points to a far more complex and bureaucratic (literate) socio-cultural environment. The dominant figure of interior space is superficially a symbol of parental authority, usually the heroine's father or both her parents acting in concert, and in rare instances the hero's mother. At the same time, the home controlled by the heroine's father tends also to be the hero's place of employment, whose class difference -- which itself institutes a new notion of "place" -- rarely goes unnoticed. Admittedly, in classical ballads, couples often meet when the hero enters the service of the heroine's father, but there the implications there are of courtier serving king or, in a narrower sense, of a farm labourer serving a farmer who is himself a petty producer. The disparities of class are not thrown into quite the same relief and the central conflict is largely familial. The more complex social

world of the broadsides explicitly introduces issues of class and employee/employer relations. Spatially, the immediate sphere of control of the heroine's father in broadsides includes his home and his fields and other property, but the latter have a dual function in that they are the boundary of the domestic world from the heroine's perspective, and the boundary of the economic and political world -- for present purposes bounded together under the heading "institutional" -- from the perspective of the hero/ employee.

Among the conventions of broadside narrative that solidify the connection between domestic and institutional space is the fathers' ability to bring political and judicial forces to bear in their attempts to interfere in the affairs of their children. Whereas classical ballad parents who wish to break up an undesirable relationship have recourse to few means other than outright violence, the broadside father also has access to a wide array of legal, mercantile, and military outlets, -- courts, jails, asylums, indenture as apprentice, transportation, or impressment. These areas of institutional control and their respective landscapes play an overwhelming role in the broadside ballads, frequently serving a narrative function equivalent to that of the liminal, transitional outworld; that is, they constitute places of testing, of turmoil, and of temporary or permanent separation. Essentially, the broadside world has dual wildernesses: one is literal and external; the other consists of the arcane entrapments of the political, economic, and judicial power structures that are internal to the culture itself.

Instances where institutional service or confinement occurs as a matter of course, independent of the deliberate intervention of a parental figure, are very rare. In "Early, Early in the Spring" (Laws M1) and "Charming Beauty Bright" (Laws M3), the hero is simply called away to war and his true-love either marries another or dies during his absence. More commonly, the father or a substitute conspires with the military authorities to have the hero pressed, which leads to various reactions. When "The Jolly Ploughboy" (Laws M24) is pressed, his lover dresses as a sailor and goes to secure his release; in some versions of "The Banks of Dundee" (Laws M25), the hero is killed in a struggle with the press gang sent by the heroine's uncle (see for example Broadwood 1893, 117, st. 6), while in others he survives to return at the ballad's close (see for example Creighton and Senior 1950, 129, st. 11), but in both cases the key action again belongs to the heroine, who makes good use of an opportunity to kill -- in self defence of course -- both her uncle and the hero's rival; "The New River Shore" (Laws M26) is a rather curious ballad in which the pressed hero deserts after receiving a letter from the heroine, and when met by a band of men sent to kill him, he leaves seven of them bleeding and dying, and finally gains his love; in "The American Woods" (Laws M36), in which both sets of parents appear to have a hand in the hero's impressment, the hero subsequently dies in a battle with Indians. In addition to the military, the judiciary can also be manipulated in order to dispose of an unwanted suitor: a false accusation of theft is the most common motif, made by a father who plants goods in the hero's possession, or who insists that a purported gift from the heroine to the

hero is actually stolen property. "Henry Connors" (Laws M5), "Erin's Lovely Home" (Laws M6), "William Riley's Courtship" (Laws M9) and its sequel "William Riley" (Laws M10), and "The Sheffield Prentice" (Laws O39) all employ some variant of this motif, though in the last instance it is a female employer who levels the accusation out of jealousy. In all but the last ballad, in which the hero hangs, the penalty is jail or transportation, which may be regarded, along with military service, as areas or situations of institutional confinement.

Part of the broadsides' institutional space, however, consists of actual operational areas, especially courts of law,⁹ which function as the interior middle-ground for this particular strand of space. Churches in romantic broadsides serve only as places for weddings, and are frequently referenced in a cursory and perfunctory manner. The portrayal of the wedding in most versions of "The Bold Soldier" (Laws M27) is typical: "They had just been to church and returning home again" (Gardiner and Chickering 1939, 380, st. 3), but a Nova Scotian version cuts the line back to "So off they went together. On returning home" (Creighton 1932, 25, st. 3). Ultimately, the narrative function of churches appears to be far more bureaucratic than spiritual; they legitimize and institute relationships.

Although court proceedings can be executed just as rapidly, especially when it is a matter of dispatching a villain with a hasty trial and a hanging, in many

⁹ The broadside sub-genre commonly known as "gallows literature" (Shepard 1978 [1962], 80-81; Neuburg 1973, 194 & 198-199, and 1977, 137-139), features various "legal" settings: court, jail, and the scaffold itself, while the stereotypical "good night" ballad evokes a spatial tension between the condemned character's present situation and a former idealized domestic life.

ballads, the trial becomes a focal point of the narrative. As with other facets of modern life -- the city, emigration, etc. -- the courtroom is not an inherently negative place, since the legal system is as likely to uphold a hero or heroine's cause as to undermine it. "The Courtship of William Riley" (Laws M10) is of interest not only for its representation of a trial, but also for its detailed use of bureaucracy as a catalyst at many points of the narrative. Although the ballad is of atypical length for a broadside -- it is actually three ballads that tell a sequential story -- it did enter oral tradition and a version of seventy-eight stanzas was collected by Creighton in Nova Scotia (1932, 152-162). The narrative runs as follows: when Riley's courtship with his employer's daughter is opposed, the couple decides to elope. They take flight "O'er lofty hills and mountains" (sta. 21), but the father follows and arrests the hero, who is sent to jail on a trumped up charge of robbery. The trial scene is related point by point, giving the lawyer's speech to the jury, a rebuttal by the plaintiff, and the testimony of the heroine. The hero is spared hanging but must still face transportation for the crime, and so once more he is sent to jail pending deportation, while the distracted heroine is confined first in a "lonesome chamber" (sta. 54), then a "dark chamber" (sta. 55) and finally "a private madhouse" (sta. 59). All, however, is not yet lost. While awaiting transport, the hero devises a plan for release, but one that is totally reliant on his ability to access the bureaucratic hierarchy:

A petition from the prison
 Unto the parson sent
 Unto the Lord Lieutenant
 Whose heart it did relent.

The noble Lord Lieutenant
 Unto the prison haste,
 And here young Willie Riley
 He speedily released

With him unto Bedlam
 Straightway he went anon
 Likewise released his jewel,
 His fair colleen bawn.
 (st. 68-70)

Nor is this the end of Riley's dealings with officialdom:

A license from the Primate
 Was got immediately
 And constant William Riley
 Was mated to his lady.
 (st. 73)

Despite its excessive narrative, which is based apparently on actual events (Creighton 1932, 162), the ballad nonetheless presents a moral tale of its time. Riley succeeds because he is able to beat the squire on his own terms. The first attempt at elopement by heading for the hills -- the "traditional" means -- ends in failure, but through his ability to access and persuade local authority, to invoke the power of the pen on his own behalf, he is able to achieve success in the modern social arena. As with the outworlds, the threat represented by areas of institutional control is potential only.

Finally, there is the domestic space of the broadside. The boundary and internal areas, as already noted, are characterized by the high degree of control that the father figure can exert over them. The same applies to the broadside's equivalent of a mantle area, which consists largely of the bedrooms and chambers

of unmarried children, particularly daughters. In broadsides, however, there is nothing subliminal about this space as an area of confinement, for it is usually a place of literal detention, where parents forcibly conceal their daughters from undesirable relationships: "Johnny Doyle" (Laws M2), "Charming Beauty Bright" (Laws M3), "William Riley" (Laws M10), "Locks and Bolts" (Laws M13), "Bonny Laboring Boy" (Laws M14), "Iron Door" (Laws M15), "Mary Acklin" (Laws M16), and "Pretty Betsey" (Laws M18), all feature heroines locked away by their parents, and normally by the father. In "Iron Door," the father goes so far as to build a dungeon in the house, which the hero, through an extraordinary test of love, breaks open. Moreover, whether or not confinement is this explicit, the generic norm is such that an excessive degree of parental control can almost be assumed for this space, a feature that produces a number of effects. At a basic level, the tight control over this space helps to build tension in "night-visit" ballads, in which a hero comes secretly to his partner's room for a night of love-making and leaves without the parents being any the wiser. Surprisingly, this class of ballad is not well represented in the Laws syllabus, occurring only half a dozen times, two of them with comical results (Laws O3 and O18), and another two in which parental authority is upheld *by the heroine*, who refuses the hero entry (Laws M4 and O21): in the latter ballad, the heroine leaves her lover standing out in a snow storm, rather than risk her reputation by letting him. Laws categories "N" and "P" add only two more ballads to the list. Both are from the "Unfaithful Lovers" group and end in unwanted pregnancy with a moral warning about the consequences of such

behaviour ("Blow the Candle Out," Laws P17; and "Pretty Little Miss," Laws P18). Thus, the integrity of and justification for parental control over confined domestic space appears to be upheld strongly in broadsides in oral tradition, at least as represented by Laws.

