

TRADITIONAL DRAMA STUDIES



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AN APPROACH TO THE PERFORMANCE OF ENGLISH FOLK DRAMA¹

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In a paper read to the British Sociological Association, P. S. Smith was able to suggest that:

"Over the past ten years.... possibly spurred by work originating in North America, there has been a movement by some researchers in this country away from the unquestioning acceptance of unsubstantiated theory and towards more empirically based research. Thus, we now have two schools of research in British Cultural Traditions. The older school, still representing the majority, share the unified paradigm of origin theory, historical determinism and a view of traditions as ancient survivals. The new school is still in a state of flux, and as yet no specific paradigm has emerged. Several trends are, however, apparent. Firstly, a move is being made towards better documentation of traditions in terms of examining them as total behavioural events. Secondly, large scale empirical studies are demonstrating the existence of multiple and variant forms of genres. Thirdly, theoretical structures are being developed which attempt to account for the patterns observable in these empirical studies."²

Smith's comment enables us to place in perspective current research with a specific relationship to English Folk Drama. Firstly, the move toward "better documentation of traditions in terms of.... total behavioural events"; this summarizes the endeavour to document and understand specific traditions and to provide a sound basis for the large scale empirical studies which are at present hampered by a lack of detailed information. This search for an understanding of the true nature of traditions, epitomized by the shift in folkloric concern, is in turn hampered by the lack of a suitable theoretical and methodological base. The theoretical structures discussed by Smith must remain hypothetical unless we develop a methodology of initial documentation.

Our first major question must relate to the development of such a methodology. If we step, for a moment, outside the immediate concern with English Folk Drama, then Henry Glassie's study of an Irish Christmas Mumming³ can provide much food for thought. Whether or not we accept Kenneth Goldstein's contention that performance, not passive knowledge, is the test of whether a tradition can be labelled active or inactive,⁴ it is still relevant to query Glassie's attention to a moribund rather than a living tradition. Indeed, it is not surprising to find that Glassie's most pertinent offering to the scholar of living traditions is a summary of the contemporary folklorist's heritage and problems:

"When he moved into his influential interpretation of mumming, the mediaevalist E. K. Chambers commented that, 'it is after all,

the origin of the play rather than its latter end, which is of interest to the folklorist'.⁵ Much has happened in the generation since Chambers wrote. We folklorists have lost our hyphens and our theoretical innocence, our interests lie more in latter day dynamics than speculation about origins.

In line with other modern thinkers, contemporary folklorists wish to understand acts and arts in their own terms - the terms of their performers, their audiences, traditions and conditions. But most of the mummung scholars are still off questing for holy origins. Their journeys continue to be guided by the lesser thinkers of the period of Morris and Yeats."⁶

Yes, we want to understand acts and arts in terms of their performers and audiences, traditions and conditions, but how can we go about doing so? Glassie goes on to suggest that, "we will find the meaning of mummung by entering the space between the people and their play and interpreting each in the light of the other".⁷ With the obvious qualification that the field-worker does not want to separate the people and their play, this remark points us in the right direction. Glassie's space, however, is not an easy one to enter; his folkloric instincts provide us with no methodological guidance, merely a suggestion of what we should be looking for. It remains, therefore, incumbent upon the researcher to make careful consideration of his initial approaches to the living traditions of folk drama on both a practical and theoretical level and commencing from first principles.

Drama is a multiform phenomenon to which a single truism may yet be applied; namely, that it is manifest only in performance. This fact, I would like to suggest, provides the researcher with his first major foothold. He is interested in form, function, audience and performer, elements whose interaction characterizes the relationship between drama and community, a relationship which Glassie has pointed us towards. The form and function of any dramatic genre can, by definition, be realized only in performance. Indeed, any understanding of form and function which the researcher gains prior to performance is necessarily of a hypothetical nature while any understanding gained during a performance and expressed subsequently has, at least, a firm basis in the totality of an artistic form. Finally, it is only after the performance that the observer can attain any degree of shared meaning with audience or performers concerning his main focus, the drama.

