

Storytelling Revivalism in England and Wales: History, Performance and Interpretation

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6 **Revivalistic storytelling performance (2): norms, act sequences, and the interactive achievement of revivalistic storytelling**

We can do with you what we will until such time as we let you out.

Roy Dyson¹

6.1 Preview

The present chapter is an illocutionary analysis of whole revivalistic storytelling events as role-governed, dialogic performances. The premises of this analysis are those stated in Chapter 3. To recapitulate these premises: in the conversational *milieux* described by Bennett (1980), Allen (1989), Pomerantz and Fehr (van Dijk (ed.) 1997, 64ff.), and others, narrations emerge from everyday interaction by a process of open-ended and relatively egalitarian negotiation between participants, on which the habitual quotidian conversational persona of participants is a significant influence. To a certain extent this informal and relatively open-ended and improvised quality also characterises the mature folktale traditions studied by Crowley (1966), Dégh (1969), Falassi (1980) and Thomas (1993). It has already been suggested in the pilot study that a degree of improvisation and negotiation features in the contrivance of storytelling events. However, the revivalistic storytelling event exists in order to rein in the improvised negotiation of everyday conversation and so create an interactive environment wherein folktales can be told orally to adult audiences in contemporary Britain with realistic hopes of comprehension and artistic success. Emically, affectively and functionally, the dialogic

¹ Roy Dyson, host, introducing event 9, AE/18a. See section 2.4 in the present chapter.

routines which structure events are subsidiary to the act of storytelling itself. Such routines are, however, omnipresent within the sample of events and, indeed, in the present writer's experience as a participant in storytelling revivalism. Their presence is much more predictable even than that of particular genres of folktale or story. It was sometimes the case that an event passed without the telling of a *Märchen* or a creation myth, for example; but it was never the case that storytellers launched straight from conversation into a heightened, enlarged performance of a long folktale as they might launch from conversation into a personal experience anecdote. Despite their apparently secondary status, dialogic linking routines were clearly basic to public storytelling revivalism. The storytelling movement cannot therefore be understood if they are ignored. As explicated in Chapter 3, they become analysable when it is assumed firstly, that they are part of a linear sequence of communicative acts which constitute the whole storytelling event, and, secondly, that they are rationally directed towards maintaining forward progression through this linear sequence *via* the performance of actual stories. These are the premises of the analysis which follows.

In preparing the present chapter, 16 of the 17 events in the sample were fully analysed; event 3 was omitted from analysis for reasons stated in Chapter 3. It became clear that full, detailed presentation of this substantial and painstaking analysis in the final text was too large an undertaking for a study of the present scope, and would also have been rather repetitive. There were two ways to resolve this problem: either to give a more cursory presentation of the analysis of all 16 events; or to give a full presentation of the analysis of a smaller representative selection. The first alternative - cursory discussion of all 16 events - was attempted, but it led to an unacceptable loss of clarity of exposition. Considerations of space and conciseness precluded substantial quotation or detailed discussion of specific instances of interaction. The

observed quality, tone and structure of specific events was obscured by wide-ranging generalisation at a rather low interpretative level. However, over the four months of fieldwork, individual storytelling clubs had proved to be reasonably stable and homogeneous in character, and it was clear from this analysis that the substantial and significant variations in the sample were those between storytelling clubs rather than those between successive events at a single club. Although exhaustive analysis was necessary (as argued in Chapter 3), this consistency precluded the necessity of a full presentation of the analysis of all events. The second alternative was therefore chosen: to select one representative event from each club as an example for detailed exposition. Concomitantly, examples were chosen for the degree to which they represented the normative custom of the storytelling club as observed throughout the four months of fieldwork. A full account of the selection of examples is given below with the preliminary survey of event structures. This full presentation of a smaller selection of events fully illustrated the basic significant variations in storytelling event enactment through the whole sample. Other variations, such as those between events at single clubs, are more briefly explained in the course of the following account. The present chapter, therefore, is a structural analysis of the sample of 16 events at four monthly storytelling clubs, with detailed discussion of four representative events.

6.2 A model of storytelling event structures and processes

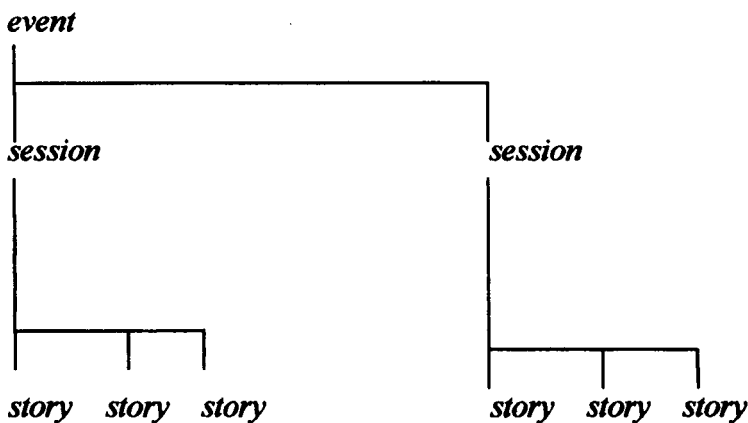
The storytelling club event can be considered as a stretch of performance in time, at once unified by certain continuities and subdivided by certain discontinuities. The continuities are basic, and include continuities of place (all events took place in single venues), time (all events occurred at predictable times and dates in virtually continuous stretches), participants (the same faces

appeared throughout single events, and from event to event), content and immediate purpose (the function of all events was formal performance storytelling consisting of series of individual stories), and so forth. Less basic continuities include a tendency of individual stories in the same event to have common themes, genres, or other continuities. For example, some events, especially Camden Ceilidh events, were advertised with predetermined themes which governed the choice of stories told. Event 2 was based around the Chinese New Year of the Rat; event 5 had an Irish theme in honour of St. Patrick's Day; event 8 had the theme of the archetypal fool in honour of April Fool's Day, and event 15, held in May, had the theme of summer. Within events, longer performances of several consecutive repertoire items by featured guests often had particular thematic or other unifying principles, sometimes related to a stated theme. These could be character-based, as in Jenny Pearson's set concerning rats at event 2; textural or atmospheric, as for Michael Dacre's set of uniformly "gruesome" stories (event 6); generic, as for Lindsey Millard's set of (largely literary) fairy tales (event 7); and/or geographical, as in Hugh Lupton's set of East Anglian stories (event 4), Ultan Ely O'Carrol's Irish tales (event 5), Michael Dacre's West Country tales (event 6), or Jacek Laskowski's Scottish and Eastern European stories (event 11). Many of these themes were explicitly stated by the tellers at the outset of the performance as part of their opening routine.

The discontinuities cut across the continuities as if at right angles, like calibrations on a tape measure. They include breaks between events and between stories. Also, all events recorded were punctuated by intervals of about ten to twenty minutes, during which participants relaxed, chatted, went to the bar or lavatories, went home early, and otherwise behaved as if outside a formally structured event; at other times they behaved as a single group, gave their attention in a quiet and disciplined fashion to a series of single speakers

or performances, and responded as a corporate body to these. To identify the basic subunits of the event is to identify the structural discontinuities and to categorise the content of the intervening stretches of performed interaction, which go together to make up the event. This conceptual analysis is fundamentally commonsensical and can be sketched, after Smith's structural analysis of the ethnogenics of the folk club (Pickering and Green 1987, 155), as follows:

Fig. 1. Hypothetical storytelling event structure



The basic event subunit is a stretch of unbroken unified focus, usually between half an hour and an hour long, occupying the time between intervals, or between an interval and the beginning or end of a whole event. Revivalistic culture had no clear generic name for this subunit. Hosting at Tales at the Wharf, Alan Sparkes referred to it as a *spot*, *session*, *section* or (like Jenny Pearson hosting at the Camden Ceilidh) *half*, although it was not always literally a half of a whole event, as there were sometimes three in a single event. Hosting at Tall Tales at the Trip, Roy Dyson called it a *session*;

guesting at the same club, Michael Dacre called it a *slot*, and Wendy Dacre a *bit*. Smith's term for the comparable stretch of time in the folk club is the *set*; in this analysis, as in the above diagram, it is termed the *session*, as *set* has a rather different specialised meaning, as will become clear. Six of the 17 recorded events had two sessions with one interval (events 2, 5, 8, 10, 12, 15); the other 11 had three sessions with two intervals (events 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17). The Camden Ceilidh always had two sessions, and Tales at the Wharf and Tall Tales at the Trip always had three. The number of sessions in a single event at Tales at the Edge seemed to vary more or less at the host's discretion: it had three sessions on all but one occasion, but also, at event 1, largely as a result of my presence, the third session contained no storytelling: it began with a discussion of my research, and ended in general chat.

The subunit of core content within sessions was, obviously, the individual repertoire item, that is, spoken story, or sometimes song, poem or tune. A single session could contain anything from two to fifteen repertoire items, varying in duration from virtually instantaneous *dite*-like anecdotes to sustained tales half an hour long or more. The group as a whole achieved this interactional structure by dividing into a dyad with two elements of slightly fluctuating personnel and boundaries: namely, those who performed and told stories, and those who listened and responded. At any one moment, there would be one speaker; other members of the performing group knew enough to take turns successfully; when not actually speaking they participated by listening and responding in the manner of slightly privileged audience members. Those who told stories fell into three basic categories, each of which had distinct interactive patterns. The first category was the featured guest; the second the floor teller; and a possible third category or subcategory was the host telling stories, that is, performing as a floor teller of a slightly anomalous and more privileged kind.

Sessions can be analysed in two basic taxonomic categories. In sessions of one type, termed for analysis *guest sessions*, a featured guest (usually an individual, sometimes a duo or even a trio) held the floor throughout, apart from audience responses and minor contributions by hosts and other participants, and performed the session's entire content of acknowledged repertoire items, in a series termed a *set* for analytical purposes. In others, termed for analysis *floor or open sessions*, several floor tellers performed one or (on rare occasions) two stories each, in a sequence of shorter monologic performances, and the succession from teller to teller was managed by the normative practices of the club as administered by the host. Nine events of the 17 recorded (events 1, 3, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16) consisted entirely of consecutive floor sessions separated by intervals. These events were termed in analysis *open events*. These included all four Wenlock Edge events, one event at the Trip in Nottingham, and two at each of the other two clubs. One (event 6) at Tall Tales at the Trip was a gala concert performance by Michael and Wendy Dacre, consisting of three guest sessions. The remaining seven, that is, two events in Nottingham, three at the Camden Ceilidh, and two in Hebden Bridge, combined guest with floor sessions. The sequencing of these was again a matter for the custom of the club: mixed events at the Camden Ceilidh had a floor session first, with a guest session after the interval; Tall Tales at the Trip had one floor session first, followed by guest sessions; Tales at the Wharf sandwiched one floor session between two guest sessions.

The featured guests mentioned were all professional or semi-professional storytellers, if only by virtue of their appearance at the event in question, which was invariably a paid performance. Some earned much or all of their living as storytellers: these included Hugh Lupton (event 4), Michael and Wendy Dacre (event 6), and the "Wild Boys" (Richard Neville and Paul Jackson) (event 9) at Tall Tales at the Trip, and Roberto Lagnado (event 8) at

the Camden Ceilidh. Others were more sporadic and/or inexperienced in professional storytelling performance: Lindsey Millard (event 7), and the “Cave Tellers” (Roy Dyson, Susan Broadrick, and Gary Breinholt) (event 17) at Tales at the Wharf. The professional status of others was not precisely known: Jacek Laskowski (event 11) at Tales at the Wharf, Jenny Pearson (guesting at her own club, event 2), and Ultan Ely O’Carrol (event 5) at the Camden Ceilidh. The floor tellers were mostly amateurs, with a few off-duty professional and semi-professional storytellers.