The motif of a dungeon in a private residence may appear to be little more than a crude example of broadside excess, but it may have more expressive functions, which emerge through a consideration of the structural logic of the genre as a whole. Just as there are social factors, economic or political, that compel the hero to leave the community, the broadside institutes a balancing power that forces the woman to remain behind. The father's role is of course literal in that he constitutes the class authority that would see his daughter marry into an economically appropriate situation, but it is also figurative in that he provides a narrative catalyst that imposes obstacles for the heroine that are every bit as real and oppressive as those faced by the hero himself. Her imprisonment in a sealed dungeon at home -- a seamless token of enforce Oedipal fidelity -- is the structural opposite of the hero's impressment or imprisonment under institutional authority. Both are trapped by their respective social obligations -- hers, to class; his, to the crown and to legal authority. Confined areas, as in the classical ballad, take on crucial significance in broadsides, but here the concerns are social rather than psychological, which shows a profound re-orientation of the sensitivities of the genre. Moreover, the contrast of the social versus natural concerns of the two genres is underlined by the parallel juxtaposition of spaces of *absolute* confinement,

which in broadsides are located within the domestic and institutional spheres, and in classical ballads within the sacred and supernatural realms.

The structural affiliation between the mantle and the ballad outworlds is reinforced by one of the few supernatural motifs that recurs with any regularity in the genre, and that is the revenant who returns from a wilderness to inform the heroine of his death. Despite the reputation of the broadside as a rationalistic genre, the revenant is a surprisingly common motif, appearing in six ballads (Laws M29, M32, M34, and M36 to M38), while dreams (Laws M33 and O37) fulfil a comparable function in two others. The broadside ghost, however, has a different function from the classical ballad revenants, who generally return to offer solace and admonitions against excessive grief (Buchan 1986). Conversely, in "Nancy of Yarmouth" (Laws M38) the revenant insists that the woman has been promised to him and that he intends to take her to the grave with him. He lures her to the edge of a cliff where she plunges to her death. In the broadsides, the revenant establishes an empathetic link between domestic and outworld areas, and we can suggest therefore that one of its functions in the modern context is to create a link with "the beyond," so to speak, that is physical as well as spiritual. The revenants are able to collapse real-world distance and establish lines of communication that the contemporary society had few other means of providing, and they thus speak to a concern for contact, or lack of it, between those separated by economic necessity, often through industries that were innately hazardous and which precluded regular contact between the worker and his home community. It is not surprising,

therefore, that all but two of the above types have been collected in Nova Scotia,¹⁰ where workers in marine occupations have been the most prolific sources for collectors of ballads.

But in speaking of varying functions of a motif in different genres, we are recognizing a particular kind of discourse that is established at a generic level, which does not preclude individual ballad types or individual manifestations of a motif from having the ability to conform to both modes. Thus, when we learn from Quigley and Doucette that "Sweet William's Ghost" (Child 77) is the most commonly collected classical ballad in Newfoundland and that "The revenant motif in particular is common in Newfoundland [classical] ballads, as is the dream motif in which contact is made with the "other world" in less corporeal form" (1981, 8), we cannot assume that these ballads carry over the same semantic function they possessed in Scotland in the eighteenth century, for they conform readily to the broadside pattern of returning across physical space, every bit as much as spiritual space: in "Sweet William's Ghost," when the revenant enters the heroine's "lone home," she asks if he "From Scotland home has come" (Peacock 1965, 2, 390). Elsewhere in tradition of eastern Canada and the northeastern United States, the connection between revenants and occupational disasters is made explicitly through

¹⁰ "The Constant Farmer's Son" (Laws M33): Creighton and Senior 1950, 141-142; Mackenzie 1928, 90-91; "Edmund in the Lowlands Low" (Laws M34): Creighton and Senior 1950, 221-222; "American Woods" (Laws M36): Creighton 1932, 214-216; "The Nightingale" (Laws M37): Doerflinger 1951, 304-305; "Nancy of Yarmouth" (Laws M38): Creighton 1932, 81-83; and "The Silvery Tide" (Laws O37): Creighton and Senior 1950, 206-209; Doerflinger 1951, 282-283.

the pairing of "James Whalen" (Laws C7), a ballad of a fatality in the lumberwoods, and the revenant ballad "Lost Jimmy Whalen" (Laws C8).

These last examples demonstrate that although the broadside, in terms of its overall generic structure, looks out into the world at large and moves its characters through a global landscape, it may still function at many levels to reflect the concerns of those living in resource-based, small communities. This feature of broadside structure and meaning can be explored profitably through an examination of the class of ballads often described as "Broken Ring" songs, which also deal with the broadside concern of separation and distance, but they do so in a way that is supportive of the community and its established structure. Internationally, there are over twenty ballad types belonging to the group, including no fewer than sixteen types in Laws's category "Ballads of Lover's Disguises and Tricks" (group "N"), constituting fully one third of the songs under that heading. Still further analogues appear in "The Bold Fisherman" (Laws O24), "The Apprentice Boy" (Laws M12), in the native American ballads "The Banks of Brandywine" (Laws H28) and "The Bright Blooming Star of Belle Isle" (Laws H29), and in such classical types as "Hind Horn" (Child 17), "The Kitchie Boy" (Child 252)¹¹ and "The New Slain

¹¹ "The Kitchie-Boy" provides an interesting example of a classical ballad that tells a narrative more typical of broadside tradition, but whose spatial and character structures continue to conform closely to classical principles. The ballad contains an essential class difference in a high-born lady falling in love with her father's servant and she is naturally concerned with repercussions should the affair be discovered. But the sense of brutal class authority that broadside parents tend to represent is absent in this ballad. There is no sense of the woman's direct confinement, and she herself provides the means for the hero to travel to London to establish himself by giving him a ship of his own. When the hero returns a wealthy man, it is the father who insists on the relationship. "The Kitchie-Boy" is essentially devoid of any institutional presence and the family remains a healthy, integrated, protective but supportive unit.

Knight" (Child 263). The narratives, as Laws points out (1957, 18), are highly stereotyped and involve a young man's encounter with a woman upon his return from sea. His attempts to seduce her are rebuked, and even when he intimates that her absent lover has died she vows to remain loyal. Convinced of her faithfulness, he produces a token of recognition and reveals himself to be the traveller returned.

Broken ring ballads have long been regarded as among the most popular in eastern Canada (Edith Fowke, quoted in Usher and Page-Harpa 1977, 37), and the story line has proven particularly resilient in Atlantic Canada, where seventeen of the twenty-three types have been collected. In many respects, the tensions in "Broken Ring" ballads can be related to absences which were (and in some cases are) a way of life in rural industries that, in the Atlantic region at least, have especially strong connections with folksong traditions, namely seafaring and lumbering. In the case of deep-water sailors of the merchant marine, voyages abroad could take a man away for up to two years or more. But even in fishing and lumbering, where men had to leave home on a seasonal basis for periods lasting from two weeks to three months, absence is still a factor to be dealt with, though duration is probably less of a factor than frequency. In these industries, it is the repeated occupational cycle of departure and return that makes absence a perennial issue of cultural concern, and thus one of the primary regional attractions for these songs is that they depict, in a somewhat stylised fashion, very human responses to the difficulties faced by both males and females during periods of separation.

At a literal level, the songs recall typical broadside space and character relationships. Most types and versions locate the narrative in a community margin: a garden (Laws N42), in fields (Laws N35 & N39), or more commonly, by the sea shore or the banks of a river. The hero has usually been away at sea for a long period, often serving in the military, and his return constitutes a movement back into the community from either a transitional outworld or a state of institutional confinement. Essentially what the ballads involve is not simply a chauvinistic test of fidelity, but a negotiation of the hero's re-entry into community life, with the transitional locus of action reinforcing the liminal status of the relationship between the hero and heroine during their separation and the change it is about to undergo. And like all transitions, it is a time of trial, figuratively and literally.

In many variants, we initially see the female character off by herself in a margin area; often she is weeping or lamenting -- as one text puts it, "Her countenance looked sad" (Laws N43; MacKenzie 1928, 173). As such, she bears a striking resemblance to the ideal of the "grass widow" described by Dona Lee Davis in her study of women's roles in a Newfoundland outpost. She writes:

Grass widow formally describes a very passive female expressive role -- the woman who sits on the grassy hills (actually mossy rocks) overlooking the shore, staring out to sea, wondering when and if her husband will come home from fishing.¹²

¹² Davis 1988, 220-221. This is not the only meaning of the term. According to Partridge (1984), as Davis notes, it signifies a woman whose husband is absent but not dead, and he suggests further that the term normally implies an *unfaithful* woman, often an unwed mother or the mother of an illegitimate child. It is difficult to account fully for this inversion of meaning, whether it is the result of region or gender. The term is not listed in *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* (Story, Kirwin, and Widdowson 1990).