The true value of this understanding becomes apparent when the researcher attempts to elicit further contextual information regarding the tradition. He is able to question within the performer/audience frame of reference, provided that he has been sensitive enough to grasp something of the interaction occurring within the immediate context of the performance.

This problem of eliciting information, of questioning and interviewing, can

become a vexing one but it need not be so. While it is immediately apparent that the standardized interview has little to offer the folklorist, at least during the initial stages of his investigation, it is equally apparent that the non-standardized interview does have much to offer. When dealing with folk drama and community we are considering a broad conceptual framework, and at any stage of research we must remember that the actuality of performance is "an organizing principle that comprehends within a single conceptual framework artistic act, expressive form, and aesthetic response."⁸ A standardized interview able to elicit information concerning all these factors would have to be lengthy and complex, a far from desirable format for all concerned. A non-standardized interview, on the other hand, can be used to:

"Uncover insights at all stages in the actualization and conceptual development of a study. It can be used to uncover insights or unanticipated areas of relevance to a study, which can then be followed up and capitalized on with the same respondent in the same interview. One of the unique assets of the non-standardized interview is that the interview content can be varied from one respondent to another on the basis of his conceptual grasp of the over-all subject matter of the study, each respondent giving the information he is best suited to provide. Since, in these circumstances, use of a predetermined, comprehensive set of questions can only be a hindrance, the non-standardized interview does not employ a schedule."⁹

The eliciting of information, however, is only one side of the question. Equally important is the nature of the information which the researcher seeks, especially if some attempt is to be made to relate the methods to the needs. So far, a number of key words have been employed without due care for their definition and relationships. These words are drama, form, function and performance. Each must be considered in turn before the significance of their interrelationship can become the subject of adequate discussion.

Firstly to consider drama and form, they interrelate to the extent that performance constitutes the manifestation of drama and is therefore the expression of its form. The relationship of folk drama to drama in the broader sense is a complex one but a brief word will suffice here. Alex Helm has considered the question a number of times, most explicitly in two of his publications, "In Comes I St. George"¹⁰ and Six Mummung's Acts.¹¹ In the latter he suggests that:

"Although the word 'Play' has been used above, its use gives a false idea of the true nature of the custom. A Play suggests a theatrical performance complete with scenery, stage and actors."¹²

Better words than play, he informs us, are "Ceremony, Action or Ritual."¹³ In the former article he goes to even greater lengths to strip us of our misconceptions and points out that:

"The emphasis must be on the word 'ritual' which is obscured by the popular use of the word 'Play', suggesting as it does, theatre. Without delving too deeply into the nature of pure drama, all I propose to say here is that it suggests to me basically, the interplay of character and incident which moves the dramatist's story along through a climax to its end. By contrast, in the so called Mummers' Play, the action is confined to a mock death and a revival, there is no suspense or uncertainty... and the acting is as negligible as can be expected from untrained and normally inarticulate people. It is not a play but a ceremonial."¹⁴

Dismissing, for the moment, Helm's description of the performers and concentrating on his grasp of drama we can agree with Halpert¹⁵ that his view, "though it stresses the non-realistic nature of these performances, is to take too narrow a view of drama."¹⁶ As Halpert goes on to suggest:

"Stylized drama is an old and thoroughly accepted tradition; and one must learn to accept the conventions of a particular kind of drama."¹⁷

Halpert moves us back towards the suggestion that the methodology must suit the subject under study; we must first understand something of the drama we are dealing with before we can see it in relation to community; we can only grasp function if we understand form, and form is expressed in performance. One thing is clear from my own experience of folk drama, namely that a "play" is exactly what we are dealing with: a play complete with acting area, action, dialogue, spectacle, focus, rhythm, mood, atmosphere, humour, symbol, conflict and resolution. All the elements, in fact, which the dramaturgy has at his disposal save for the mechanical trappings of relatively recent theatrical history.