The foregoing summarises the basic structure of the revivalistic storytelling club. As stated, the four examples for full presentation were chosen for the degree to which they represented the normative habits of the total of 16 events. There was one exception. This was the selection of event 6 as an illustration of Tall Tales at the Trip in Nottingham. Event 6 was a gala performance by the featured guest storytellers Michael and Wendy Dacre, unsupported by floor storytelling, and was thus structurally anomalous as a Nottingham event, which usually incorporated one or more floor sessions. However, the most usual event structure at Nottingham (three sessions, with a floor session first and a guest occupying the last two) was sufficiently similar to the most usual event structure at Hebden Bridge (three sessions, with a floor session sandwiched between two guest sessions) not to require separate illustration; while Michael and Wendy Dacre’s sustained performance itself illustrated highly significant features of event negotiation developed to a strikingly high degree, and demanded detailed consideration for this reason. The events chosen were otherwise as illustrative of normative practice as possible. Event 12, comprising two floor sessions, was entirely typical of the Camden Ceilidh in the number of sessions; it did not reflect the slight preponderance of guest events at the London club, but it was chosen to maintain representation among the four examples of open events. Event 13, comprising three floor sessions,

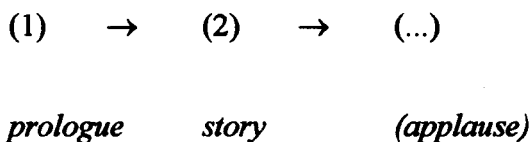
was not, despite the more fluid structural character of the Wenlock Edge club, anomalous. Event 17, comprising two guest sessions and one floor session, was quite typical of the structure of the Hebden Bridge club, where there were always three sessions and where guest events outnumbered open events by three to one over the four months of fieldwork. Together, the four examples are therefore almost as taxonomically and structurally representative of the whole sample as could be contrived. They comprise two open and two guest events, chosen from nine open events and eight guested events in the whole sample; and three triple-session events and one double-session event, chosen from 11 triple-session events and six double-session events in the whole sample. Three of the four events chosen exemplify the normal and usual practice at the club in question.

So far, discussion of the structure of events has been similar to that of Smith's ethogenic model of folk clubs cited above, and revivalistic storytelling clubs have an undeniable if often indirect genealogical relationship with folk clubs. The discontinuities between the subunits mentioned, such as sessions, sets and stories, are, however, analytically intriguing because the process of dividing the event into constituent subunits such as sessions and stories is not automatic or autogenic. The boundaries involved, and the transitions across them, are performatively, often verbally marked by participants co-operating in the dyadic, dialogic fashion described, at the cost of some performative effort. Although, therefore, stories are the basic constituent subunits of sessions in one sense, they do not completely account for their total content. Smith's model is strictly speaking inaccurate. A considerable amount of the structurally necessary talk and performance in any one session was not part of the performance of repertoire items; it was the contextualising verbal linkage which managed the performance of, and transition between, the subunits described above.

The most obvious and basic example of this fact may be elucidated in some detail. Of the 178 narratives in the analysed corpus, both floor spots and guest performances, 54 were performed as freestanding units, without any accompanying verbal introduction, explanation, or contextualisation at all on the part of the performer. It is significant that simply launching straight into a story in this way usually created a rather striking and abrupt effect. This seemed to be deliberately used for this reason by storytellers wishing to intensify the atmosphere or cultivate more formal or stark performative textures. The remaining 124 stories, however, were accompanied by brief verbal prologues and/or epilogues spoken by the storyteller, smoothing the transitions through the set from story to story and from teller to teller, and circumventing the abrupt effect created by simply launching into a story, and functioning somewhat as a gloss or apologia for the imminent performance. Prologues were used more frequently than epilogues. 123 stories had prologues by the performer; only 23 had epilogues by the performer and, in every case but one, these epilogues were the work either of hosts about to resume hosting duties after their own floor spot, or of guests in the course of a longer set who used epilogues as a way of negotiating the transition into the prologue of the following story. A standard three-part pattern of performance may thus be identified, characterising a little over half of all performances of individual stories, 101 in all: a story framed prologically by a brief verbal introduction, and epilogically by applause from the listeners, which was the normal audience response on the conclusion of a repertoire item. This pattern was widespread, though not universal, and may therefore be taken as an approximation serving as a starting point for analysis, as in the diagram which follows. In subsequent analysis it will be shown that this basic pattern was itself subject to significant variation and also to incorporation into larger interactive patterns. In the following diagram, the dialogic nature of the interaction is preserved by presenting the audience's responsive element in

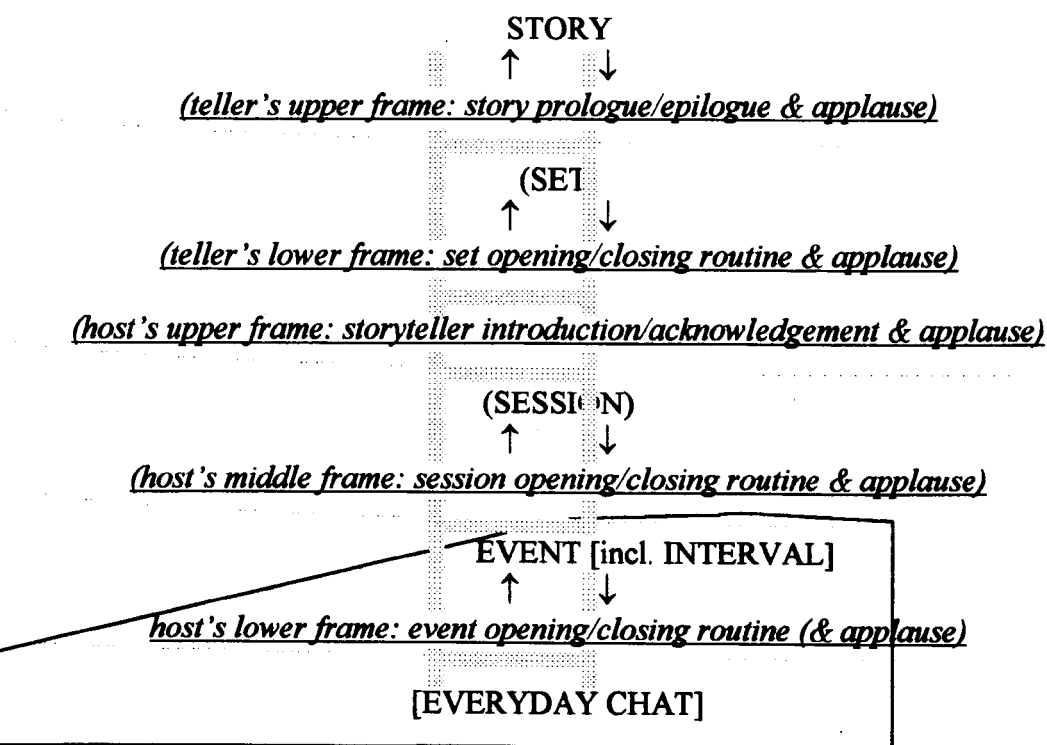
brackets, and reserving the numerical sequence of elements for the performer's contribution to the dialogic exchange which constitutes the whole group's performance.

Fig. 2. Preliminary analysis of story performance



This basic pattern of framing may be borne in mind in the discussion which follows. On dialogic routines such as these, at all events, the storytelling itself clearly depended for its interactive feasibility, and they are, properly, themselves additional structural subunits of the whole performed event. There is thus an ambiguous relationship between the interactive realms or states involved, that is to say the basic subunits of the kind which preoccupies Smith, and the peripheral subunits whereby this basic content is glossed, defined and maintained, which Smith ignores. As outlined in the foregoing chapters, the present analysis concentrates not so much on these hierarchical orders of subunits as achieved autonomies, so much as on the way they are created in and by participants' utterances during the event. The real state of affairs is therefore best illustrated, not as a static structure of hierarchically ordered subdivisions as in Figure 1 above, but as a dynamic and fluid performative achievement. The following representation draws an analogy between the dynamic achievement of the storytelling event and another more basic and physical kind of dynamic achievement: climbing a ladder.

Fig. 3. Illustration of general sequences of illocutionary functions of storytelling events



The participant group at any particular event is imagined in this model as a group of climbers. The negotiation of the transition between normal everyday conversation and monologic storytelling performances is imagined as the ascent and descent back and forth part or all of the way up and down a ladder. This involves the transition into and out of the various hierarchically ordered subunits of the event, corresponding to those represented by Smith. These are in reality communicative realms, defined and sustained partly by specific glossing and framing routines marking their beginning and ending, and partly by the consistent quality of the communication which occurs within them. They are imagined as four atmospheric strata: *event*, *session*, *set*, and *story*. These are differentiated from the terrestrial chat, though there is an upper terrestrial stratum, *interval*, which, as described below, is ambivalent. The

interval is considered as a chat-like part of the event, and is represented as high or hilly ground: a terrestrial stratum above ground level. An unrealistic feature of the illustration is that the upper realms of the atmosphere are not separate from the realms whose boundaries lie below, but are internal features of it, concentric around a high central point labelled *story*: thus, stories are part of sessions, and sessions are part of events. The whole event structure, imagined as the stratified atmosphere, therefore resembles a target in archery, or the aerial tunnel leading upwards to Paradise in Hieronymus Bosch's *Ascent of the Blessed* (Bosing 1987, 40).

The other element of the model is the ladder. This ladder represents what Smith ignores: the formal structure of peripheral framing routines whereby the participant group's transition through these realms is asserted, acknowledged, and maintained, of which the negotiation requires effort and conscious intention. The process of event negotiation (imagined as the climb) results from a permanent tension between the pull of mainstream interactive norms (imagined as gravity) and the desire for the event to take place. The event therefore demands formal supporting structures (imagined as the ladder); and also (like the climbing of high ladders) it demands effort, discipline, and a degree of courage. The effort and intention required to enact the whole event is imagined as the effort and intention which would be required to climb the ladder. Smith's model omits this aspect of events and implies strictly that participant groups float effortlessly and inevitably up and down from stratum to stratum. The present model acknowledges conversely that participant groups are, so to speak, naturally earthbound. The normative mainstream conversational *milieu* is represented by the ground. Participants are weighed down by certain wants and expectations generated by lifelong acclimatisation to this mainstream *milieu*. These correspond in the analogy to gravity, or the pull of the ground. They include the need to maintain face, a lack of

habituation to long fictional genres and heightened performative registers in oral narrative discourse, and anxiety about these unknown and unprecedented kinds of story. Participants, however, are also motivated to take part in the event (that is, by the analogy, to climb) by wants and expectations such as those discussed in the following chapter: curiosity, the desire for artistic and social engagement, and so forth. These goals are attainable at the apex of the concentric atmospheric strata.

The above model does not represent any one event; it is a template transferable between events, allowing analysis of individual events and thus comparisons between them. Individual events can be represented as linear route maps superimposed on the above figure, recording the itinerary of particular journeys up and down the ladder, and differing in such variables as the number of times the apex is attained and the precise details of the repeated, vacillatory ascents and descents involved. Such representations of individual events are given below (see Figures 7, 11, 16, 22). Framing routines which modify the interactive context and thus enable storytelling performance are pictured as five rungs on the ladder. The lower three rungs are labelled *host's frames* and the upper two are labelled *teller's frames*, reflecting the participant role which normally incurs responsibility for framing and negotiating the transition in question. The host normally negotiates the transitions between everyday chat and the undifferentiated session, and also between storytellers during floor sessions. The storyteller, by contrast, negotiates the transitions between the undifferentiated session and the stories and sets which form the bulk of revivalistic storytelling performance.