Despite the passivity of this folk version of the *French Lieutenant's Woman*, the notion holds a positive value in the community studied by Davis. This is not because Newfoundland women subscribe to the image as a model of appropriate active behaviour; rather the image presents an understandable emotional response to the anxieties of a mariner's wife. "The term grass widow," Davis states, "expresses women's emotional involvement in the fishery." In its evocation of the emotional strain of separation, it speaks, by inversion, to the dynamic energy required to overcome that strain. Thus, the image of the grass widow gets channelled in two directions. On the one hand, there is the pragmatic side of the woman who must keep hearth and home in order without assistance from a spouse, "the woman who is both mother and father to her children. She represents the good woman, who keeps the family together and functioning through the good times and bad." On the other hand, there is a more romantic facet, idealised, but nonetheless significant. Davis's appraisal of this component of the imagery touches significantly on two themes central to the Broken Ring songs: the expectations of the return and the potential for the hero never to return:

In many ways grass widow is a personification of values of the past. Grass widow symbolizes the adaptation to cyclical patterns of male absence. Grass widow symbolizes the excitement of homecoming, intense companionship and the mutual admiration that traditionally characterized the husband/wife relationship. Grass widow denotes the shared emotions of husband and wife. For the older woman it brings back past memories of excitement for the returning hero after a long trip; an excitement intensified by the promise of sexual activity after long periods of abstinence. Women would bake homemade pies and gather on the cliffs to spot the boats coming in, to await proof that they had escaped widowhood this time. (Davis 1988, 221)

In the Broken Ring songs, the talerole "grass widow" is brought dramatically to life, and the symbology surrounding this character type, and the social function of that symbology, must be held as central to meaning in the Broken Ring cycle. The character's passivity can be regarded as "truth" only by one unacquainted with the acts of emotional strength required to endure long or repeated periods of separation and the effects they have on "normal" family existence. From a rhetorical perspective, the tension between the pragmatic and the emotional components of the grass widow probably helps to establish, in large measure, the cultural significance of the image. In effect, were an individual to subscribe to the actual model of the forlorn woman aimlessly staring out to sea, she would in all likelihood be unable to meet the responsibilities of maintaining house and home by herself. The symbol of the grass widow, however, acknowledges the fact that despite the socio-economic need for women to take on active roles, there are times, probably frequent, when simply being human forces one to give in to moments of loneliness, despair, concern for a partner's safety, and a longing for his return. The cultural acceptance of the symbol lays a communal foundation for such feelings -- "everyone feels this way at sometime" -- even if community mores would not sanction the public display of these sentiments every time they were encountered. As such, the image is a leveller through which the stress of fear and loneliness is borne by the community, rather than the individual. Through a culturally recognized symbol, the individual can tap into a larger emotional network and find

empathy for concerns ever present, when in reality neither the concerns nor empathy for them find ready expression within the daily framework of living.

Turning to the male character, we have at the outset of the song his return, unrecognized if not actually in disguise, to what one presumes will be a homecoming in its most integrative sense, that is, not only a return to a place but to a reinstatement of his position within the cultural and familial complex that he left. A straightforward interpretation of the narrative and the centrality of the test within it suggests that the issue of the heroine's fidelity is foremost in his mind. Certainly, the destabilization of conventional amatory relationships is perhaps to be expected (or at least worried about) where extended or frequent occupational absences are an inherent part of life. Events such as the following noted by Nova Scotian diarist Simeon Perkins were perhaps not at all uncommon. In his entry for March 26, 1778, he writes:

Mrs. Horton delivered of a son last night. Capt. Horton has been gone near one year 10 months. Jane Nickerson, single woman, was also delivered of a daughter. Several such instances have happened of late, to the great disgrace of the place. . . . (Perkins 1948, 187)

Anthropologists report that even in the modern fishing industry, where absences are relatively short, some fishermen express reluctance even to have their wives work outside the home, since it would expose them to the company of other men (Turnstall 1962, 161).

But concern for fidelity only partly explains the test in the Broken Ring scenario, and there are ethnographic factors that can be presented which might help to place the rather unheroic test in a more culturally meaningful light. Essentially,

the test may be regarded as a reflection of insecurities within the protagonist which are often cited by anthropologists as culturally inherent among males where occupational absences are a way of life. In such environments, men often live an existence that is peripheral to the inner family structure and their relationship to that structure is constantly in doubt. Michael Orbach writes at length of the many difficulties fishermen encounter in their familial relationships resulting directly from extended absences.¹¹ For single fishermen, long trips at sea followed by short periods at home mean that relationships with members of the opposite sex are difficult to establish and even more difficult to sustain (Orbach 281-282). The married man, while at sea, lives in ignorance of the day to day changes and emotional fluxes within the family, and when he returns he is perceptibly outside the tensions and affiliations generated by such occurrences. Fishermen also tend to yield the traditionally male role of head-of-household to their wives, and when at home, their behaviour tends to be at odds with the conventional notion of "husband" and "father." Orbach writes:

The fisherman's absence breeds a certain amount of guilt and fear of rejection in his own mind. Because the cultural expectations of his role dictate behaviors he cannot perform at sea and perhaps will not even perform while he is at home, a dissonance is created between his prescribed role and his actual behavior. The fishermen feel bad about this dissonance, and guilty about being in an occupation which creates it.

¹¹ Orbach 1977, see esp. ch. 11, "Community and Self-Image." Comparable comments can be found in Tunstall 1962, ch. 7, "Fisherman's Domestic Life." Although much of what they write relates to contemporary, urban based fisheries, absence-related problems are to some extent transferable to the rural context. Many inshore fisheries were prosecuted on a daily out-and-return basis, but for schooner fisheries or for work in the lumbercamps during the winter, extended absences were a regular part of occupational life. Most importantly, the absences are institutionally regulated, in that one works for and according to the dictates of a larger economic interest.

At the same time they feel unsure about behaving as their role dictates for fear of being rejected by their wives and children. When you see someone only a few times a year you tend to grow unsure of their feelings toward you, especially if you notice other aspects of their thought and behavior changing from visit to visit (1977, 280)

The consequence of the fisherman's uncertainty with respect to his relationship with family members ashore is, in Orbach's view, "an exaggerated need to feel control."

Within this framework, the ballad hero's actions may be seen to reflect both his uncertainty of the heroine's feeling's toward him and of his "need to feel control." The test is not merely an insensitive probing for indications of the woman's sexual fidelity, but is as much a sensitive acknowledgment of his own outsiderness. It is a test of love, of the heroine's continued interest in the relationship, and a search for an indication of his place within that relationship. One need only consider the ramifications of a negative outcome of the test to realize that the hero is in a subordinate, not a superior, position.

One can perhaps say that the Broken Ring scenario awkwardly portrays a difficult reality. The pivotal act of the test is self-centred and devious, and neither of the central characters taken at their face value -- a moping woman and a jealous lover -- is particularly heroic in any conventional sense of the term. They are, however, very human characters, and it is perhaps the humanity represented in their actions that the songs elucidate. Interestingly, while the narrative symbolically displays tensions surrounding transitional points in the occupational cycle, it offers no easy solution to the difficulties; it simply acknowledges that they exist, which is probably an important function in and of itself in a culture where interpersonal

relationships are not commonly open for discussion. Through the dramatic depiction of characters that have highly visible real-world counterparts, the trials of separation are given voice, and then, with the safe return of the hero to the faithful lover, the ring as love token is made whole again and the occupational cycle of departure and return rendered successfully complete.

From the preceding surveys, one can see that in strictly poetic terms the spatial dynamics of the broadside world are no more complex than those of the classical ballad, but they do reveal a larger world, a more mobile world, and a world in which "place" constitutes a social standing as well as a physical position. On the one hand, they reveal separation and distance to be among the most pressing concerns of the broadside ballads that survived in oral tradition. On the other, they show a further concern for ordering one's personal life within an increasingly institutionalized and bureaucratic world. But like traditional culture, it is a world of mixed blessings, and while it has its oppressions and obstacles, it offers avenues to new experience and new situations, which through forbearance, education, and moral observance are accessible to all. As Williams states,

Many literate working men did respond to middle-class popular culture, largely, one suspects, because it held out the promise of upward mobility (and the promise of a disciplined and docile work force for the middle class which sponsored it). Indeed, in the chaotic world of the industrial city, discipline, hard work, sobriety, thrift, domesticity -- all values essential to middle-class popular culture -- offered the working-man some chance to escape the undertow of vice and crime which surged around him. (1976-81, 51)

For those in rural districts, the broadside gave voice to concerns about the growing presence of capitalist economics in rural industries and about more rigidly structured

class divisions extending primarily from the consolidation of land and wealth. It also offered tales of romance and tragedy, both undoubtedly alluring in their own way, that brought to the small community dramatic images of the world beyond their immediate boundaries; it was a landscape of options where borders were increasingly transgressed by choice and with immunity. But its narratives could also reflect the internal rhythms and tensions of the rural community as an ongoing social structure, although one that operated increasingly under the influence of modern socio-economic conditions. As such, the broadside inevitably came to speak for modern generations of rural workers and their families, who could not continue to define themselves in terms of a self-contained, self-sufficient community. Such a thing no longer existed. Indeed, it was the broadside's ability to engage the world outside the small community that fostered its relevance in modern rural tradition.