We do well to heed Michael Kirby in our move from form towards function. An introduction to The Drama Review, "Indigenous Theatre Issue"¹⁸ extends Halpert's last point by introducing the aspects of audience and community in specific localities:

"It can be said that theatre often takes on the forms it does because of the particular needs and desires of its audience.... Thus, the study of indigenous theatre is important for the performance analyst, who is presented with great variation in the creative process, in the relationship of the performance and its audience, in the use of space, in visual and verbal material, and in all aspects of theatre."¹⁹

In so far as we are interested in drama and community we must first focus on performer and audience, for they constitute the immediate community in any performance-context and the play can only relate to the community at large through them. This immediate group is flexible and not a constant, as B. J. Ward²⁰ points out in referring to the work of anthropologist Leonard Plotnicov:²¹

"The Gemeinschaft, communal, or 'fixed membership' group which is assumed by advocates of the life-cycle theory²² has given way to Gesellschaft, associative, or flexible membership group."²³

We cannot assume that a community is static or unified, a statement which relates the question of the function of folklore to that of functionalism in folkloristics. In his introduction to W. R. Bascom's article²⁴ in "The Study of Folklore"²⁵ A. Dundes remarks that:

"One cannot always tell from form alone what the associated contextual function is. Functional data must, therefore, be recorded when the item is collected. An item once removed from its social context and published in this way deprives the scientific folklorist of an opportunity to understand why the particular item was used in the particular situation to meet a particular need."²⁶

If we want to record and understand the function of processes and events in a community it is reasonable to turn to the anthropological functionalist, but even among such scholars there is endless debate as to the applicability of their methods to folklore as a discipline. This was epitomized recently with the publication of Elliot Oring's and A. H. Walle's views on the matter in The Journal of American Folklore.²⁷ For the purpose of this paper one remark of Walle's may usefully be cited: the suggestion that, "one monumental benefit of even a limited and flawed functionalism is that it provides a conceptualized model of a society as it operated at a specific point in time."²⁸

The very obvious limitation here is that most cultures exist in a state of flux and the "ethnographic present" construct used to describe societies is faulty, misleading, and prevents scholars from considering dynamic aspects of culture.²⁹ Nevertheless the static model has a useful role to play in scientific enquiry and has been considered by a number of scholars.³⁰ Kenneth Boulding's examination of the field resulted in a discussion "of the control mechanism or cybernetic system. This differs from the simple stable system in the fact that the transmission and interpretation of information is an essential part of the system. As a result of this.... behaviour is not merely demonstrated by the equations of the system."³¹

A model of this kind has been constructed by P. S. Smith for direct application to cultural traditions and its applicability to traditional drama is unquestionable.³² If we refer back, however, we realize that this form of model is dependent on the documentation of traditions and does not apply to this documentation so much as to its analysis. We come full circle. Nevertheless, attempts have been made to construct models that aid us in the documentation of traditions themselves, most notably that of C. W. Joyner.³³

The static functional model inevitably implies the necessity of a synchronic approach, another facet of the contemporary performance orientation. This deficiency is mitigated to some extent by interactive models such as Smith's, but the need for historical context in the study of tradition still seems vital.

In my experience the contemporary folkloric event is constantly validated by performers and audience alike in terms of what has gone before. It is on this point that I must take exception to the "performance orientation".

R. Abrahams is right in asserting that performance is "understandable only in terms of the social matrix in which it arises".³⁴ I cannot, however, agree with Dan Ben Amos's virtual negation of the concept of tradition in folklore performance.³⁵ Leach's discussion of "the irrelevance of history for an understanding of social organization"³⁶ is very relevant to our understanding of a society with no known history. On the other hand, however, it is an abdication of responsibility to apply these ideas to the mumming traditions of Antrobus or Ripon. Joyner is right in asserting that "one can be provincial in time as easily as in space".³⁷ Many of the criticisms often levelled at functionalism, in at least one sense, can be applied to the "new folkloristics". To ignore tradition and history is to abstract folklore performance from its broader context and to create a temporally static model.