At the very beginning and end of the event lies the ground: the realm of everyday interactive chat which is independent of any formal intra-event structure. The top rung of the ladder - the teller's upper frame, usually a

prologic apologia for an imminent repertoire item performance - gives direct access to the goal of the event, the realm of formal revivalistic storytelling performance, as it completes the marking process whereby the group prepares itself. Each group starts on the ground at the beginning of the event (that is, in everyday chat), and proceeds to the first visit to the top rung (the first actual story) by means of momentary contact with a sufficient number of the intermediate rungs (that is, performance of contextual verbal linkage inaugurating, concluding and framing particular subunits, such as the whole event and/or the first session). Subsequently, each event passes part of the way down to intermediate levels (to conclude the first story, performance, set or session) before ascending once again (to inaugurate subsequent performances, sessions and other subunits). At the very end, the participant group quits the ladder altogether, and returns to the ground, that is, to everyday chat. During intervals, too, the participant group breaks its disciplined focus entirely; it remains loosely within the larger event, but outside any actual session. This slightly anomalous state is represented by a raised mound next to the ladder, onto which participant groups are imagined as stepping during intervals, without descending absolutely past the bottom rung, that is, quitting the event entirely. In the above illustration, episodes of chat and other interaction outside the event are given in square brackets. Roman capitals indicate interactive realms, pictured as concentric atmospheric strata. These are given in round brackets if, as was usual, they were not always explicitly mentioned in verbal cues; in practice, significantly, most stages of the ladder-like transition from chat to storytelling could be accomplished by inference as well as by direct statement. Lower-case italics indicate for each rung of the ladder the actual illocutionary work done by the group to expedite the forward movement of the event. To give an explicit verbal framing announcement of the beginning or end of a subunit corresponds in the analogy to setting foot on a given rung of the ladder on the way up or down. Again, round brackets

indicate interactive work which, on some occasions, was omitted, or rather done by implication rather than by direct statement. Significantly, these include most of the actual peripheral subunits. To reiterate: in order to get to the story, it was always necessary by definition to pass through all the intermediate interactive realms. The exception is the lower teller's frame negotiating the transition between the undifferentiated session and the guest's set of stories. This is inapplicable to floor sessions, none of which contained a set. The upper teller's frame, however, negotiating the transition into full performance of repertoire items, is of all these frames the most widely used and apparently indispensable. It was, however, unnecessary to explicitly or formally perform all framing routines on all occasions of transition between interactive realms; transitions were sometimes managed entirely by inference. In terms of the analogy, this represents climbing the same route by jumping rungs. As is illustrated below, the analogy is felicitous in that jumping rungs - that is, omitting explicit verbal framing of the transition between interactive realms - does not preclude progress. However, it increases risk, involves a degree of vertiginous tension, and is motivated apparently by a high degree of confidence and familiarity. These characteristics are also observable in real events at the moments when the transition between interactive realms was managed by inference rather than statement. The whole analogy of the ladder thus prompts consideration of the revivalistic storytelling event in terms of the social and psychological dynamics expressed by the illocutionary structures of interaction. Consideration in these terms yield a number of highly informative conclusions. In order to illustrate these fully, it is necessary first to apply the model to specific events. In the manner outlined above, one representative example from each club is presented fully; other significant variations are noted more briefly in passing in the main text, and/or in footnotes.

6.3 Application of the model to the enactment of the revivalistic storytelling event

6.3.1 Event 6: Tall Tales at the Trip, Nottingham, 19th March 1996

The general quality of the venue at the Trip to Jerusalem is described in the foregoing chapter, and the present account begins with the audiotape record, some moments before event 6 formally begins. At this point the room was already full, and the air was filled with the sound of excited chatting as the large audience settled in. The host, Roy Dyson, was seated in a corner by the bar, next to the performing area, unobtrusively conferring amid the general hubbub with the featured guests, Michael and Wendy Dacre, who were seated next to the performing area in front of the fireplace. The group was called together and the event inaugurated by Roy, who rose, stood at the telling point, and called loudly to the club's volunteer doorman to shut the "gate," i.e., the door. This had the effect of quietening the chat and summoning attention. It was normal at Nottingham events for Roy to begin with a similar request, couched as an attempt to manage the practicalities of the crowded and atmospheric venue.² As the hubbub died down, Roy, still standing in the performing area, introduced himself by name as the club organiser - an unusual tactic which may have been a reflection of his awareness of the fieldworker's live microphone, or of the rather unusual nature of the forthcoming extended gala storytelling performance. He spent a few moments briefly explaining the event format and the club's policy or "ground rules" regarding smoking and warned participants about the cave's crumbling ceiling: both of these were normal routines.³ Only then did he explicitly welcome the audience and the featured guests⁴ and describe the format of the

² Also observed at events 4, 9, 14.

³ Also observed at events 9, 14.

⁴ Also observed at event 4, 9.

evening in detail, both of which were quite usual.⁵ Finally he introduced the guests, cueing a round of applause. The audience clapped, and Roy took his seat as a listening host as Michael and Wendy took the floor, that is, the small clear space in front of the fireplace. Analysed according to the model (see Figure 3), Roy, as host, had now led the participant group explicitly through the host's lower frame from everyday chat to the interactive realm of the undifferentiated event; by implication through the host's middle frame from the undifferentiated event to the first session; and explicitly through the host's upper frame, transferring the group's focus of attention to the storyteller. This was a complete example of the host's framing routines as defined and illustrated, and a single round of applause occurred at the moment of transition from host's to teller's frames.

Next, Michael Dacre opened the first of the three sessions in his and Wendy's set by lightheartedly thanking listeners for the applause, which "makes the air warmer" - a satirical reference to the rather chilly air in the cave (AE/11a). Then he stated a unifying theme for the set ("gruesome" and supernatural stories and songs from the West Country) and indicated its structure of three sessions. He was interrupted by Wendy rearranging the chair in the cramped performing space. They then continued together to introduce the set thematically, stating the origin of the stories and songs in the West Country; the fact that many are supernatural in content, but purported to be real, and collected from audience members during the intervals at their previous performances. This constituted the teller's lower frame, the transition from the undifferentiated session to the set itself. Wendy now took centre stage to introduce the first item, a song with lyrics from a Kipling poem, *The Road Through the Woods*. Her comments constituted the teller's upper frame, and

⁵ Also observed at events 4, 14.

they led to the performance of the first repertoire item. This, anomalously, was a song; without imparting any actual narrative content it set a certain atmosphere, focused the attention of the listeners, and had a prologic placing and effect relative to the subsequent series of stories. The first set contained eight analysed repertoire items:

Fig. 4. Repertoire item analysis of first session at event 6

| <i>Item</i> | <i>Performer</i> | <i>Title/description</i> |
|-------------|------------------|---|
| 63 | Wendy Dacre | (The Road Through the Woods) (Song) |
| 64 | Michael Dacre | (The Haunting of Avis) |
| 65 | Wendy Dacre | The Green Meadows of Enchantment (Song) |
| 66 | Michael Dacre | (Harriet's White Witchcraft) |
| 67 | Michael Dacre | (Harriet's Grey Witchcraft) |
| 68 | Michael Dacre | (Harriet's Black Witchcraft) |
| 69 | Wendy Dacre | The Bream Lament (Song) |
| 70 | Michael Dacre | (The Silk Top Hat) |

There were five analysed narratives in this set, but three of these (items 66 - 68) were a linked triad both in this performance and in the source text (Briggs 1991 (1970-1971)). The listeners treated these three items as they were performed, that is as a triad, and therefore applauded only after items 63, 64, 65, 68, and 69. According to the model, the applause in each case brought the event down through the teller's upper frame, that is, out of the topmost realm of repertoire performance, and into the extrinsic realm of the undifferentiated set. The Dacres therefore consistently prefaced subsequent items with prologic comments which returned the event to the realm of full performance in the same way. All the stories told were supernatural legends. In his prologic comments, Michael made explicit thematic links, stated the sources of particular stories, and directly elicited contributions of similar stories from

participants in the interval. These gave the whole set an air of consistency. Moreover, the prologic and epilogic links - the teller's upper frames - were often themselves narrative in content but less substantial and marked than the repertoire items themselves. Most sources were texts collected and edited by Ruth Tongue, but the final story (item 70) was among those collected by the Dacres themselves from audience members at their performances in the West Country, after the manner of Ruth Tongue. As a result, the core story - of a haunting associated with a top hat found immured in a cottage fireplace during renovations - was prefaced by a substantial subnarrative section of a generic type which can be termed the *collection narrative*. This term defines the subsidiary story of how the speaker(s) or collector (in this case the Dacres and before them Ruth Tongue) obtained the main story told, and how it otherwise affected his/her/their everyday life. Concomitantly, as an epilogue to the story of the top hat, before the audience applauded, Michael and Wendy dialogically related a second section of collection narrative: they told how they had performed the story of the silk top hat in a certain village, and people came up in the interval and invited them round the corner to see the house in question. This epilogic subnarrative moved the event down through the teller's upper frame from the realm of the final story into the realm of the undifferentiated set or session. Michael immediately continued the descent, closing the first set explicitly and passing through the teller's lower frame (AE/11b):

Anyway, that's the end of our first little slot, so I hope you enjoyed those stories, but if you've got any more like that to tell, but get another drink and, er, we'll have another little go in the [*inaudible*]

Roy did not himself verbally mark the end of the first or second sessions; there was no explicit negotiation of the host's frames on this occasion. At this point, therefore, the audience applauded in response both to the final story and to the whole first set. The event had moved from the teller's lower frame to the

interval: by the analogy of the ladder, it had vaulted from the second highest rung to the hilly ground. The unified focus of the group dispersed, the chatting resumed, and the interval began. During the interval, Michael and Wendy continued to talk about the stories with a group of students.

Roy performed a distinctive and habitual routine to reconvene the event after the interval (host's middle frame). He always began by loudly calling the phrase *Okay then*, with the first syllable elongated into a loud, siren-like, halloo. Once the group had reconvened and settled down, he then made announcements about other storytelling events, publications and publicity as part of the opening routines of second sessions.⁶ Also, he had a large red notebook, known as the "Big Red Book,"⁷ to circulate quietly during the session so that participants could comment in writing, and the explanation and handing over of the book to the audience was part of the opening routines of the second session.⁸ When these routines were complete, Roy proceeded to initiate the second session explicitly (host's upper frame). On this occasion he used his usual formula, a reference to leaving the listeners "in the capable hands" of the guest storytellers.⁹ He then indicated (briefly and *sotto voce*) to the Dacres the desired duration of the imminent session.

All right, I'll leave you in the very capable hands of Michael and Wendy, thank you very much indeed. (*to the Dacres*) Another half hour if you will or so.

The Dacres took the floor immediately, without applause,¹⁰ and performed the teller's lower frame negotiating from the undifferentiated session into the

⁶ Also observed at events 4, 14.

⁷ Possibly a jocular reference to the television show *This is Your Life*, in which a presenter presents a celebrity guest with a large red book containing a biography of the guest.

⁸ Also observed at events 4, 14.

⁹ Also observed at event 9, second and third sessions.

¹⁰ Introductory or prologic applause for stories, sets or sessions was infrequent, unlike epilogic applause.

second set. The second session began as had the first, with a statement of a unifying theme and a repertoire item which was itself prologic; in this case, the theme was the Monmouth rebellion. Michael then narrated the story of the Battle of Sedgemoor, the historical event in the 1680s in which the usurper Monmouth's ill-equipped supporters were ruthlessly overcome by the troops of James II. This narration is rather tentatively analysed as a separate repertoire item, although, like the earlier song (item 63), it carried the implication of a larger prologue to the subsequent repertoire items.