Conclusion

The preceding analyses began by justifying a distinction between classical and broadside ballads on stylistic grounds. Thematically, there is a significant, though far from overwhelming, correspondence between the two, and for several centuries, they existed on common or adjacent ground, which inevitably resulted in an exchange of motifs and conventions between them, but the nature of the interchange has to be understood in relative terms, for it undoubtedly developed greater fluidity as time passed, with print and other mass mediated forms finally coming to dominate tradition. For the period before the eighteenth century, the influence of the classical ballad on broadside tradition is easily overstated.

Freidman, after Rollins, states that classical types represent a mere one percent of the titles on the register of the Company of Stationers, and that if outlaw ballads¹ are removed, the statistic falls to less than twenty titles (Friedman 1961a, 26-27; Rollins 1967 [1924]). Conversely, the extent to which broadsides penetrated oral culture during the blackletter period (Shepard 1978 [1962], 58-65) is questionable.

¹ It is interesting to note that the collection activities of the Romantics produced no "Robin Hood" ballads that can be tied directly to oral tradition, with the solitary exception of a text collected by Dixon from an "aged female" and published in 1846 (*ESPB*, III, 154). There is, however, a very fuzzy link between "Robin Hood" and "Brown Robin" in a number of oral ballads -- "Jellon Graeme" (Child 90), "Brown Adam" (Child 98), "Willie and Earl Richard's Daughter" (Child 102), "Rose the White and the Red Lily" (Child 103) -- representing, perhaps, even in the repertoire of Anna Brown (see Child 102 A, st. 16), an incipient influence of English broadside tradition.

Spufford (1984) traces the routes of a handful of seventeenth-century pedlars, who both sold broadsides and used singing as a "hook" to attract customers, and some of her subjects travelled from and to Scotland, and therefore we can be assured of at least sporadic contact between the two traditions from a fairly early period. Individuals entering the community on an intermittent basis, however, could not conceivably have had the same degree of impact on traditional song culture as would an institutionalized flow of male and female workers between the country and the city and a predominantly literate population, both of which are considerably later phenomena. But most importantly, the casual drift of individuals in and out of a community, while it may introduce the odd song here and there, does not alter the way the community acts and interacts, and it is the wholesale alterations of community structure and outlook attendant with modernity that gives relevance to broadside narratives and makes them the preferred ballad form in later tradition.

Repertoire is another measure of the relative degree of interchange between the two traditions, but unfortunately the data here are in short supply. The evidence available, however, all points to the expected, which is a steady growth in the ratio of broadside to classical types as time proceeds. All of Anna Brown of Falkland's thirty-three ballad types are classical in style and structure (Buchan 1972, 62-73 and 87-173). Some researchers, however, have been inclined to see many literate influences in her ballads. Fowler notes that her dictations represent the first instances of manuscripts containing all classical types, and attributes that fact to the direct influence of Percy's and Herd's publications (1968, 298). He also suggests

that her versions of "Beichan" have a broadside predecessor, while her version of "Thomas Rymer" is said to be "composed directly" from the romance (1968, 315 and 321). Andersen and Pettitt (1979), noting the relative stability of her formulas in individual ballad types, question the degree of re-creation in her performances, a proposition that would place her somewhat farther along on the literate continuum. Indeed, there is no dismissing the fact that Anna Brown sits on the cusp of oral and literate tradition, but despite the fact that she herself was literate and her family middle class, there is no other singer who brings us as close to oral tradition *in oral culture* as she does, especially since her maternal aunt, the source of her ballads, places us right in the heart of the rural tradition (Buchan 1972, 63). The key thing, however, is that the style of her ballads leaves little room for doubt about the predominance of their oral influences. Brown herself distinguished between traditional and broadside material, for she was quite adamant in a letter to Fraser Tytler about her ballads, stating that "I never saw any of them in print or Manuscript but have kept them entirely from hearing them sung when a child" (quoted in Buchan 1972, 66), and one should be reluctant to dismiss this comment as her desire to impress the collector, for "orality" did not have the same position in ballad revival rhetoric then that it was to have subsequent to Motherwell. The comment does show that Brown was well aware of the broadside tradition, and given her expressed desire to record Aberdeenshire ballads, she may well have regarded the print material as essentially English.

The generation after Brown, however, by which time we are moving into the first decades of the nineteenth century, sees an increased presence of print influences in local repertoires. Buchan has shown that the classical repertoire itself of this period underwent many modifications in response to increased levels of literacy: an increased awareness of the malleability of oral poetic devices, and an increased influence of English language and culture (1972, 205-243). Part of that transition also involves a growing presence of broadside tradition in the local song repertoires. James Gibb's mother made the same distinction as Brown between traditional and broadside material, yet included print ballads in her active repertoire (letter from Gibb to John Francis Campbell, cited in Buchan 1972, 67). In southwest Scotland, Agnes Lyle's repertoire, collected in the 1820s, contained at least thirty percent broadside material (McCarthy 1989, 40-51). By the end of the century we find that classical types form a relatively small part of a traditional repertoire, and even in the northeast of Scotland, the 107 classical types found in Grieg and Keith (1925) are starting to pale as successive volumes of the Grieg-Duncan collection make their appearance. In Nova Scotia, of the 118 songs that Ben Henneberry sang for Helen Creighton (1937, 32, 1932, and Creighton and Senior 1950) ten are classical types while almost three times that number are broadsides.

The central issue, however, has little to do with the specifics of ballad types and their ultimate sources, but with how ballad narrative method relates to prevailing cultural discourses and how they dovetail with concerns that emerge in

many areas of community life. The body of this thesis has attempted to examine such issues relative to the construction of spatial relationships in ballad scenography, and the results suggest that the transition from predominantly oral to predominantly literate culture was accompanied by change in balladry's prevailing metaphors for disequilibrium, with one system drawing reference from the uncertainties of a natural environment and the other from the cultural upheavals of modern life, through the juxtaposition of the promise and inequities of its social structures. Classical ballad space was found to conform to a radial model consisting of domestic, natural, and sacred strands, each consisting of boundary, internal, and confined areas. In broadside tradition, a number of significant changes can be noted in the model. Not unsurprisingly, the otherworld ceases to be an area of any significance, and its functions along with those of other sectors of natural space become subsumed within three levels of extrinsic space, beginning with community margins and ranging out into transitional and permanent outworlds, which unlike the otherworld, are commonly benevolent and sought-for places of escape. The church is reduced to a minor institutional role and becomes part of the literate, bureaucratic culture that dominates the broadside world. Domestic space maintains its essential shape but also begins to feel the pressures of the changing social structures, particularly as exhibited by the "mantle" areas, which become very literal places of socially motivated confinement, inhibiting young women especially from marrying outside their class.

As they stand, the models may be held to represent generic ideals, that is, each describes a core landscape that may be said to typify, rather than inclusively encompass, its genre. As such, they establish a baseline against which other features of the tradition can be analyzed, which may prove particularly useful given that we are acknowledging that our recorded classical ballad traditions emanate from cultures that knew of and to a certain extent were influenced by urban, literate society, and virtually all our knowledge of broadsides as traditional song comes from study of rural singers and repertoires. Essentially, we are dealing on the one hand with an oral culture already feeling the pull of the modern world, and on the other with a modern tradition that continues to speak for peoples still tied to the rhythms of rural, small community existence. It will come as no surprise to anyone to realize that the landscape of the ballad "Young Beichan" (Child 53) conforms much more closely to the broadside model than to the classical model, and we can also note that the essence of class tension is starting to show itself in such classical ballads as "Lord Thomas and Fair Annet" (Child 73) and "Lamkin" (Child 93) -- all three survive well in modern tradition. Relationships separated by distance also appear in a handful of classical ballads, yet in "Lord Lovel" (Child 75) and "Bonny Bee Hom" (Child 92),² the absence is insurmountable and proves fatal, while in

² Anna Brown's version of this ballad (Child 92 A) is worth noting, because despite its oral architectonic, its opening stanza is remarkably broadside-like in style:

By Arthur's Dale as late I went
 I heard a heavy moan
 I heard a ladie lamenting sair
 And ay she cried Ohone!
 (Child 92 A, st. 1)

"Hind Horn" it is overcome but only through the successful return and reintegration of the hero into the home community. Classical ballad characters move out into the broader world, but not with the same frequency or with the same degree of freedom that they are accorded by later tradition.