Be this as it may, the static model does provide the folklorist with a starting point if he is aware of its limitations and makes these clear to his reader. The model exists to assist the researcher, not to deny him the right to utilize historical material where this is relevant. Joyner clarifies this for us:

"We know that culture is dynamic, that culture changes. Why, one wonders, should it not be studied in its historical dimension? Why should folklorists not concern themselves with culture changes? Should not folkloristics be concerned with how people respond to new influences? What elements of tradition do they discard? What elements do they modify? What elements of tradition do they retain? In what proportions? Why? If we are really interested in Folklore as an aspect of human behaviour, why do we neglect longitudinal research and causal analysis? If we are serious about developing locally defined, culture specific categories and contexts, longitudinal data would seem to be not merely relevant, but essential."³⁸

The actual model which Joyner constructs, however, is of little relevance to folk drama. In the light of his plea for historicity he fails sadly to relate tradition and performance. No attention is given to form or function; the relationship between performers and audience - unless "family and significant others"³⁹ can be guaranteed to constitute an audience - is ignored. Similarly, the relationships between the performers themselves is not considered. Finally, he underemphasizes the importance of context upon performance, (a mistake corrected by Smith).⁴⁰ The major criticism must rest with his surprising attitude towards performance. I do not criticize the "new" concentration on performance, for performance is vital to our understanding, but there are other important factors to be considered, for instance tradition. In attempting to redress the balance Joyner seems to give too little attention to performance. Nevertheless, he leaves us with an excellent penultimate point:

"The development of a historical perspective on folklore performance may have the effect of restoring tradition to the central place in folkloristic theory that it once enjoyed. The development of such a perspective is contingent upon integrating the study of internal change within a tradition with the study of external change in the social context."⁴¹

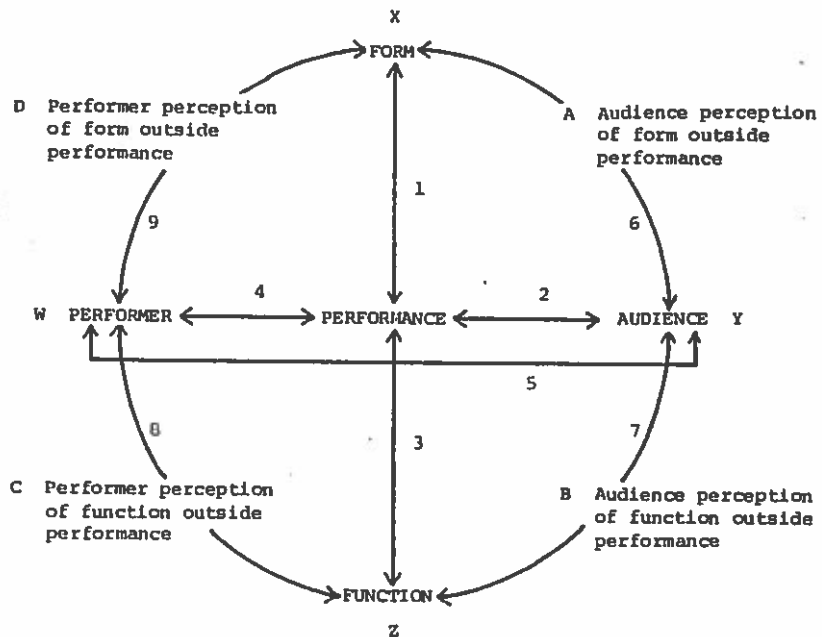
The point made earlier, relating to the need for better documentation, is reinforced by Joyner's call for the integration of internal and external change. In focusing on specific traditions of folk drama and considering performance in a diachronic perspective we can begin to make valid comparative generalizations on which to build the theoretical macrostructures envisaged by P. S. Smith and others. Before outlining the adopted methodology, however, I would like to refer once more to A. H. Walle:

"There are no 'right' or 'wrong' scientific models. Scientific or empirical models must allow the researcher to deal with some problem worthy of investigation. Various techniques are useful in allowing the researcher to generalize about empirical phenomena, and it is proper for the researcher to utilize the model which aids his purpose. The scholar is responsible for being aware of the implications and limits of his method, and he is required to articulate these limits to his readers. He should not, on the other hand, be hobbled by a mistaken notion that some fruitful techniques are tabu or off limits."⁴²

I am in complete agreement with Walle's suggestion that the researcher utilize any model which aids his purpose. Furthermore, I see no inherent fault in methodological simplicity. What is important is that the theory interact with the data, and that illustrative explication from this data be representative.⁴³ The delicate problem of objectivity in humanistic research can be simplified if the researcher indicates the situations in which data was collected, as well as the methods of collection.