Fig. 5. Repertoire item analysis of second session at event 6

| <i>Item</i> | <i>Performer</i> | <i>Title/description</i> |
|-------------|------------------|---|
| 71 | Michael Dacre | (The Battle of Sedgemoor) |
| 72 | Michael Dacre | ("Come Over and Fight!") |
| 73 | Wendy Dacre | (When the Mist is All About) (Song) |
| 74 | Michael Dacre | Marshall's Elm |
| 75 | Wendy Dacre | By the Banks of Green Withies (Song) |
| 76 | Michael Dacre | (Kirk's Lambs and the fleet-footed boy) |
| 77 | Michael Dacre | (Swain's Leaps) |
| 78 | Wendy Dacre | (Song) |
| 79 | Michael Dacre | The Cossington Tree |

The core narrative content of the second set was, rather like the previous set, a thematically linked series of five legends concerning the aftermath of the battle and the atrocious reprisals of the royal troops. Each of these was slight and rather short, but they were run together and thoroughly contextualised within prologic and epilogic statements which typically summarised or justified the content of the performances and constituted repeated performances of the teller's upper frame. These might parodically compensate for the sorrowful content, as before items 76-77:

Two quick stories now, one pretty grim, and one, just for a change, slightly lighter. Though it hurts me to include it. (*audience: laughter*)

Epilogues might follow on seamlessly from the story, and contain collection narratives which stress the continuity between the story and present-day reality. Item 77 ends:

He waited there, and he went back to his wife and family, and apparently they say he lived out his life as a, as a farm labourer there on the Poldens, as he should. So that's a bit of a happy story, about, about Sedgemoor. He's one of the few who actually managed to escape. But the interesting thing is that we actually, we've actually been to Locksley Wood, and if you go to Locksley Wood on the Poldens, there's there's a little signpost down saying "Swain's Leaps" ...

Michael and Wendy then dialogically describe the spot, a colloquial exchange serving as an epilogue to the story. The last repertoire item was similarly accompanied by an extensive collection narrative, in which Michael related how they struggled to obtain the story from a woman in spite of dismissive and inconsequential asides from her husband. This prologue moved mid-sentence into the story itself, without a syntactic break:

[des]pite all the interruptions from her husband, insisted on telling us, er, one or two stories, and this is one of them. And she said that

...

The audience did not applaud any of these stories separately, apparently because each item was too slight; they did, however, applaud the songs (items 73, 75, 78). After the final story (item 79), Michael briefly recapitulated the collection narrative as the teller's upper frame, and then, without pausing, performed a closing routine for the whole set (the teller's lower frame), in which Wendy joined:

- MD And that's the end of our, um, rather grim little excursion onto the Somerset Levels, and the marshes, and the rhines, of Sedgemoor, and unhappier times.
- WD We'll have a break before we go to Dartmoor.
- MD Yes.
- WD For the last bit.

This brought the event through the realm of the undifferentiated set, into the interval. Once again, the host did not explicitly perform any framing routines; the audience applauded, and the interval began immediately. In the second interval, Wendy continued to discuss the stories with me, under the general hubbub of chat. The interval was curtailed by Roy in a manner similar to his host's frames at the opening of the second session: the *Okay then* call, announcements regarding the Big Red Book,¹¹ and a commendation of the audience to the "capable hands" of the Dacres. Again, the Dacres took the floor without further applause, and performed the teller's lower frame:

Right, we're on, we're on. Right, we're going to Dartmoor now.
Um, which is where we come from.

They state that they had thought of doing more gruesome stories, but that they felt they had included enough "grue". Wendy immediately began the teller's upper frame, introducing the first repertoire item, a song.

¹¹ Also observed at events 9 and 14, third sessions.

Fig. 6. Repertoire item analysis of third session at event 6

| <i>Item</i> | <i>Performer</i> | <i>Title/description</i> |
|-------------|------------------|--|
| 80 | Wendy Dacre | (My Lady Hath a Sable Coach) (Song) |
| 81 | Michael Dacre | (Dewer) |
| 82 | Michael Dacre | (Cabell in life) |
| 83 | Michael Dacre | (Cabell in death) |
| 84 | Wendy Dacre | (Some Say the Devil's Dead) (Song) |
| 85 | Michael Dacre | Jan Bodicott's Big Black Dog |
| 86 | Wendy Dacre | (I Took My Dame To Lambing Feast) (Song) |

The third set was so like the previous two that it requires little further comment. It began as a collection of three insubstantial supernatural legends, woven together by prologic and epilogic statements into a single longer, more sustained monologue moving up and down through the teller's upper frame between the realms of the repertoire item and the undifferentiated set, and interspersed with songs. Prologues and epilogues were chatty, dialogic, and run together, as in the epilogue to item 80 (about a spectral coach), leading into an introduction of the demonic protagonist of item 81:

(MD) Yes, there's, there's lots of, um, hidden folklore in there, [several syllables inaudible] sort of a, the universal death coach.
 (WD) Yes. (MD) Now I can't let an evening go by without telling you about Dewer.

The audience therefore applauded only after item 80 (a song) and item 83 (of which the epilogic section immediately following, the teller's upper frame, was a substantial joke). The ending of this set, however, was interesting because, just as the first repertoire items analysed in each set themselves extended the prologic functions of the preceding teller's frames, so the last

story and song carry the impact of a climactic coda to the whole event, resembling a larger framing of the whole event. To elucidate, the last story and the last song (items 85 and 86) were announced explicitly as such; also, item 85 was very different from the preceding short, insubstantial legends. It was a long fictional tall tale of literary origin:

(MD) And it's a Dartmoor story, so it's, it's got to be about black dogs (*audience: faint groan*) (MD) so, it's going to be called Jan Bodicott's Big Black Dog.

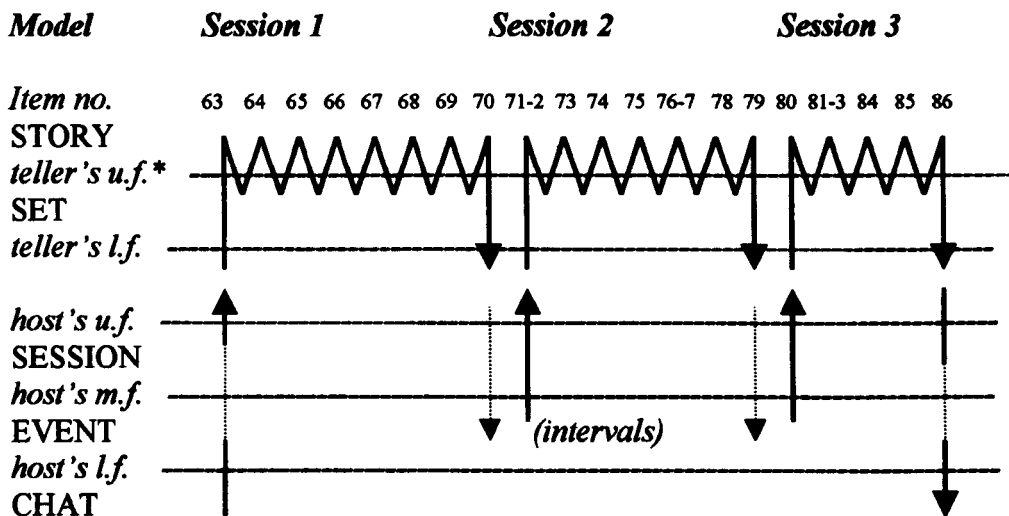
In this story Jan, a Dartmoor farmer, a proficient teller of tall tales, suffers the increasingly surreal consequences of having persuaded his gullible fellow-villagers that he has acquired a large black guard-dog. They begin to see the dog even when he is not there to suggest its presence, and to regain their goodwill he is forced to find a convincing way of ridding himself of a dog which does not exist. This item contrasted markedly with the less substantial, elaborate or performatively heightened legendary material which preceded it, and there was no doubt that the event was coming to a climactic end. After the final song Wendy's concluding performance of the teller's lower frame was therefore the simple word "Goodnight!" The audience applauded, and, as previously, the chat began again. At this point Roy, the host, spoke over the chat, performing final framing routines for the event as a whole. He thanked the guests,¹² and solicited help with distributing publicity.¹³ This utterance corresponded to the host's frames, but interestingly, Roy did not at any point explicitly state that the event was ending. He simply began speaking of the event as in the recent past, and allowed the context and the obvious implication to speak for him on this point. This was a feature of Roy's manner of rounding off all Nottingham events.

¹² Also observed at events 4, 9.

¹³ Also observed at events 9, 14.

The illocutionary structure of the event can be mapped onto the model in Figure 3 above as follows:

Fig. 7. Illocutionary management of forward progression of event 6



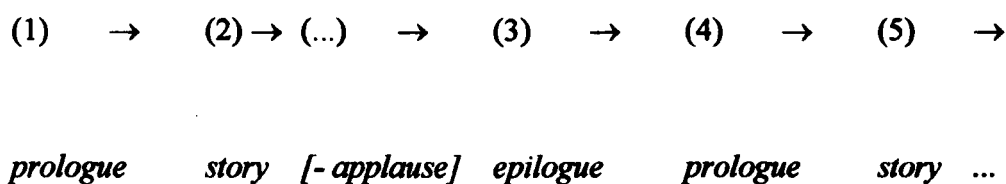
This diagram charts the progress of the event, starting at the bottom left-hand corner and proceeding up and down and from left to right. Thick unbroken lines indicate framing achieved by explicitly performed routines. Thin dotted lines indicate framing omitted or achieved by implication rather than by explicitly performed routines. Arrowheads indicate the direction of time, and each arrowhead marks the conclusion of an utterance by a single individual or agent. For simplicity's sake, the duo of featured guests is portrayed as a single performing agent, and responsive nonverbal routines such as rounds of applause are configured as constituent parts of the utterances to which they respond. This figure summarises the verbal account given in the text.

- * u.f. = upper frame
- m.f. = middle frame
- l.f. = lower frame

The most noticeable feature of this illocutionary process is its regularity. The featured guests' sets are homogeneous in terms of illocutionary structure, varying only in the number of items performed; so are the routines with which

the host inaugurated and concluded the whole event and individual sessions. This is clearly associated with the public and commercial performative setting, the reliance on the presence of a host, the advance agreement of a running order of practised repertoire items including songs, and the prologic and epilagic glossing of the performance of these items using host's and teller's framing routines which were sometimes substantial, formulaic and repetitive from event to event. However, there is a paradoxical quality to the event in that this striking regularity of illocutionary effect was achieved with the performative fluidity exemplified in the quotations above. The event is remarkable for its resistance to dissection into clear, bounded segments with distinct illocutionary functions. This is even more true of the featured guest set itself, including the teller's framing routines, than it is of the whole event, including the host's framing routines. Longer sets, such as guest sets, consisting of several consecutive stories by one teller, could be analysed approximately as follows, representing a development of the basic approximate template given above (see Figure 2):

Fig. 8. Standardised analysis of set



In such cases, prologues and epilogues fused into undifferentiated linking passages, and, by these means, individual stories became less than wholly discrete units, being instead strung together as the core units of a single, rather informally textured monologic flow, without ever entirely losing their identity, rather like beads strung together on a string. Generally prologues and

epilogues tended to revolve around several themes: the source, length, title and subject matter of the story, its suitability for performance at the given moment or event, and/or its thematic correlations and contrasts with previous stories. Epilogues tended to carry similar content to prologues, but they concentrated more on the sources of the stories, and also on offering morals and evaluations as a coda to the story. Michael's three sets filling the three sessions at event 6 sustained thematic parallels and arguments consistently from link to link, including references to the West Country setting and to the theme of supernatural occurrences. Most of the performed material was appropriated directly from the collectanea of Ruth Tongue, and Michael Dacre's continuous reference to this source and interstitial collection narratives about Ruth Tongue gave her a quality of presiding genius over the whole performance. Moreover, the narrative content of these prologues and epilogues was considerable, and the repertoire items so framed were themselves often relatively slight and *dite*-like. The result was in places to erode any realistic analytical distinction between prologic or epilogic address on the one hand, and performance of discrete repertoire items on the other. The conclusion of a single story could be framed either by a verbal epilogue, or a round of applause, or both; although the underlying illocutionary effect was stable, the event was itself morphologically fluid in this respect. This is revealed by a comparison of the above figure with the account given in the preceding text. Also, just as prologic and epilogic framing utterances took on some of the functions and quality of repertoire items, so repertoire items such as the songs at the opening of sets, and the long fictional story concluding the final set, took on the functions and quality of prologic and epilogic utterances relative to the event and to the sets as wholes. That the participant group sensed this continuity is shown by the absence of applause at the conclusion of some narratives which can clearly be analysed as repertoire items by their content and source. There are also clear continuities of content, modality and texture