Representations of modern economic and political structures are much less in evidence in classical ballad tradition, and this is true even in historical ballads which are solidly rooted in the feudal, clan-knit system, though "Johnie Cock" (Child 114) stands out as a classical ballad that deals with enclosure. One other classical ballad that shows a concern for institutional authority is "The Clerk's Two Sons o Owsenford" (Child 72), which adheres to the broadside pattern of fusing institutional and domestic authority in the heroines' father. In this ballad, the clerk's sons go off to school in Owsenford (Oxford) where they fall in love with daughters of the "mighty mayor." When the relationship is discovered, the mayor is able to exercise considerable control by having the boys hanged, apparently without trial and despite their father's appeal for clemency. The ballad is a perfect hybrid of the old and the new cultural systems, combining the absolute authority of the father, who as head-of-the-clan intervenes ruthlessly in unsanctioned relationships, with the legal authority of the modern civic official. Thus, by using the two models of ballad tradition as station-points, we can begin to isolate relationships that enable us to see that even the predominantly oral "intrinsic" culture was beginning to feel the need to respond to the effects of modern economic and political structures.

In the last chapter, it was pointed out that while broadsides were a fundamentally urban genre, they came to form a significant part of the expressive response to the modern world for several generations of rural singers, who also came to rely on the outside world as a market for produce, as a supplier of goods, as a source of capital for local industry, and as a provider of temporary jobs outside the community, and who developed through travel a direct acquaintance with many parts of the world beyond their immediate borders. In a recent study of a contemporary Newfoundland outport, Gerald Pocius, for example, argues that

... Newfoundlanders in places like Calvert were a highly mobile people before the advent of the automobile. With transportation by sea available to every community resident, and the first hundred years of English contact marked by a migratory fishery, Calvert residents in the past often travelled more than their present-day descendants. Mobility is not a recent norm introduced by modern means of travel. (1991, 15-16)

In fact, the extent of mobility was such that it may highlight a difficulty in how folklorists at present tend to regard the idea of community, and what it means for a body of folk songs, for example, to reflect the concerns of a community. Edward D. Ives's descriptions of lumbercamp singing in New England and the Maritimes (1977, 1978, 374-396), augmented by that of Ashton in central and western Newfoundland, tend to reconstruct singing events as rooted in specific times and places, and even when Ives acknowledges two traditions, one public, one domestic, the models do not really take into consideration the multiple spheres of human activity that might be engaged in a single performance, for the simple reason that the broadside narratives, by unfolding over a far-ranging topography, have the ability to cover many bases all at once. In an introduction to a reprint of John

Ashton's *Real Sailor Songs*, A. L. Lloyd states that he finds it surprising that in spite of all the occupational hardships faced by sailors, what they chose to sing about primarily were their love interests. On the one hand, such songs may have represented a community concern for virility and sexual machismo, but they must also have represented individual concerns for other communities, possibly on the other side of the world, to which each sailor also belonged. With broadside tradition, then, which is inextricably linked to the modern vernacular culture it seeks to re-create, songs become not only reflective of concerns shared by communities as defined by performers and audiences, but they also become connectives between communities, naming and dispelling the absence for the fleeting moment that the song remains (cf. Abrahams 1968).

Finally, the analyses reveal a correspondence between classical and broadside ballads and the cultural environments they illuminate that requires further comment. Just as the supernatural ballads of Telemark were seen to correspond in part to concerns surrounding the seasonal separations caused by *seter* use, we have also found that such broadsides as the Broken Ring group can also be interpreted in light of seasonal occupational absences, and one wonders how do the two traditions really differ? The differences are relative but I think nonetheless significant. To some extent, modern occupational absences tend to place one further outside community boundaries, for even though the *seter* could lie at considerable distances from the home farm, occupational absences in Atlantic Canada, for example, could take one outside the province or even the country (Ives 1977, 20). But the more important

differences are probably perceptual, which again stresses cognition as a crucial element in the oral/literate continuum. The first consideration has to do with the relative permeability of boundaries. Where absences and transitions from one stage to another are essential, classical ballads dramatize the need for such occurrences: the heroine must be captivated and drawn out of the community, and finally she sacrifices self through a drink-of-forgetfulness for the good of her family. Fundamentally, it is a genre that abhors change. In the world as reflected in the broadside, absence has become such a commonplace activity that exteriority is almost less of a threat than the trial of re-entering the community; there is a fear that one might have been replaced or forgotten. Moreover, the modern context carries an awareness of a much larger world. It is a world of greater opportunity but a world of greater uncertainty as well. It is a world that requires testing, for it possesses too many variables, too much doubt, and too much instability to be taken at face value.

Thus, among the many significant contributions that folkloristics can bring to scholarship on orality and literacy in modern Europe and its American offshoots, one of the most important is the ability to proceed from a practical, ethnographic understanding of traditional modes of culture, and to explore the impact of literacy not in terms of desired intellectual ideals, but in terms of palpable alterations and innovations it brought to ways of thinking and to cultural identity in oral and predominantly rural communities.

Appendix I

Set Structure in the Telemark Supernatural Ballads

This appendix and the one that follows provide reference for the discussions of spatial relations in chapters five and seven respectively. Each entry is identified by type number and ballad title, followed by a scene-by-scene breakdown of the sets that appear in the ballad. "Literal set" describes as specifically as the text permits the actual space in which the significant action occurs, while "Base Set" refers to where the set fits in the structural models described in figures 4 and 6. A "Control Character," if present, is assumed to have authority over a given space and will generally represent an obstacle that the hero or heroine will have to overcome. The abbreviations are adopted from Buchan's notations:

H = hero	S = heroine
HM = hero's mother	SF = heroine's father
HR or SR = hero(ine)'s rival	SB = heroine's brother(s)
HsM or SsM = hero(ine)'s stepmother	OWB = otherworld being
N/C = area of no control	I/C = area of institutional control

TSB A004 Riddr Stigs runer

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
&	"over a bridge"	Nature Boundary	N/C
I	with HM	Domestic Interior	HM
II(a)	Door to H's bedroom	Mantle (Threshold)	
II(b)	H's bed	Mantle	
III	before the king	Domestic Interior	SF
VI	H + S married	Domestic	H+S

TSB A011 Sövnrunerne

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I	H + SB at table	Domestic Interior	
II	H comes to S's Farm	Domestic Boundary	SF
III	H + S in S's bed	Mantle	SF
IV	H utav garde, less horse	Nature Boundary	N/C

TSB A012 Havfruens spådom

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I	H + S at table	Domestic Interior	H
II	H + Agt	Domestic Interior	H
III	H in grave	Sacred	N/C

TSB A013 Synd og bod

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I	bird fr. annan land at jmfrihur	Mantle	SP
II(a)	S to SB bedroom door	Mantle (Threshold)	
II(b)	S enters and sits on a chest	Mantle	
III	S + SB to fremande land	Wilderness	N/C

TSB A016 Jomfruen i fugleham

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
&	noble's woods	Wilderness	N/C
I	S's room (bespelling)	Mantle	SP
II	H's room	Mantle	HP
III(a)	woods (hunt; unspelling)	Wilderness	N/C
III(b)	SsM to trollebotten	Other World	OWB

TSB A018 Ramnen ber bod

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I(a)	H gives message to raven	Mantle	IIM
I(b)	raven flies over sea	Wilderness	N/C
II(a)	MC to höi loftssvalar	Mantle (Threshold)	SF
II(b)	raven flies back over sea	Wilderness	N/C
III	MC to H's buri	Mantle	IIM

TSB A019 Jomfruen i ulvenham

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I	SM dies / SsM comes to farm	Domestic Interior	SP
II(a)	S transformed to wolf	Wilderness	N/C
II(b)	SsM fears to leave home	Domestic Interior	
III	SsM to church / killed by S	Sacred Boundary	N/C
IV	S transformed returns to SF	Domestic Interior	SF

TSB A020 Varulven

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I	S on road to "hei"	Nature Boundary	N/C
II	S attacked by wolves on "hei"	Wilderness	N/C
III	II hears cries in his "bur"	Mantle	
IV	H arrives; S dead	Wilderness	N/C

TSB A024 Liten Lavrans

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
&	home beside the hill	Domestic Boundary	HF
I	king's yard (lit. farm)	Domestic Boundary	HsM
II	"på kvite sand" (beach)	Nature Boundary	N/C
III	stall	Domestic Boundary	
IV	"in så kom"	Domestic Interior	HF-
V	"rosens lund"	Wilderness	N/C