My own initial fieldwork in centres where traditional plays are performed has been low profile. During the last twelve months I have seen as many performances as possible and talked informally with performers and members of their audiences.⁴⁴ During that time I began to realize the importance of performance in understanding both form and function and I became interested in the relationship between performance, the actuality of a tradition, and its background, its constituent parts. When I was able to return to centres of performance I began to collect background information concerning the various emphases which the performers placed on different aspects of the tradition. In the same way the attitudes of non-performing members of communities to their traditions began to clarify. I was eventually able to devise a simple framework which aided my grasp of the many and varied relationships existing in the field.

Framework for approaching extant traditions of Folk Drama



This framework is applicable to extant traditions of folk drama indicating, as it does, the interrelation of parts and resultant expression of artistic totality. Four main sets of two-way relationships are seen to exist. Form/Performance (1); Audience/Performance (2); Function/Performance (3); Performer/Performance (4); in addition an Audience/Performer (5) relationship exists outside performance, as distinct from the Audience/Performer interaction in performance. Other relationships external to performance are expressed by A, B, C and D which indicate Audience/Performer perception of Form/Function outside performance. An attempt has also been made, however, to separate these pure perceptions from the possible effect they may have on the tradition. That is to say that a perception may be held outside performance but not acted on; on the other hand a perception which is articulated or acted upon may or may not affect the physical actuality of tradition. These possibilities are indicated by Form/Audience (6); Function/Audience (7); Function/Performer (8); Form/Performer (9).

A brief consideration of the various relationships will suffice at this point.

1. Form/Performance

Form, to a large extent, will define performance in any specific centre. The length of the play affects the number of performances that can be given

as surely as the number of performers will affect the choice of performance sites. It is easier for the five Ripon mummers to perform in a crowded pub than it is for the nine Antrobus soulcakers. Similarly, the Ripon play can comfortably be performed fifty times in a day as it only lasts four minutes. The twenty minute Antrobus play, on the other hand, is usually performed three or four times in an evening.

While form may affect performance it is also possible for performance to affect form. Improvisatory additions to the text provide a clear example of this as at Bampton in 1977 when Dr. Good (Don Rouse) decided to continue using a successful joke which involved punning around the word 'Slasher'.

2. Audience/Performance

The Audience perception of form and function will be heightened by performance. Similarly, the audience may affect performance in terms of performer's reaction to, and perception of, its response to performance. If the players feel that the performance is going badly they may well edit or speed it up. This relates closely to interaction within both the performance group and the audience. An individual performer's perception of audience "it isn't going well" may be modified by other performer's attitudes "they love it in this pub". Inversely, audience reaction may be modified by individuals and subsets within the whole group. One Bampton performance grew hysterical with laughter in 1977 when a member of the audience was unable to stop laughing and was mercilessly tormented by the performers and egged on by his friends.

3. Function/Performance

Even within the same tradition different performances may fulfil different functions. For instance the performance of the Antrobus play at the home of the late Major A. W. Boyd in order to comply with his last wishes is obviously not serving the same purpose as a performance at a parish hall for young children. In both these instances the performer's perception of function may affect the performance while it is going on; one presumes that the former performance was a rather more sombre affair than the latter.

4. Performer/Performance

Performance will probably heighten the performers' awareness of form, function and audience. Each performer is also responsible for performance as perceived by himself, by colleagues and audience. Finally, performers have a large role in determining when, where and how individual performances are given. At Ripon, for instance, Tony Chambers is clearly in charge when it comes to deciding where to perform and how to say the lines. All such decisions, of course, being modified by the suitability and availability of contexts for performance.