between the way the Dacres talk about and tell stories in their performances and the way they discuss them with audience members piecemeal during intervals; the two are manifest continuations of a single process of communication and collection which transcends the boundaries of the event. The whole storytelling performance, although interwoven with songs, approached the quality of a single, sustained narrative disquisition imperfectly separated off from the Dacres' informal conversational chat. This quality of loose and protean illocutionary function was shared with the enactment of the event as a whole. Framing routines were often a matter of implication rather than direct statement, and/or conflated and laconic in expression; explicit utterances (such as the host's final framing routines for sessions) were sometimes dispensed with altogether. Also, the tone and quality of these frames was often informal and conversational; if it was formally heightened (as in Roy's imperious summons *Okay then*), this was always done parodically, suggesting selfconsciousness and thus a degree of discomfort. These were general qualities of framing routines at Tall Tales at the Trip. On other occasions, Roy would end a session by announcing the interval and mentioning its duration (event 4, first session), sometimes very briefly and vaguely, as in "See you in a few minutes, folks" (event 4, second session). Framing routines were thus a formal necessity of which the formality was compensated for, disguised, mitigated or eroded in practice. The main conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is therefore that, although the event was clearly and formally structured, there was an underlying protean quality which tended towards the erosion of formal boundaries of utterance types, while at the same time achieving a remarkable regularity of illocutionary effect. Event 6 therefore constitutes a conspicuous example of the extent to which, in the hands of experienced performers such as the Dacres and Roy Dyson, revivalistic formalities incorporate a very large degree of informality of tone and structure, apparently out of the actants' preference. This is a highly

engaging paradox. For reasons which are fully explicated in the conclusion to the present chapter, the resolution of this paradox is aided by the consideration of the placement of individual clubs and performers within the historical development of storytelling revivalism. Michael Dacre's involvement originates in the outreach work in the provinces by the Company of Storytellers during the mid-1980s, and Roy's from the 1990 Channel 4 television series *By Word of Mouth*. The subsequent experience of both has been largely outside the metropolitan London movement. Both the club and the featured guest on this occasion were part of the later spread of storytelling revivalism, rather than of the smaller, older metropolitan movement.

6.3.2 Event 12: The Camden Ceilidh, London, 29th April 1996

A contrasting example of revivalistic interaction is furnished by event 12 at the Camden Ceilidh, which by contrast has its roots in the older metropolitan storytelling movement. Again, the general quality of the venue, the Torriano Meeting House, is described in the foregoing chapter, and the present account begins with the audiotape record, some moments before the event formally began. It was an open night following a weekend storytelling workshop run by Jenny Pearson, and many of those intending to perform as floor storytellers were workshop participants trying public performance for the first time. The participant group was sitting in the rows of chairs laid out before the telling space, and the host, Jenny Pearson, was sitting in the teller's chair facing the listeners. Again, there was lively informal chatting. At the Nottingham event, the chat among the large audience had consisted of a number of small simultaneous conversations, and Roy, the host, had talked unobtrusively in a corner. In the present case the smaller participant body was chatting as a single group, and the talk was dominated by Jenny, who was holding forth, making encouraging comments about the fairly low turnout from the teller's chair

where she sat. Without a break, she then began directly opening the event, welcoming the group¹⁴ and explaining the format¹⁵ as “a very special evening” - an open night following the day workshop (the host’s lower frame). The inauguration of the first session (host’s middle frame) was left to implication, and the host’s upper frame (introducing the first storyteller) was omitted altogether, as Jenny was herself the first storyteller. She however introduced her own story¹⁶ as the host’s obligation, according to house-ceilí custom.¹⁷

Yesterday, we had a workshop in which we all, did a lot of storytelling and got up a lot of energy! So we’re all bursting to go (*audience laughter*). Um, I didn’t tell a story yesterday, but, as the (*several syllables unclear*) it’s the, the, it’s the, um, tradition, in a ceilí, that the host tells the first story, I’m for it today, you know (*audience laughter, several syllables unclear*). It feels fine by me, I love telling stories.

At this point she was continuing explicitly to inaugurate the event (host’s lower frame), while at the same time introducing her own first story (teller’s upper frame). She then wondered aloud whether to stand or sit, and decided to stand, although she invited subsequent tellers to sit if they wished. Her story itself is as illocutionarily complex and ambiguous as the above framing routines. As a prologue to it (teller’s upper frame), she mentioned her habit of musing about the anxiety dreams of particular professions:

And this is a story, I think I’ll tell you about, um, when I was very young, I had a craze for collecting dreams of professions, different professions, what is the anxiety dream, attached to that one?

¹⁴ Also observed at events 2, 5, 8.

¹⁵ Also observed at event 8.

¹⁶ Also observed at events 2, 5, 8.

¹⁷ This recalls the proverbial obligation at a ceilí, appropriated by revivalists from Scottish traveller storytellers: *Tell a story, sing a sang, show yer bum or out ye gang*. The host told the first story in floor sessions at all Camden Ceilidh events, although this proverb was not otherwise cited.

She then recounted two brief anecdotes of unfortunate personal experiences as a journalist and a storyteller. These anecdotes are analysed as separate repertoire items, but they were performed adjacently, without subsequent framing or applause, and were themselves prologic to her main story (item 164), and prefigured its themes. Item 164 was a longer folktale in which the hero faces an unfortunate experience as a storyteller, namely having to tell stories to save his own life. This complex of stories, moreover, can itself be seen as prologic to the whole event, a reference to the apprehension presumably felt by the novice storytellers. In response, the audience laughed and applauded (analysed here, as elsewhere, as a performance of the teller's upper frame, closing the story). Jenny left the stage and took her place in a seat at the edge of the listeners' rows of chairs, leaving the stage empty.

There was silence for a moment. This was normal practice at all floor sessions at Camden. The host usually took no active role in negotiating the transition between floor tellers. In terms of the model, performance of the host's upper frame - the transition to and between storytellers - was purposefully avoided. Therefore, during sessions and between floor performances, there would be a short hiatus if nobody was particularly eager to follow. The participants would sit in the half-dark facing the conspicuously empty teller's chair, in an atmosphere of silent and steadily mounting tension and expectation. The seconds would tick away with increasing weight, until someone summoned their courage, selected him/herself as the next floor teller, rose, took the teller's chair, and told a story. Clearly, the tension of discontinuity at the moment of transition from storyteller to storyteller was being used rather playfully to tease the audience and prospective storytellers, heighten the atmosphere, and make conspicuous the collaborative and communal nature of the event. This is a significant phenomenon, as explained below. In the present instance, the silence was broken when a regular floor teller, Helen Griffith,

rose from her seat, took the teller's chair, and immediately, without any introductory teller's frame, began to perform item 165. This was applauded (teller's upper frame), and as the applause died down Jenny intervened from her seat to ask another regular participant, Richard Neville, to play a tune (host's upper frame). He played a tune on the balalaika, from his seat among the audience. This, too, was applauded. After the applause died down, another regular teller, Violet Philpott, took the teller's chair, gave a short introduction (teller's upper frame), and recited a brief, humorous poem about a man forced to use a bicycle pump to reinflate his cat after accidentally petting it flat (item 166). There was applause, and Violet briefly named the author of the poem (teller's upper frame). A workshop participant then took the floor and began as follows:

Being an American, (I) often travel, throughout the, British countryside, and travelling in the Welsh valleys, one time, I heard a story, about a family, a farmer who owned a smallholding there, in a tiny little hamlet ... and the farmer that I heard about was Farmer Dafydd. And Farmer Dafydd lived on a smallholding with his wife, and their, little baby.

This prologue had seamlessly flowed into the story, item 167, a brilliantly comic *Schwank* of domestic mishap and discord in which Farmer Daffydd and his wife exchange work, with disastrous results (1408 *The man who does his wife's work*. cf. 1210 *The Cow is taken to the roof to graze*). Following the applause for this story, I took the chair and recited a nineteenth-century poem on an Arthurian theme (item 168), prompting Jenny to suggest an Arthurian story in response; Helen Griffith returned to the teller's chair and performed item 169. A relative newcomer, a friend of Richard's, then took the chair, and briefly introduced and played a tune on a flute-like Norwegian pipe. This tune was applauded, and then two workshop participants in succession took the chair and performed items 170 and 171, both classical Greek myths. All these

(items 167 - 171) were thematically largely autonomous items framed only with a short verbal introduction by the teller and responsive applause by listeners (teller's upper frame); Jenny's request for an Arthurian story was the only deviation from this pattern. Despite the smooth, often seamless transitions from prologue to story, the underlying sequence of illocutionary functions is relatively highly standardised and formal. This contrasts with the illocutionary ambiguity of Jenny's long introduction and opening stories, as quoted. The contrast correlates with the relative experience and status of the performers. Jenny was a veteran storyteller and the club promoter, with an expansive role to fill, whereas the floor tellers were relative novices and newcomers with smaller responsibilities, as if commensurate with their level of experience within revivalism. After the applause for item 171, Jenny, still from her seat, congratulated the tellers for a "wonderful first half" (host's upper frame) and began the closing routine for the session (host's middle frame). This consisted of an announcement of the interval, followed by a request from Bernard Kelly, the other promoter, for participants to pay him the entrance fee, and Jenny's general offer of a complementary glass of wine. Following these framing announcements the chat resumed, and participants left their chairs to associate freely, stand by the door and smoke, and help themselves to drinks.

Fig. 9. Repertoire item analysis of first session at event 12

| <i>Item</i> | <i>Performer</i> | <i>Title/description</i> |
|-------------|--------------------------------|---|
| 162 | Jenny Pearson | (A Journalist's Nightmare) |
| 163 | Jenny Pearson | (A Storyteller's Nightmare) |
| 164 | Jenny Pearson | (Jack and the Beekeeper) |
| 165 | Helen Griffith | (Jack and the Boiled Seed) |
| | Richard Neville | (tune) |
| 166 | Violet Philpott | (Calypso Cat) (poem) |
| 167 | <i>Female teller (unknown)</i> | (Farmer Daffydd) (Husband and Wife exchange work) |
| 168 | Simon Heywood | (When Rome Fell Like a Writen Oak) (Poem) |
| 169 | Helen Griffith | (Merlin of the Forest) |
| | <i>Musician (unknown)</i> | (tune) |
| 170 | <i>Female teller (unknown)</i> | (Antigone) |
| 171 | <i>Female teller (unknown)</i> | (Atalanta and Melanion) |

The interval was curtailed by Jenny. She took the teller's chair and cut loudly across the chat with the rather arch observation that she could feel the place "pullulating" with "lots of stories waiting to be told," and then declared the stage open (host's middle frame), before requesting another tune from Richard Neville (host's upper frame). Richard took the teller's chair and played another tune; he gave it no verbal frame, but the audience applauded (teller's upper frame). Richard then verbally introduced item 172 (teller's upper frame) and told it. The eight items in the second session were single performances from the teller's chair by volunteers *ad hoc*, selected by the characteristic absence of the host's upper frame, which resulted in the silent hiatus before the empty teller's chair. Stories themselves were framed mostly with the standard pattern of a short verbal non-narrative prologue by the teller and responsive epilogic applause by the listeners (teller's upper frame). Even in this relatively standardised sequence, however, there were four anomalies.