TSB A025 Rosensfolen

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
&	horse in stall	Domestic Boundary	N/C
I	land/mur/vollen/sund	Wilderness	N/C
II(a)	S in högloftssvala	Mantle (Threshold)	(S Captors)
II(b)	S + MC on strand	Nature Boundary	
III	S + MC in stall	Domestic Boundary	
IV	MC would have vigde molle	Sacred	Sacred

TSB A026 Blak og ravn hin brune

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
&	SF gives S to H in marriage	Domestic Interior	SF
I	H threatens S	Domestic Interior	II
II	S in tower	Mantle	
III(a)	King's yard	Domestic Boundary	SF
III(b)	Stall	Domestic Boundary	
IV(a)	"ut på sond" (sound)	Wilderness	N/C
IV(b)	tower (rescue)	Mantle	II
IV(c)	"te land"	Nature Boundary	SF
V	MC would have vigde molle	Sacred	Sacred

TSB A029 Lindormen

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I	OWB + S at farm	Domestic Boundary	SF
II(a)	OWB + S + SB in green grove	Nature Boundary	N/C
II(b)	OWB + S: bed in green field	Wilderness	N/C
III	H(OWB) + S in Englands by	(Wilderness)	II + S

TSB A030 Jomfruen i linden

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
&	SsM comes to farm	Domestic Interior	SF
I	S (transformed) + SS in wood	Wilderness	N/C
II	S (re-transformed) + SsM	Wilderness	
III	S kills SsM : ret. to farm	Domestic Boundary	SF

TSB A032 Rådengård og ørnen

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I	H rides su under II	Nature Boundary	N/C
II	H rides home	Domestic Boundary	II

TSB A033 Kongssonen av Norigsland

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I	H sends MC on errand	Domestic Interior	H
II	MC flies over the sea	Wilderness	N/C
III	MC to S buri	Mantle	SF
IV	MC to II	Domestic Interior	H

TSB A038 De två systrarna

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I	on the shore S + SR	Nature Boundary	N/C
II	shore (S + Agts)	Nature Boundary	N/C
III	durastok (doorway)	Domestic Boundary	N/C
IV	SR to live under a stone	Sacred	Sacred

TSB A039 Beiarblakkjen

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
&	Troll women sitting on a stone	Other World	OWB
I	King's gate	Domestic Boundary	HF
II(a)	MC leaps fjord	Wilderness	N/C
II(b)	heaven / hell / world's end	Otherworld	OWB
III	stall	Domestic Boundary	
IV	Kg fights invading force	Nature Boundry	N/C
V	Blakkjen's burial	Sacred	Sacred

TSB A041 Ribold og Gulborg

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
&	H "reiser å veie"	Nature Boundary	N/C
I	H + S talk at a table	Domestic Interior	SF
II	"på vejen fram" (road)	Nature Boundary	N/C
III	king's hall	Domestic Interior	SF
IV(a)	"ivi hær" (over heath)	Wilderness	N/C
IV(b)	"so tyk ein skog" (wood)	Wilderness	N/C
V	"dei kom ... i går" (farm)	Domestic Boundary	HM
VI	"tri lyk te molle" (burial)	Sacred	Sacred

TSB A047 Agnete og havnmanden

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
&	S to Hollands bru	Nature Boundary	N/C
I(a)	S in mountain	Other World	OWB
I(b)	S "sit på voggen" (at cradle)	Other World	OWB
II(c)	S to OWB	Other World	OWB
II	S to church	Sacred Interior	Sacred
III	OWB + S to mountain	Other World	OWB

TSB A048 Nökkens svig

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
&	lii / skrie (hill / water)	Nature Boundary	N/C
I	land	Nature Boundary	N/C
II	stoga (cottage)	Domestic Interior	Mortal
III	"den lange lie" (long way)	Nature Boundary	N/C
IV	"enno rie eg" (S escapes)	Nature Boundary	N/C

TSB A049 Herr Bøsmø i elvehjem

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
&	OWB kom seg ... i gard	Domestic Boundary	H
I(a)	knocks at H's door	Mantle (Threshold)	
I(b)	H's bed	Mantle	
II(a)	Stalhus	Domestic Boundary	
II(b)	Elvar-bru (bridge)	Nature Boundary	
II(c)	Stride straum (cruel stream)	Wilderness	
III	OWB Home	Other World	OWB

TSB A050 Harpens kraft

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I	"Magnild sto ute"	Domestic Boundary	SF
II	Bridge	Nature Boundary	N/C
III	Vendels å (river)	Other World	OWB
IV	"så lang ei lei" (escape)	Nature Boundary	N/C

TSB A051 Havfruens tærne

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
&	H ívir heide/k'gdom/moyesalar	Wilderness	N/C
I(a)	H í gár / OWB ute í dynni	Other World	OWB
II(b)	OWB to hure (loft) for S	Other World	OWB
II(a)	S in fer bordig (table)	Other World	OWB
II(b)	H saddles horse & they leave	Other World	N/C
III	OWB up í sengi reis (bed)	Other World	OWB
IV(a)	H + S ridand í gard	Domestic Boundary	HP + SP
IV(b)	S weaves w. magical ability	Domestic Interior	SP
IV(c)	S gives weaving to SM	Domestic Interior	SP

TSB A054 Jomfruen og dværgkongen

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I	S + SM play dice	Domestic Interior	SF
II(a)	BK bed/table/í gár	Domestic Boundary	N/C
II	skog / hav (wood / sea)	Wilderness	N/C
III(a)	arrival (í gár)	Other World	N/C
III(b)	stoga inn (into the cottage)	Other World	OWB

TSB A057 Margit og Jon í Vandelidom

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I	lio nor	Wilderness	N/C
II	pá durakinn	Domestic Boundary	N/C
III	í gár	Domestic Boundary	N/C
IV	Hóelofti	Mantle	SF
V	kyrkjevegg	Sacred Boundary	N/C
VI	Hóeloft	Mantle	SF
VII	han reiste	Nature Boundary	N/C

TSB A058 Jomfru narrer dværgen

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I(a)	OWB ridandes í gær	Domestic Boundary	
I(b)	H to loft / OWB to stoga	Mantle (Threshold)	SF
II	S prepares herself for suitor	Mantle	SF
III	S in um dýnni steig	Domestic Boundary	SF
IV(a)	S + H ivir högelöfts brú	Nature Boundary	N/C
IV(b)	outside mountain	Wilderness	N/C
V	S ridandes í gær	Domestic Boundary	SF

TSB A059 Herr Magnus og hjærgtrolden

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I	sofi ry í lund (grove)	Nature Boundary	N/C

TSB A060 Hake og bergemannen

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I	SF chases deer på heio	Wilderness	N/C
II	SF & OWB riand í gær	Domestic Boundary	SF
III(a)	S + OWB travel to mountain	Wilderness	N/C
III(b)	S + OWB enter mountain	Other World	OWB
IV(a)	SB travels to mountain	Wilderness	N/C
IV(b)	SB enters mountain	Other World	OWB
V	SB + S + OWB on road	Nature Boundary	N/C
VI	“dae lei tri dagar ifraa”	Nature Boundary (?)	N/C

TSB A063 Elveskud

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I(a)	framette mæ á (by a stream)	Nature Boundary	N/C
I(b)	elf dance in wood	Wilderness	N/C
II(a)	riands í gær	Domestic Boundary	IIP
II(b)	H in högelöftsvala	Mantle (Threshold)	IIP
III(a)	S riands í gær	Domestic Boundary	IIP
III(b)	högel'tsvala: H dies, S suicide	Mantle (Threshold)	IIP
IV	burial	Sacred (Confined)	Sacred

TSB A068 Moderen under mulde

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I(a)	under øy (by an island)	Nature Boundary	N/C
I(b)	heim (home)	Domestic Interior	S + H
I(c)	S burial	Sacred (Confined)	Sacred
II(a)	under øy	Nature Boundary	N/C
II(b)	heim	Domestic Interior	SR + H
III	Heaven	Sacred (Confined)	Sacred
IV	Steps to stoga	Domestic Boundary	N/C

TSB A069 Hedeby's gjenganger

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I	H rides to rosenlund at night	Wilderness	N/C
II	"o skogjen aa heim"	Domestic Interior	S
III	S buried alive "unde jor"	Sacred (Confined)	Sacred

TSB A073 Haugebonden

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl Ch.
I	H goes up to rosenlund	Wilderness	OWB
II(a)	OWB ref's H Home	Domestic Boundary	H
II(b)	H ref's ship lent to OWB	Domestic Boundary	
III	OWB resides "hera uponde lie"	Nature Boundary	OWB

Appendix II

Set Structures in Broadside: Laws's Categories "M" and "O"

LAWS-M01 Early, Early in the Spring

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	at sea with the navy	Institutional Confined	I/C
II	her father's hall; S married	Domestic	SF
III	returns to sea	Outworld Transitional	N/C