5. Audience/Performer

There will be audience/performer relationships outside performance in any small community which may modify traditions through feedback. The most extreme example of this was probably the late Major Boyd's criticism of each individual performer every time he saw the Antrobus play. At the other end of the scale, an offering of costume may inspire some addition to the text. At Bampton last year a new top hat inspired some comment during the play.

6. Audience/Form

Form can affect audience through performance and post-performance. Their response to the tradition is likely to be characterized by their attitude to performance rather than hearsay - unless their attitude to the tradition

is negative, in which case not witnessing performances may characterize the response. Secondly, if this response becomes widespread, i.e. lack of interest, the tradition may be modified or even abandoned.

7. Audience/Function

Function may be modified by audience (community) outside Performance in terms of their own changing views, which may, (via 5) cause performers to reappraise their idea of function.

8. Performer/Function

Any change in the performer's concept of function outside performance may affect the form of the tradition - reappraisal of function leading to adaptation of form to aid fulfilment of the new function, consciously or unconsciously. At Ripon, for instance, the onus is very much on the collection of money and this is facilitated by the presence of collectors who 'collect' while the performance takes place.

9. Performer/Form

Performers have control of form outside performance in that they are at liberty to reflect upon and introduce modifications in the tradition. The majority of change in a tradition, from the introduction of a new horse's head at Antrobus this year to the decision of the Ripon performers not to perform in 1959, will probably stem from this source.

W, X, Y and Z are subject to spatial and temporal variation, both individually and collectively. There is a hierarchy here. Y (audience) is subject to most frequent change in that the audience will be different for every performance. W (performers) is also subject to change; the rate of change may be radically different within different traditions, also, in any one tradition the rate of change is subject to alteration. Z (function) will be subject to gradual change over longer periods of time and change in function may not be overtly apparent. X (form) will probably be subject to many minor changes while retaining a basic shape. The possibility exists, however, of deliberate and radical change.

Finally, A, B, C and D will be related to an individual's temporal and spatial distance from the performance at any given time. For instance the level of perception regarding any aspects of the tradition may be higher nearer the time of performance. Similarly, geographical distance from the centre of performance may well affect the level of perception of the tradition.

Within this framework we not only perceive performance as central, but can begin to see the relationships internal and external to performance, relationships which incorporate the possibility of modifications in the totality of a tradition. We are able to relate the "total behavioural event" to "internal change within a tradition" and we can then relate the tradition to "external social change". The framework's central emphasis on performance would, one feels, satisfy the most rigorous advocate of the "new folkloristics". Nevertheless, in utilizing a positive performance orientation it is still possible to heed Joyner's plea for historicity. The fieldworker finds time and time again that the contemporary folkloric event is validated by its past. This framework, in guiding us towards the relationships which govern contemporary performance, is implicitly concerned with the past of the tradition, a past

which the researcher must come to terms with if he is sincere in his attempts to "understand acts and arts in their own terms - the terms of their performers, their audiences, traditions and conditions".⁴⁵