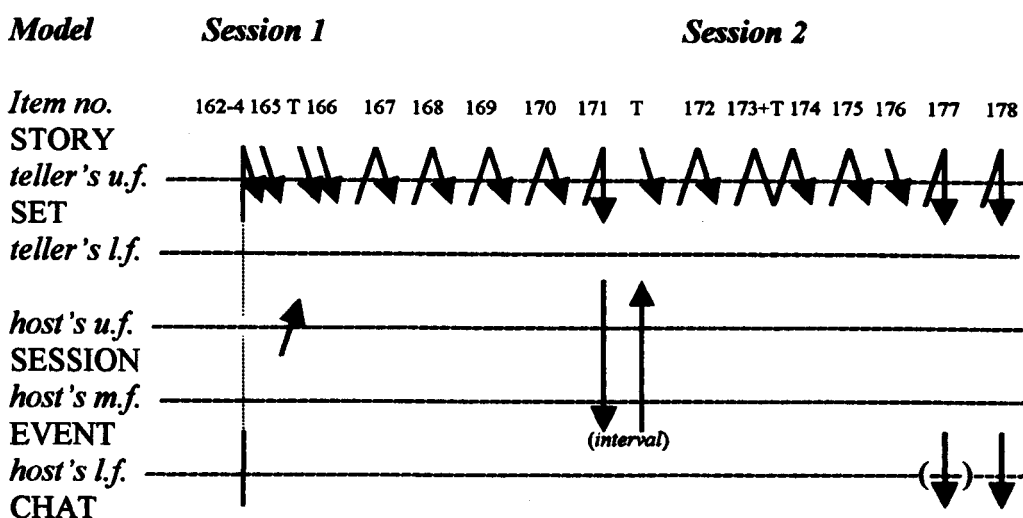
One was the introduction to the second pipe tune after item 173, which was a longer collection narrative in which the piper - the performer of the pipe tune in the first half - told how he had obtained the pipe with great difficulty while travelling in Norway. The tune itself served as a prologue to item 174, which the same participant told after remaining in the teller's chair during the applause. Another anomaly was the prologue to item 175 by Bernard Kelly, which was itself a short narrative recounting Bernard's annoyance at the disdain for traditional creation myths expressed by the evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins during a broadcast. This short narrative had a clear prologic function, as the story itself was a Maori creation myth, and taken together the prologue and the story functioned as a rebuttal to the absent Richard Dawkins. The third anomaly was item 176, which Violet began without introductory comment; and the fourth was the final item, item 178. This was framed and performed in the standard way, but only after a brief consultation between the teller and the host, Jenny, who had been about to close the event before the teller rather tardily volunteered. After the applause for item 178 died down, Jenny, still in her listener's seat, proceeded directly to the event closing routine (host's lower frame), without performing host's middle or upper frames. She solicited tellers for future events and announced when these would take place. Violet Philpott also announced other storytelling events in the area, and Jenny framed and closed the event, and the chat resumed.

Fig. 10. Repertoire item analysis of second session at event 12

| Item | Performer | Title/description |
|------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 172 | Richard Neville | (The Two Ivans) |
| 173 | Female teller (unknown) | Kali and Time |
| | Male teller (unknown) | (tune) |
| 174 | Male teller (unknown) | (The One-Legged Crane) |
| 175 | Bernard Kelly | (A Maori Creation Myth) |
| 176 | Violet Philpott | (Jack and the Sea Witch) |
| 177 | Female teller (unknown) | ("Talking Brought Me Here") |
| 178 | Female teller (unknown) | The Bird, the Mouse and the Sausage |

The illocutionary structure of the whole event can be mapped as follows:

Fig. 11. Illocutionary management of forward progression of event 12



Legend as for Figure 7. T in the row of item numbers indicates a tune. The bracketed arrow indicates Jenny Pearson's interrupted attempt to close the event. Morphologically, for the teller's upper frame, the illocutionary work represented by the upstrokes consisted of verbal or other prologues by the teller, the downstrokes by rounds of epilogic applause by the listeners. The illocutionary work represented by the strokes on the lower "rungs" was achieved by Jenny's verbal framing routines.

A number of similarities are observable between event 12 and event 6. Again, the event can clearly be analysed according to the model and shows a predictable formal structure enacted by illocutionary means in the manner specified. However, the illocutionary flow is comparatively interrupted and irregular. Some of this irregularity results from the fact that the event is open rather than a guest event; however, the effect of the characteristic lack of explicit guidance by the host during floor sessions is visible. The actual morphology of the event was more regular than at event 6: most individual storytellers told a single story without the elaborate verbal epilogic framing which the Dacres used at event 6, and each was applauded as they stepped down, so the epilogic routines for specific stories were more predictably rounds of applause. This analysis therefore reflects the actual morphology of the event rather more closely than at the preceding analysed event. Despite this regularity, however, and despite the much more formal, even rather stilted tone of proceedings at the Camden Ceilidh, the regularity of the event structure was significantly attenuated. The most regular part of the event is the middle and end of the first session (items 167-171), with a rather less regular sequence in the middle of the second session (items 172-178). The opening and closing routines are the loosest part of the proceedings: the fact that Jenny told the opening story but not the closing story prevents the neat, regular symmetry seen in the previous analysis. This attenuation, as has been argued, is associated with relatively long experience and habitual proficiency in revivalistic performance. The long, complex utterance, including the first story, with which Jenny inaugurated the event, exemplified the strong thematic continuities and protean lack of clear illocutionary segmentation which has already been encountered in the present analysis in the work of the Dacres during event 6. Like the Dacres, Jenny was a relatively experienced and hierarchically privileged participant at the event in question. This fluidity was also demonstrated by the piper (items 173-174), who was a confident and

relaxed performer but who (as far as is known) had little or no previous experience or status as a revivalistic storyteller. By contrast, however, the majority of relatively inexperienced performers, including the workshop participants, adhered more strictly to a pattern of weak thematic continuity and clear, largely standardised illocutionary segmentation of utterances: each gave a short verbal prologue performed a single item, and withdrew to applause. Here, again, revivalistic proficiency and status correlate with an increased performative fluidity and informality.

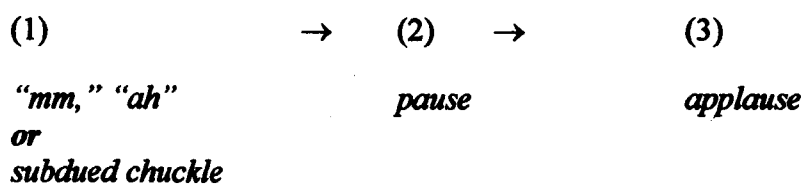
If the club as a whole entity is considered, its most striking features are seen to be the economy with which the performance of stories was framed and the purposefully dramatic quality which this economy lent to the ambience and texture of the event. The host's frames were often dispensed with entirely. At event 2 at Camden, the host's lower frame - that is, the inauguration of the event - was performed almost nonverbally; the chat subsided without verbal cues into a focused, rather expectant hush, as the host, Bernard Kelly, simply walked out from the audience and took the teller's chair.¹⁸ Some late arrivals caused an interruption and some further chat. Then Jenny rang a small handbell from the back of the listening group, and the hush returned. There was a few seconds' silence. Then Bernard began, in a very quiet, friendly tone: "Ah, hello, and welcome, as they say." As already described, Jenny was much more voluble in inaugurating event 12, but generally at Camden, once the host had done the work necessary to inaugurate the event, s/he always returned to the audience, and rarely spoke between floor spots. This resulted in the characteristic hiatus between floor performances, during which the participant group confronted the empty chair. There were exceptions to this rule. They occurred, as at event 2, session 1, as a result of interruptions, greeting late

¹⁸ Also observed at event 5, second session.

arrivals and offering further explanations of my presence as a researcher, or (as in item 54, at event 5) when the host participated as an ordinary floor storyteller. At the end of the floor session at event 5, the host, Jenny, verbally solicited a final story before the interval, just as in event 12 she briefly negotiated the final item of the second session as discussed above. Nevertheless, this is economical management of seven long floor sessions over the total fieldwork period at Camden, incorporating over fifty performances. By implication, the host at all times reserved the right to intervene directly; but this right was exercised very sparingly, and this restraint had a very noticeable effect on the ambience of the event. Less obvious but no less interesting, at event 12 as discussed and generally, is the relative formality and structural standardisation of storytelling performances, and the dominance of the framing pattern of a short verbal non-narrative introduction by the teller and responsive applause by listeners. Certainly event 12 had a starker and more theatrical effect than event 6 at Nottingham; there was a more marked sense of occasion, and of selfconsciously artificial performance.

The quality of the applause is also noteworthy in passing. Many of the livelier stories were met with an immediate round of applause, accompanied by laughter if appropriate. However just as the revivalistic storytelling club has evolved typical kinds of performance, so too it has evolved typical kinds of audience response. Items 170, 171 and 172 were met with a response analysable as

Fig. 12. Analysis of audience response



If the above Figure 11 is compared with Figure 2, it will be seen that Figure 11 depicts the subunits of the third unnumbered element in Figure 2 (there titled applause) for the relevant repertoire items. These responses were given to performances lacking the punchline or energetic flourish that would tend to cue lively applause; these included the performances of novice, less proficient storytellers towards whom the listening group wished to show supportive encouragement. There would be a pause, as if to reflect on the story or savour the lingering atmosphere of the tale. This would be partly filled with a quiet “mm,” as of agreement or approbation, or a very slight chuckle which seemed to express the same. Then applause would break out. Interestingly, the same phenomenon, occurring apparently polygenetically, is observed among revivalist storytelling audiences in the USA, by the professional storyteller “Kris Porter,” quoted in Peiffer (1994, 153). There, as often here, it was used to frame performances which were artistically successful, but which inculcated an atmosphere which was not conducive to loud or energetic applause. Also, however, it seemed to be used to show friendly support for a less successful telling, in circumstances where energetic applause would have been clearly inappropriate and the situation seemed to demand mild condescension as the polite alternative to open boredom or outright disapproval. Revivalistic audiences were very welcoming to, and forbearing with, performers of all levels of proficiency, and they confronted many experimental performances from inexperienced tellers. Indeed, the sense of camaraderie in the face of a new interactive venture contributed significantly to the heightened atmosphere at events generally, and especially at those where a high proportion of tellers were novices. It is therefore noticeable that throughout fieldwork, there were only two occasions on which the audience’s response came any closer than this mild condescension to direct censure. These were item 185 at event 13, discussed below, and item 133, at event 10, an ethnic joke told by an older man to a younger listening group whose members surprised him by their less

tolerant attitude to ethnic *blason populaire*. On both occasions this had to do with the fact that the items broke religious or ethical taboos rather than with any issue of performative quality simply as such. Storytelling club performance could proceed in a supportive atmosphere without the real possibility of a negative response from the audience on aesthetic grounds. Clearly, then, like all other performative idioms in the revivalistic storytelling club, idioms of audience response were adapting to cope with new material in consistent ways. The overriding impression of the Camden Ceilidh, however, is one of relative formality, restraint, economy, and selfconsciousness of practice. It should be borne in mind that, although the Camden Ceilidh is an institution of relatively recent foundation, its founder, Jenny Pearson, and many of its regular participants are veterans of the London storytelling movement of the early 1980s. Indeed, the Ceilidh was chosen for inclusion in the present study because of its connections with the early metropolitan movement. This fact is analytically significant. At the level of individual performance, then, event 12 shows the correlation between long experience and performative fluidity suggested by event 6; at the group level, it shows a marked contrast of performative tone, texture and ethos with the younger Nottingham club. The significance of these facts is discussed below.

6.3.3 Event 13: Tales at the Edge, Wenlock Edge, 13th May 1996

A further contrast is provided by the norms and atmosphere at Tales at the Edge. Again, the following account begins with the audiotape record, during the chat which prevailed some moments before the event formally began. The layout and general quality of the venue, the Wenlock Edge Inn, is described in the foregoing chapter. During the chat before the event, participants were already sitting, as usual, in a loosely circular arrangement around the walls of the room. As at event 12 at Camden, but by contrast with event 6 at

Nottingham, the gathering had already come together into a single large encounter, and the host, in this case Mike Rust, was dominating the conversation.¹⁹ The topic was the absence of the other host, Richard Walker. Richard was that evening attending a rehearsal of an amateur theatre group in which he was involved, and Mike was humorously imputing prurient motives to Richard's involvement on the grounds that the production in rehearsal had some explicitly erotic content.²⁰ Mike proceeded without a pause to inaugurate the event by announcing chattily that "we ought to start"²¹ and then welcoming the group (host's lower frame). He then explained the format of the session (host's middle frame).²²

The format of Tales at the Edge had a feature unique among the clubs in the sample: the telling point - the physical location of the person with the right to perform - was always mobile, while the participants themselves remained static. It progressed around the circular group in a direction, clockwise or anticlockwise, nominated by the host at the outset. Thus the telling space moved towards the tellers, rather than tellers themselves moving into the telling space, and there was no stable topographic boundary between tellers and listeners. The storyteller was always placed as one member within a group addressing others, not as a performer addressing an audience. At the conclusion of a story mid-session, it was clear who was next in line to tell a story or pass on. Mike and Richard, when hosting, would therefore simply remain in their seats, occasionally verbally glossing the progression round the room with very short, basic phrases such as "So we'll go on round," between

¹⁹ As also at events 1 and 10.