LAWS-M02 Johnny Doyle

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	S confined by parents	Mantle	SP
II	town of HR	Outworld Transitional	N/C
III	S's bedroom	Mantle	SP

LAWS-M03 Charming Beauty Bright

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	S confined by parents	Mantle	SP
II	H serves in military	Institutional Confined	I/C
III	H to S parent's home; S dead	Domestic	SP

LAWS-M04 Drowsy Sleeper

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	S bedroom window	Mantle (Threshold)	SP
II	hills / wood	Outworld Transitional	N/C

LAWS-M05 Henry Connors

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H courts S at home	Domestic	SF
II	SF plants goods in H's room	Domestic/Institutional	SF
III	H jailed then transported	Institutional Confined	I/C

LAWS-M06 Erin's Lovely Home

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H serves in SF home	Domestic/Institutional	SF
II	her father's garden	Domestic Boundary	SF
III	Belfast town	Outworld Transitional	N/C
IV	Jail / Transport	Institutional Confined	I/C

LAWS-M07 William & Harriet

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	S with SF	Domestic	SF
II	S + H run away to sea	Outworld Transitional	N/C
III	S + H castaway on island	Outworld Transitional	N/C

LAWS-M08 Riley's Farewell

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
&	Riverside (incipit)	Community Margin	N/C
I(a)	S with SM	Domestic	SF
I(b)	S with H	Domestic	SF
II(a)	S + H to run away to sea	Outworld Transitional	N/C
II(b)	S + H lost at sea	Outworld Transitional	N/C

LAWS-M09 William Riley's Courtship

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H + S in harbour	Domestic Boundary	SF
II	H in SF employ	Domestic/Institutional	SF
III	S + H elope to the hills	Outworld Transitional	N/C
IV	Jail	Institutional Confined	I/C

LAWS-M10 William Riley

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H + S elope to the hills	Community Margin	N/C
II(a)	H in Jail	Institutional Confined	I/C
II(b)	Court	Institutional	I/C
II(c)	H in Jail	Institutional Confined	I/C
III(a)	S with SF	Domestic	SF
III(b)	S confined by SF	Mantle	SF
III(c)	S to "private madhouse"	Institutional Confined	I/C
IV(a)	Jail; H petitions for release	Institutional	I/C
IV(b)	H frees S from Bedlam	Institutional	I/C
V	H + S in Sligo town	Outworld Permanent	H+S

LAWS-M11 My Father's Servant Boy

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	S at home faces arr. marriage	Mantle	SF
II	S + H elope to America	Outworld Transitional	N/C
III	H + S aided by Irish in Pa.	Outworld Permanent	H+S

LAWS-M12 Apprentice Boy

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	SF garden	Domestic Boundary	SF
II	H bound to merchant by SF	Institutional	I/C
III	H returns to S home	Domestic	SF
IV	H + S to church	Institutional	I/C

LAWS-M13 Locks and Bolts

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H in bed	Mantle	
II	H to SF home / S confined	Mantle	SF
III	H + S to hills pursued by SF	Outworld Transitional	N/C

LAWS-M14 Bonny Laboring Boy

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I(a)	S parent's home	Domestic	SP
I(b)	Shady grove	Domestic Boundary	SP
II(a)	S confined by parents	Mantle	SP
III	S + H elope to America	Outworld Permanent	H + S

LAWS-M15 Iron Door

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	SF lofty mansion	Domestic	SF
II	S + H (external set implied)	Domestic Boundary	SF
III	dungeon in SF home	Mantle	SF
IV	S + H establish own home	Domestic	H + S

LAWS-M16 Mary Acklin

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	bower (here meaning grove)	Domestic Boundary	SF
II	S confined to a room by SF	Mantle	SF
III	H in Court	Institutional	I/C
IV	H + S settle by Shannon banks	Domestic	H + S

LAWS-M17 Mary Neal

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I(a)	H in jail	Institutional Confined	I/C
I(b)	H in Court	Institutional	I/C
III(a)	H + S on flowery banks	Community Margin	N/C
III(b)	H + S run away to sea	Outworld Transitional	N/C
III(c)	H + S shipwrecked; H saves S	Outworld Transitional	N/C
IV	H + S settled	Outworld Permanent	H + S

LAWS-M18 *Pretty Betsey*

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	S confined by SF	Mantle	SF
II	H to window of S bedroom	Mantle Threshold	SF
III	H to S bedroom; S dies	Mantle	SF

LAWS-M19 *Young Sailor Bold I*

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	S in SF home	Domestic	SF
II	S with H on strand	Community Margin	N/C
III	SF murders S on strand	Community Margin	N/C

LAWS-M20 *Betsy is a Beauty Fair*

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	S in service to HM	Domestic/Institutional	HM
II	HM departs S	Outworld Transitional	N/C
III	H to bed and dies of grief	Mantle	HM

LAWS-M21 *Merchant's Only Son*

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H at HP home	Domestic	HP
II	H deported by parents	Outworld Transitional	N/C
III	shore; rich Agt enables return	Outworld Transitional	N/C

LAWS-M22 *Bonny Sailor Boy*

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	SF garden	Domestic Boundary	SF

LAWS-M23 Gay Girl Marie

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H writes letter to S	Domestic	
II(a)	SF home; SF intercepts letter	Domestic	SF
II(b)	SF departs S	Outworld Transitional	N/C
III(a)	H searches for S world over	Outworld Transitional	N/C
III(b)	H finds S in Court Square	Outworld Permanent	H + S

LAWS-M24 Jolly Ploughboy

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H ploughing fields	Domestic Boundary	
II	SF has H pressed	Institutional Confined	I/C
III	S goes to find H	Outworld Transitional	N/C
IV	S + H to shore	Community Margin	N/C

LAWS-M25 Banks of Dundee

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H ploughboy in SU's garden	Domestic/Institutional	SU
II	SU + HR "out"; kill H	Community Margin	N/C
III	S kills HR & SU in grove	Domestic Boundary	N/C

LAWS-M26 New River Shore

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H meets S on shore	Community Margin	N/C
II	SP have H pressed	Institutional Confined	I/C
III	H fights for S on shore	Community Margin	N/C

LAWS-M27 Bold Soldier

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H courts S	Domestic	SF
II(a)	H + S to Church	Institutional	I/C
II(b)	H + S return home	Domestic Boundary	SF
III	H + S inherit home	Domestic	H + S

LAWS-M28 Tan-Yard Side

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H meets S at SF home	Domestic	SF
II	SF departs H	Outworld Transitional	N/C

LAWS-M29 Beautiful Susan

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I(a)	HR courts S at SF home	Domestic	SF
I(b)	SF ltr H dead; S marries HR	Domestic	SF
II(a)	H sends letter to SF	Domestic	HR
II(b)	H dreams of S	Mantle	H
III	H to S bedside; both die	Mantle	SF

LAWS-M30 Farewell, Dear Rosanna

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H at S window	Domestic Boundary	SF
II	H to sea	Outworld Transitional	N/C
III	H shipwrecked; body to shore	Community Margin	N/C

LAWS-M31A William and Dinah A

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	S courted by H	Domestic	SF
II(a)	S to grove; S suicide	Domestic Boundary	N/C
II(b)	H to grove; H suicide	Domestic Boundary	N/C

LAWS-M31B Vilikins and His Dinah

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	S in SF garden	Domestic Boundary	SF
II	H finds S dead; cmt. suicide	Domestic Boundary	SF
III	SF sees H+S ghosts in garden	Domestic Boundary	SF (-)

LAWS-M32 Bramble Briar

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H courts S at SF home	Domestic	SF
II	SB lure H to valley & kill him	Community Margin	N/C
III(a)	H Revenant at S bedside	Mantle	SF
III(b)	S lead to body	Community Margin	N/C
IV	S returns home	Domestic	SF
V	SB to sea/death	Outworld Permanent	N/C

LAWS-M33 Constant Farmer's Son

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I(a)	H courts S at SF home	Domestic	SF
I(b)	SB kill H returning from fair	Community Margin	N/C
II(a)	S dreams of H	Mantle	SF
II(b)	S goes to find body	Community Margin	N/C
III	S returns; SB exposed	Domestic	SF

LAWS-M34 Edwin in the Lowlands

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H returns from sea	Outworld Transitional	I/C
II(a)	H to SF public house	Domestic/Institutional	SF-I/C
II(b)	SP murder H in bed	Domestic/Institutional	SF-I/C
III(a)	S dreams of H	Mantle	SF
III(b)	SP tried and executed	Institutional	I/C

LAWS-M35 Lovely Willie

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H + S in father's garden	Domestic Boundary	SF
II	SF "nearby"; kills H	Domestic Boundary	SF
III	S roams the world	Outworld Transitional	N/C

LAWS-M36 American Woods

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H courts S at SF home	Domestic	SF
II	SP have H pressed	Institutional Confined	I/C
III	H killed by Indians in woods	Outworld Permanent	N/C
IV	H revenant appears to S	Mantle	SF
V	S with SF; S dies of grief	Domestic	SF