NOTES

1. For a fuller version of this paper see P. Harrop, "The Performance of English Folk Plays: A Study in Dramatic Form and Social Function" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Institute of Dialect and Folklife Studies, University of Leeds, 1980). See Chapter 2, "An Approach to the Folk Play", pps. 19-47. I would like to acknowledge my supervisor, Mr. A. E. Green, for his continued advice and criticism.
2. See P. S. Smith, "Communication and Performance; A Model of the Development of Variant Forms of Cultural Traditions" in A. E. Green and J. D. A. Widdowson, (eds.), Language, Culture and Tradition: Papers on Language and Folklore Presented at the Annual Conference of the British Sociological Association, April 1978, (Leeds and Sheffield: Institute of Dialect and Folklife Studies and Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language, 1981), p. 17.
3. H. Glassie, All Silver and no Brass: An Irish Christmas Mumming (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1976).
4. See K. S. Goldstein, "On the Application of the Concepts of Active and Inactive Traditions to the Study of Repertory", in A. Paredes and R. Bauman, (eds.), Towards New Perspectives in Folklore (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), pp. 62-67.
5. E. K. Chambers, The English Folk Play (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 12.
6. Glassie, p. 55.
7. Glassie, p. 95.
8. R. Bauman, "Introduction", Journal of American Folklore, 84, (1971), v.
9. S. A. Richardson, et al. Interviewing, its Forms and Functions (New York: Basic Books, 1965), p. 54.
10. A. Helm, "In Comes I Saint George", Folklore, 76, (1965), 118-136.
11. A. Helm, Six Mummers' Acts (Ibstock: Guizer Press, 1967).
12. A. Helm, Six Mummers' Acts, p.6.
13. Ibid.
14. A. Helm, "In Comes I Saint George", pp. 125-126.
15. H. Halpert and G. M. Story, (eds.), Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969).
16. Halpert and Story, p. 60.
17. Ibid.
18. "Indigenous Theatre Issue", The Drama Review, 18: 4 (December 1974).
19. M. Kirby, "An Introduction", The Drama Review, p. 3.
20. B. J. Ward, "A Functional Approach to English Folk Drama" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Ohio State University, 1972).

21. L. Plotnicov, "Fixed Membership Groups", American Anthropologist, 6:1 (Feb. 1962), 97.
22. For a discussion of the life-cycle theory and its proponents see P. Harrop, pp. 10-13.
23. B. J. Ward, p. 184.
24. W. R. Bascom, "Four Functions of Folklore", Journal of American Folklore, 67, (1954), 333-349.
25. A. Dundes, The Study of Folklore, (New Jersey; Prentice-Hall, 1965). This work includes a reprint of Bascom's article, pp. 279-298, with a brief introduction by Dundes, p. 279.
26. A. Dundes, p. 279.
27. See E. Oring, "Three Functions of Folklore: Traditional Functionalism as Explanation in Folkloristics", Journal of American Folklore, 89 (1976), 67-80. A. H. Walle, "On the Role of Functionalism in Contemporary Folkloristics", Journal of American Folklore, 90 (1977), 68-73. E. Oring, "Traditional Functionalism Once More with Feeling", Journal of American Folklore, 90 (1977), 73-76. A. H. Walle, "Functionalism Déjà Vu", Journal of American Folklore, 90 (1977), 76-77.
28. A. H. Walle, "On the Role of Functionalism in Contemporary Folkloristics", p. 70.
29. Ibid. pp. 70-71.
30. K. Boulding, General Systems Theory: The Skeleton of Science. (New York General Systems 1, 1956), pp. 11-17.
31. K. Boulding, p. 14.
32. For an outline of the elements in this model see P. S. Smith, "Tradition, a Perspective. Part III. Information and Context: An Examination of Factors Influencing the Performance of Traditional Plays in the British Plays", Lore and Language, 2:8 (Jan. 1978), 1-10.
33. C. W. Joyner, "A Model for the Analysis of Folklore Performance in Historical Context", Journal of American Folklore, 88 (1975), 254-265.
34. R. D. Abrahams, "Personal Power and Social Restraint in the Definition of Folklore", Journal of American Folklore, 84 (1971), 29.
35. See D. Ben Amos, "Towards a Definition of Folklore in Context", Journal of American Folklore, 84 (1971), 3-16.
36. E. R. Leach, Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure, (Cambridge: Massachusetts, 1954), p. 282.
37. Joyner, p. 256.
38. Ibid., pp. 256-257.
39. Ibid., pp. 258-260.
40. See note 32 above.
41. Joyner, p. 264.
42. A. H. Walle, "On the Role of Functionalism in Contemporary Folkloristics", p. 72.
43. B. G. Glaser and A. L. Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968). This work offers a full discussion of the problem.
44. For a description and analysis of some of these performances see P. Harrop, pp. 48-369.
45. H. Glassie, p. 55.