²⁰ This perpetuated a habit of playfully derogatory banter between the hosts, Mike and Richard, which was indulged even more enthusiastically when both were present, as at events 1 and 10. This banter constituted the content of the utterances with which the hosts dominated the chat before the events at Tales at the Edge (see note 17).

²¹ Similar informal suggestions to "get started" or "get things going" were used to inaugurate events 1 and 10.

²² As also at events 1 and 10.

items 1 and 2 at event 1, and “Anyway, we’ll go on now,” before item 7. They prompted individuals to perform, either inviting them verbally by name, or cueing them nonverbally by eye contact, gesture and facial expression. Those who refused would do so by a shake of the head, a nervous smile, and/or a brief word, and there might be a few moment’s joking chat, defusing the slight tension which the invitation to perform tended to engender, irrespective of whether it was accepted or refused. Where the next in line was a regular performer whose willingness to tell could be presumed upon, the host’s cue would be more confident, as in “Right then, Amy, you’d better get on,” before item 8. Therefore, progression from teller to teller was formal in that it was routinised, but informal in texture and register; this, too, is an important point. At the opening of a session then, the host’s primary responsibility was to set this routine in motion, often by performing an initial story (as at event 12 at Camden), and certainly by selecting the direction in which the telling point would proceed round the room and nominating the first subsequent teller immediately to the host’s right or left.²³ At the opening of event 13, Mike, having explained this format (host’s lower frame), left the host’s middle frame to implication, and proceeded immediately to introduce his own opening story (teller’s upper frame). He then told a short, contemporary joke about a Shropshire numskull (item 179). This was greeted with laughter but no applause, and there was a brief epilogic discussion (teller’s upper frame) between Mike and myself, the next teller in line. From this discussion I proceeded to introduce (teller’s upper frame) and tell my own story, a long English *Märchen* (item 180). This ambitious and not wholly successful performance was greeted with mild laughter and epilogic applause, a response of the supportive type analysed above in Figure 11 (teller’s upper frame). Mike then verbally cued the next teller, Gordon Hall, a visiting professional

²³ As at events 1, 10 and 13: all Wenlock Edge events analysed.

storyteller from New Zealand (host's upper frame). Gordon told a substantial narrative preface, item 181 (teller's upper frame), followed without a break by a humorously scatological Maori animal tale, item 182. This, too, was greeted with laughter and epilogic applause (teller's upper frame). The next teller, Judith Baresel, a regular active participant, was not verbally cued by Mike, nor did she give any introduction to her story, a long Indian *Märchen* (item 183); she simply began telling it, and the atmosphere momentarily assumed a Camden-like formality and elevation. When she concluded, the listeners responded with a chuckle and epilogic applause, the more reflective response analysed in Figure 11 above (teller's upper frame). Mike then briefly announced an interval (host's middle frame), and then stated that another regular storyteller, Tony Addison, would resume the telling in the second session (an anticipation of the host's upper frame). The focus of the group fragmented and chat resumed.²⁴

Fig. 13. Repertoire item analysis of first session at event 13

| <i>Item</i> | <i>Performer</i> | <i>Title/description</i> |
|-------------|------------------|---|
| 179 | Mike Rust | (The Antiques Roadshow in Ludlow) |
| 180 | Simon Heywood | Jack and his Golden Snuffbox |
| 181 | Gordon Hall | (The Legend of Tutaikuri) |
| 182 | Gordon Hall | The Tutaikuri and the Eel |
| 183 | Judith Baresel | (The White Hind and the Boy with Seven Mothers) |

²⁴ Closing sessions and announcing intervals at Tales at the Edge, the host on three separate occasions simply announced who the first teller after the interval would be, and that there was to be a break beforehand of a specified length between five and fifteen minutes (event 1, end of first session; event 10, end of second session; event 13, end of first session).

Opening the second session, Mike called for attention among the group (host's middle frame) and once again verbally cued the next teller, Tony Addison (host's upper frame). Tony introduced (teller's upper frame) and then sang a long ballad originally compiled from traditional sources by the revivalist folksinger Martin Carthy (item 184). After he finished there was a long pause²⁵ and applause (teller's upper frame), and Mike informally cued the next teller, Karl Liebscher (host's upper frame). Karl briefly verbally acknowledged this cue and without further framing began his own performance (item 185), a mildly irreverent but wistfully humorous original story in which Christ wanders into a roadside café and chats desultorily with a group of drifters. This was greeted with laughter and applause (teller's upper frame). Mike proceeded to offer subsequent participants the chance to tell, which they refused (host's upper frame). The next teller, Kevin Moir-Evans, began to introduce his story (teller's upper frame). At this point, there was an interruption in the already loose interaction of the event, resulting from the content of the previous story. All the tellers up to this point had been regular attenders, apart from Gordon Hall, who was well known to the club from several visits over the previous years. Kevin and his wife Pam, however, had not attended previously. Kevin (who was preparing for ordination to the priesthood) indirectly voiced an objection to Karl's story by sardonically introducing his own as one in which "any blasphemy" would be "purely accidental;" he was objecting to Karl's somewhat ironic portrayal of an apparently world-weary and disillusioned Saviour. There was a brief, slightly uncomfortable pause, which Mike smoothed over with a light-hearted comment, and good humour was restored. Kevin completed his introduction and told his story (item 186), a joke about a stammerer. This met with laughter and applause (teller's upper frame). Pam's story (item 187) followed this

²⁵ The ballad ends abruptly, with the death of a wicked mother at the climax of the story, and it is likely that this pause was simply to ascertain that Tony had indeed finished.

applause directly without a host's or teller's introductory frame. Roy Dyson's story (item 188), which Roy himself did not verbally preface, was nevertheless explicitly and verbally framed by Mike (host's upper frame), both before telling and after the applause (teller's upper frame) which followed it. Mike's remarks were friendly, in praise of the Nottingham club, and the reason for Mike's relative prolixity seems to have been the fact that Roy was an outsider and an infrequent visitor to the Edge club. After his celebratory epilogue describing Roy's club (quoted in the previous chapter, see p. 291) Mike proceeded without a pause to cue the next teller (host's upper frame). This was Jerry Tysoe, who introduced (teller's upper frame) and told an original parody of Arthurian romance of a kind which is characteristic of his storytelling (item 189). This was applauded (teller's upper frame). Mike now verbally cued the next teller, Wilson Boardman (host's upper frame). Like Roy, Wilson was personally familiar to Mike, but an infrequent visitor to the club. He is an excellent conversational joke-teller but not a habitual frequenter of revivalistic storytelling events. He introduced his own story (teller's upper frame) with a long monologic casting about for an appropriate story, and then settled on and told a joke which took up the theme of Kevin's story: humour based on speech impediments. In the story a man with a cleft palate confuses the celebrated firefighter Red Adair with the film actor Fred Astaire (item 190). This was among the most successful performances of the evening, very confidently and skilfully told, and met with protracted groans, hoots, laughter, hisses, and slow applause, all signs of mock agony at the elaborate pun, clearly expressing delight at the skilful telling of a story of which the punchline simply as such was rather contrived and bathetic (teller's upper frame). The telling point had now made one complete circuit around the room, and Mike closed the second session and initiated the interval (host's middle frame).²⁶ This was done very

²⁶ Mike, hosting, similarly cued a second five-minute interval at event 1 on the grounds that "we've been round once."

informally. During the protracted laughter after the joke, Mike simply announced “Beer break!” - an illustration of the significant principle that experienced storytellers and successful stories stood on their self-evident merits and were therefore cued in and out with a minimum of formality. The ensuing chat, however, remained focused on the joke. This led to another joke by another participant concerning a woman who tells her boyfriend she wants to “get weighed.” At the joke’s dénouement, after the mystified boyfriend has measured her body mass and escorted her home, she tells her mother that her evening out was “wousy,” i.e. *lousy*; she has a speech impediment and was asking to “get laid.” This joke simply broke in over the mounting chat; it was not framed with any prefatory remarks or routines either by the host or by the teller. It took up the theme of Wilson’s performance, but did not repeat its conspicuous success. Although it received polite and amused attention, its relatively lacklustre quality and its placement within the opening stages of the informal chatting led to its not being applauded. Afterwards, the chat resumed without further prompting or framing, on the topic of the second, less successful speech impediment joke.

Fig. 14. Repertoire item analysis of second session at event 13

| <i>Item</i> | <i>Performer</i> | <i>Title/description</i> |
|-------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 184 | Tony Addison | (Famous Flower of Serving Men) (song) |
| 185 | Karl Liebscher | (Jesus in the Café) |
| 186 | Kevin Moir-Evans | (Auntie Esmé’s Stammer) |
| 187 | Pam Moir-Evans | (The Red Silk Shirt) |
| 188 | Roy Dyson | (The Dancing Heron) |
| 189 | Jerry Tysoe | (Sir Yves’ Dilemma) |
| 190 | Wilson Boardman | (“Are You Red Adair?”) |
| 191 | <i>Male teller (unknown)</i> | (“I Want to Get Weighed”) |

During the interval, Mike was unobtrusively arranging the running order of the third session with Gordon Hall, who wanted to perform an item which was lengthy and substantial enough to require advance planning. Mike opened the third session by announcing “Right, we’ll get started again” (host’s middle frame). He made practical announcements,²⁷ briefly discussing about future possibilities for the club, such as a storytelling workshop facilitated by a featured guest storyteller, and/or the booking of featured guests for performances. This prompted Roy Dyson and Judith Baresel to announce other storytelling events,²⁸ and then the formal framing routine disintegrated into a few moments’ general, informal chat about a new storytelling club opening in an adjoining county. Mike then reconvened the session by making a few very brief remarks about the projected running order (host’s middle frame), and cued the next teller, myself (host’s upper frame). I told a brief joke (item 192), framed by a brief introduction and applause in the standard way (teller’s upper frame). The next item, Gordon Hall’s long performance (item 193), was framed in the same standard way (teller’s upper frame); it was a monologic narration of a riot which occurred in New Zealand during a protest against a tour by the South African rugby team during the anti-apartheid boycott. Gordon stood in the middle of the room, and the piece was about half an hour long; it was, in effect, a one-man theatrical show. It was greeted with applause (teller’s upper frame), and several minutes’ general chat about the theme of the performance. After this, the format of the event departed quite significantly from repetitions of the standard template of introduction, story and applause. Judith Baresel sang, without any framing, item 194, a US folksong of hard times; this was heard attentively, but not applauded. Then Tony Addison

²⁷ After the first session at event 10, Richard announced notices and then an interval, and then raised a number of practical issues regarding other events, and a £250 grant which the club had obtained. Opening events 1 and 10 (host’s lower frame), the hosts included practical announcements relating to other events and/or to the storytelling newsletter *Facts and Fiction*.

²⁸ After the first session at event 10, other participants announced other events in which they were involved.