LAWS-M37 Nightingale

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H pressed by SP	Institutional Confined	I/C
II	H revenant comes to S at night	Mantle	SF
III	S wanders lonesome valley	Outworld Transitional	N/C

LAWS-M38 Nancy of Yarmouth

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H courts S at SF home	Domestic	SF
II	SF sends H to sea	Outworld Transitional	N/C
III	H courted by SR	Outworld Permanent	N/C
IV	H murdered on return passage	Outworld Permanent	N/C
V	H revenant comes to S	Mantle	SF
VI	H draws S to cliff; she falls	Community Margin	N/C
VII	H's murderer tried & executed	Institutional	I/C

LAWS-M39 Sir Neil & Glengyle

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H courts S at SF home	Domestic	SF
II(a)	H + SB duel on shore	Community Margin	N/C
II(b)	H + HR duel on shore	Community Margin	N/C
III	S grieves for H and SB	Domestic	

LAWS-O01 The Lady and the Farmer's Son

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H + S by riverside	Community Margin	N/C
II	S at SM home	Domestic	SM
III	H + S married	Domestic	H + S

LAWS-O02 Brown Girl

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	banks of a river	Community Margin	N/C

LAWS-O03 Foggy Dew

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H courts S	Domestic	SF
II	S to H bed	Mantle	
III	H + S married	Domestic	H + S

LAWS-O04 Gypsy Maid

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	City street	Community Margin	N/C
II	H + S in H home	Domestic	H + S

LAWS-O05 Ellen the Fair

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H meets S at market	Institutional	N/C
II	H + S in H home	Domestic	H + S

LAWS-O06 Lass of Glenshee

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	hills and fields	Community Margin	N/C
II	H + S in H home	Domestic	H + S

LAWS-O07 Cupid the Ploughboy

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	S meets H in meadow	Community Margin	N/C
II	H + S in S home	Domestic	II + S

LAWS-O08 Sailor & the Shepherdess

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H meets S by seaside	Community Margin	N/C
II	H + S marry	Domestic	II + S

LAWS-O09 Branded Lambs

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H roves out and meets S	Community Margin	N/C
II	H + S marry	Domestic	II + S

LAWS-O11 Rigs of Rye

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H + S between rigs of rye	Community Margin	N/C
II	H + S marry	Domestic	II + S

LAWS-O12 Robin Tamson's Smiddy

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H at HM home	Domestic	HM
II	H at SF Smithy	Domestic/Institutional	SF
III	H + S; HM + SF marry	Domestic	II+S/HM+SF

LAWS-O13 Jolly Young Sailor & the Beautiful Queen

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	S rides out and meets H	Community Margin	N/C
II	H + S in S home	Domestic	II + S

LAWS-O14 *Pretty Polly*

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H (married) proposes to S	(ambiguous)	
II	After HW die, H goes to S	Domestic	SF
III	H + S in H home	Domestic	H + S

LAWS-O15 *Green Mossy Banks of the Lea*

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
&	H travels fr. Amer. to Ireland	Outworld Transitional	N/C
I	H meets S near river	Community Margin	N/C
II	H gets approval of SF	Domestic	SF
III	H + S married	Domestic	H + S

LAWS-O16 *King David had a Pleasant Dream*

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H "walked forth" & meets S	Community Margin	N/C

LAWS-O17 *Seventeen Come Sunday*

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H meets S	Community Margin	N/C
II	H in S's room	Mantle	SF

LAWS-O18 *Bonny Wee Window*

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H in S's room	Mantle	SF
II	H gets stuck in window frame	Mantle Threshold	SF

LAWS-O19 *Rich Amerikay*

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H + S on quay	Community Margin	N/C
II	H + S to sea	Outworld Transitional	N/C

LAWS-O20 When A Man's In Love

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H to S window	Mantle Threshold	SF
II	H + S wedding	Institutional	I/C

LAWS-O21 Barnie & Kate

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H to S window	Mantle Threshold	SF
II	S refuses entry; H to home	Domestic	H + S (-)

LAWS-O22 Two Lovers Discouraging

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H + S by a riverside	Community Margin	N/C
II	H + S married at church	Institutional	I/C

LAWS-O23 When Will Ye Gang Awa'

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H about to leave S	Community Margin	N/C

LAWS-O24 Bold Fisherman

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	S meets H on shore	Community Margin	N/C
II	S + H to his father's house	Domestic	H + S

LAWS-O25 Lady of Carlisle

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	S courted by two men	Domestic	SF
II	S + Hx2 to lion's den	Community Margin	N/C

LAWS-O26 Turkish Lady

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H's ship captured by Turks	Outworld Transitional	N/C
II(a)	Turkish prison	Outworld Permanent	N/C
II(b)	S in room; decides to convert	Outworld Permanent	N/C
III	S + H sail away	Outworld Transitional	N/C

LAWS-O27 Jolly Roving Tar

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H + S by the highway/shore	Community Margin	N/C
II	S + H to sea	Outworld Transitional	N/C

LAWS-O28 Black-Eyed Susan

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	S boards H's ship	Community Margin	N/C
II	S to shore; H to sea	Community Margin	N/C

LAWS-O29 Erin's Flowery Vale

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H + S by riverside	Community Margin	N/C
II	S remains; H to sea	Community Margin	N/C

LAWS-O30 Jimmy & His Own True Love

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H + S to hills	Community Margin	N/C
II	S remains; H to sea	Community Margin	N/C

LAWS-O31 Soldier Boy

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H + S in flowering fields	Community Margin	N/C
II	S remains; H to sea	Community Margin	N/C

LAWS-O32 Bold Privateer

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H about to leave S	Community Margin	N/C

LAWS-O33 Girl Volunteer

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H + S at shore	Community Margin	N/C
II	H + S marry and go to sea	Outworld Transitional	N/C

LAWS-O34 Burns & His Highland Mary

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H + S meet in a bower	Domestic Boundary	N/C
II	S to highlands	Outworld Transitional	N/C
III	S in grave	Outworld Permanent	N/C

LAWS-O35 Young but Daily A-Growing

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	S with SF	Domestic	SF
II	S in SF hall sees H on green	Domestic Boundary	SF
III	H in grave	Outworld Permanent	N/C

LAWS-O36 Molly Bawn (Shooting of his Dear)

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	S out walking; shot by H	Community Margin	N/C
II	H's trial; S ghost clears him	Institutional	I/C

LAWS-O37 Silvery Tide

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	HR accosts S by the sea	Community Margin	N/C
II(a)	H dreams of S	Mantle	
II(b)	H finds S's body in the water	Community Margin	N/C
III	HR tried and hanged	Institutional	I/C

LAWS-O38 Fair Fanny Moore

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	HR murders S in cottage	Domestic	H + S
II(a)	HR tried and hanged	Institutional	I/C
II(b)	H wanders distracted	Outworld Transitional	N/C

LAWS-O39 Sheffield Apprentice

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H bound as apprentice	Institutional	I/C
II	H runs away; employed by SR	Outworld Transitional	N/C
III	SR garden; SR frames H	Outworld Permanent	N/C
IV	H tried and hanged	Outworld Permanent	N/C

LAWS-O40 The Lady and the Farmer's Son

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H in service of SR	Domestic/Institutional	SR
II	S + SR to sea; S murdered	Outworld Transitional	N/C
III	SR tried and jailed	Institutional Confined	I/C
IV	H sent to asylum	Institutional Confined	I/C

LAWS-O41 Constant Lovers

Scene	Literal Set	Base Set	Ctrl/Chr
I	H about to leave S	Community Margin	N/C
II	HM intervenes (-); H+S to sea	Outworld Transitional	N/C

Appendix III

Symbols of the Hunt: Character / Motif Relationships¹

<u>RELATIONSHIP</u>	<u>CONDITION</u>	<u>CHILD No.</u>
1.) PARALLEL:	Uncontrollable	26 (S), 43, 53, 260 B, 263
	Killed	12, 13, 49
	Sacrificed	32
	Threatened/Pursued	18, 88, 114, 190, 305
2.) DISTANCED:	Dream or wish	59 A, 62
	Metaphorical link	89 A, 204 B
	Social Juxtaposition	62 I, 63, 260
3.) INVERTED:	Secure hawks: Vulnerable lover	69 F, 81, 82,
	Hunt leads to misfortune	7, 16 E, 39 I, 117, 162 B, 193 B, 214, 257 B
	Faithful animals of deceased hero	26 (E), 68 J, 259
	Human messenger: Avian messenger	96
	Possessions of weak secondary characters	31, 66 C, 151, 189, 245, 246 A, 265
5.) MISCELLANEOUS:	Hawks & hounds listed with other animals	44, 73 I, 270

¹ Bracketed letters denote the Scots and English variants of Child 26; other letters indicate versions.

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