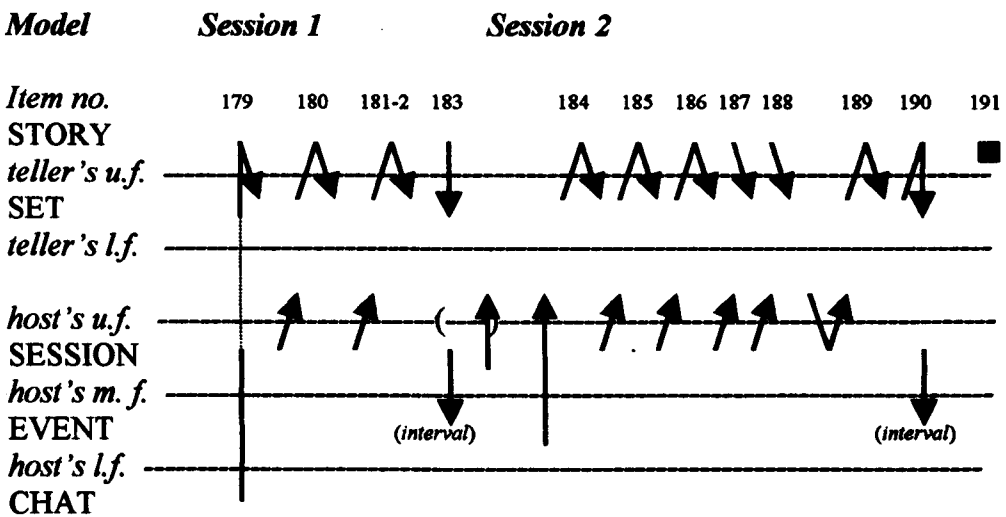
verbally introduced and sang item 195, a song which portrayed Christ as a hitch-hiker and so took up the theme of Karl's story, in disregard or possibly in slightly more pointed opposition to Kevin Moir-Evans' scruples. The song passed without comment. Jerry Tysoe then sang item 196, another US folksong of hard times, and spoke briefly and epilogically about the song (teller's upper frame). Participants joined in on the choruses and were not unappreciative of these items, but they did not applaud; the session had lost its formal tension and energy and had become a more relaxed singaround. Mike then took up Jerry's epilogic comments and reasserted the formal forward movement of the event by soliciting further tellers around the circle, a move which combined the functions of the host's middle and upper frame. This had the effect of revitalising proceedings. Roy Dyson told item 197 without prologic introduction, and received laughter and applause (teller's upper frame). Mike once again unsuccessfully solicited tales from a number of participants, and then cued another performance from Wilson Boardman (host's upper frame). Wilson offered further epilogic comments on previous performances and then immediately introduced his story (item 198), and told it. The story was another numskull joke which echoed his previous story in that it narrated the antiheroic exploits of Red Adair's fictional and less competent Irish cousin, Paddy. Once again, Wilson had told a highly successful joke, and there was energetic laughter, but no applause. After several attempts to find a teller to follow it, moving the telling point around the room, Mike conceded, "Right, well, we'll finish it there, okay." He announced next month's meeting and that of the month after, then the festival, the month off in August, and the reconvention of the club in September (host's lower frame). Thereafter, the gathering fragmented. The chat resumed; Gordon Hall began discussing the truth element in the largely non-fictional story he had told (item 193).

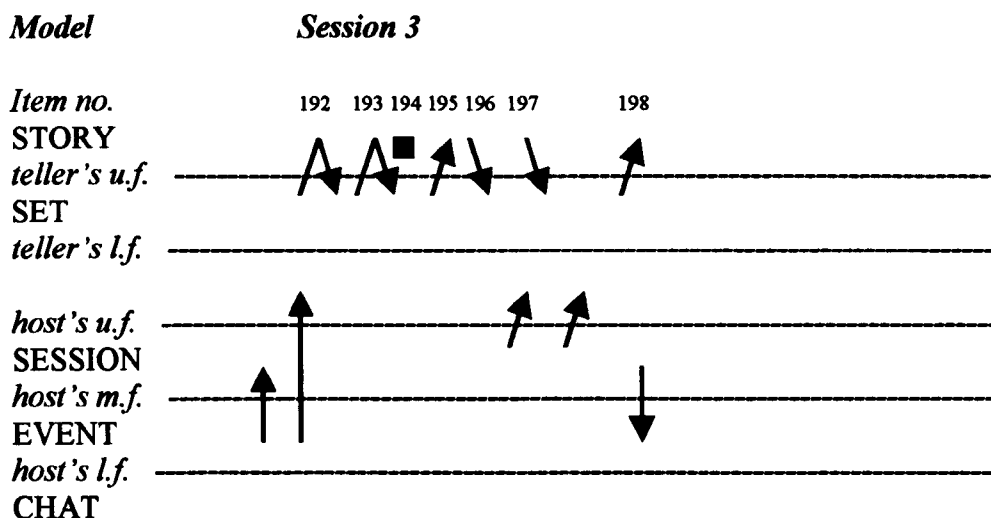
Fig. 15. Repertoire item analysis of third session at event 13

| Item | Performer | Title/description |
|------|-----------------|---|
| 192 | Simon Heywood | (The Bishop of Worcester) |
| 193 | Gordon Hall | (The Flags of Aotearoa) |
| 194 | Judith Baresel | (The House of the Rising Sun) (song) |
| 195 | Tony Addison | ("Give Me a Ride to Heaven") (song) |
| 196 | Jerry Tysoe | (Hallelujah, I'm a Bum) |
| 197 | Roy Dyson | (The Cat, the Rat and the Drum) |
| 198 | Wilson Boardman | (Paddy Adair and the Shropshire Oil Rush) |

The illocutionary analysis of this event can be tabulated as follows:

Fig. 16. Illocutionary management of forward progression of event 13





Legend as for Figure 7. Black squares indicate items performed without explicit framing. The bracketed arrow denotes Mike's anticipatory announcement of Tony Addison as the first teller after the break. The double arrow at the opening of Session 3 denotes Mike's two attempts to inaugurate the session, of which the first was disabled by chat following the announcements. At the teller's upper frame, again, upstrokes denote verbal or other prologues and downstrokes epilogic applause; the whole corroborates the account in the text.

These proceedings offer an interesting contrast with the previous two analysed events. There are certain similarities. On the one hand, there was a formal structure loosely predictable from the model, of which specific features were consistent with other Wenlock Edge events, and this structure reveals, and seems to be a response to, the tension which is omnipresent at the moment of transition from storyteller to storyteller. Again, the pattern, though loosely predictable, is relatively irregular; the most predictable sequences are in the middle of the first session, when the atmosphere of the event has not yet fully developed and the relatively rapid succession of tellers enjoins a degree of economy and clarity on proceedings as a whole. Similarly, subsequent proceedings become looser as the group relaxes into the event. Session opening and closing sequences are very loose. As at the Camden Ceilidh, the host began by dominating the informal chat and proceeded without an obvious

break to inaugurating the event. There is manifest similarity in these respects with the Camden Ceilidh. A significant difference between this event and event 12 at the Camden Ceilidh, however, is the greater incidence of explicit intervention by the host to facilitate the forward progression of the event. The portentous silence of the Camden Ceilidh is replaced by very pithy, informal, functional verbal cues by the host. Another equally significant difference is the texture of the utterances enacting this loosely formal structure: at Wenlock Edge it was extremely colloquial and chatty. Unlike at Camden, teller-to-teller transitions had little or no purposeful part in creating atmosphere. Also, matching this loose structure, the most striking feature of events at Wenlock Edge was their protean structure. Framing routines were unpredictable and in many places vestigial or absent. Epilogic applause, even for highly successful performances such as Wilson's jokes, was often omitted. When, however, there was a specific reason, framing routines were lengthy and elaborate: Mike took care to introduce Roy Dyson as a familiar figure from far away. Stories were discussed and evaluated communally in the aftermath of specific performances. There was no designated performing or telling space. In these ways, interaction between stories was significantly more fluid and responsive to the content of the tales and the identity of the tellers than at the Camden Ceilidh, although both otherwise showed a similar degree of structural variability. In these respects, while the structure of events at Tales at the Edge remained preset and was always managed by the host, the texture came almost to resemble normal conversational storytelling. If it might be expected that formal performance would be more restrictively managed, and informal chat would be more open-ended, then the Camden Ceilidh enacted the paradox of open-ended performance, while Tales at the Edge enacted the opposite paradox of managed chat.

6.3.4 Event 17: Tales at the Wharf, Hebden Bridge, 28th June 1996

The final event to be considered in detail was the last recorded during fieldwork. Again, the preliminary description of the venue and personnel has been given in the previous chapter and the following account begins with the audiotape recording. The event comprised three sessions, two guest sessions with a floor session between them, all separated by intervals. The featured guests were a group of floor tellers from Tales at the Trip in Nottingham: Roy Dyson, the promoter and host; and Gary Breinholt and Susan Broadrick, two regular floor tellers. They performed as the “Cave Tellers.” The arrangement was that known among participants as the *club swap*; it involved a reciprocal visit by regular participants at Tales at the Wharf to perform as featured guests at the Nottingham club.

Like the Nottingham club, but unlike either London or Wenlock Edge, the chat before the event began had no unified focus; the host did not hold forth expansively to a group of mutual acquaintances. Under the general hubbub the three featured guests were sitting on the wall-bench, close to the telling point in the corner of the room, and unobtrusively finalising the running order. This discussion continued as the host, Alan, stood at the telling point and began, “Right, shall we get going?” The chat began to subside, but there was a brief hiatus as Alan called for quiet from the guests (host’s lower frame). He then commented on the small size of the audience, and threatened in jocular fashion to make everyone present tell a story. Finally he welcomed the guests by name, and introduced them, cueing a round of prologic applause (host’s upper frame):

Well, I’d like to welcome, er, the Cave Tellers from Nottingham, um, they’ve travelled all the way up the M1 to be here tonight, and

er it's nice to have them with us. So I'd like to introduce the Cave Tellers.

Alan now stepped to one side and sat down, and the telling point was taken by Susan Broadrick; the other two featured guests remained seated and listening from the bench. Susan verbally introduced the set (teller's lower frame) and her own first story (teller's upper frame). She then told it (item 237), a literary fairy tale in which the rosebud becomes red from blushing under the sun's frank stare. This was greeted with epilogic applause roughly of the more restrained or supportive type analysed above in Figure 11: a sentimental *ah* followed by a brief pause and applause (teller's upper frame). At the performer's request, the following item in the guest set (item 238), and the identity of the performer, were not recorded. The item was a poem of the performer's own composition. The framing routines were therefore not recorded either. Audiotape recording resumes with item 239, an Irish origin legend for the harp, told, to harp accompaniment, by Gary Breinholt, which was framed by epilogic applause (teller's upper frame). Roy then advanced to the telling point as Gary sat down, briefly greeted the audience (teller's upper frame), and told item 240, a brief *cante-fable* in which a rapacious king is killed by a tree towards which he has failed to show sufficient respect. This received laughter and epilogic applause (teller's upper frame). Roy sat down, and Alan took the floor, verbally concluded the guest tellers' set and the session, and inaugurated the interval (host's lower frame). The chat resumed.

Fig. 17. Repertoire item analysis of first session at event 17

| <i>Item</i> | <i>Performer</i> | <i>Title/description</i> |
|-------------|------------------|---|
| 237 | Susan Broadrick | (How the Rose Got its Pink) |
| 238 | Guest teller | (Poem) (not recorded - permission withheld) |
| 239 | Gary Breinholt | (The First Harp) |
| 240 | Roy Dyson | The Wonderful Wood |

The second session was a floor session. After the interval Alan spoke from the telling point, inaugurating the second session (host's middle frame) and cueing the first floor teller, a girl of middle primary school age named Amara. Amara's vivid imagination, capacious memory and striking self-possession allowed her to participate as a regular floor storyteller, despite her age. Her place in the running order was by prior arrangement between herself, her parents, and Alan, and seemed to have been contrived to take her understandably early departure into account. Alan's cue was rather informal in tone because Amara herself was nowhere to be seen and her momentary absence took him rather by surprise:

The next little spot I think we'll um, invite stories from the floor, and, the person that I was going to get on first, highlight of the evening, young Amara, she's not here! (*she is playing on the fruit machine: some bantering*) ... Oh here she comes. Right, shall we start again, Amara? Would you like to do your story - would you like to hear Amara do a story? (*Audience: Yes!*) Come on Amara. You get up on your stool.

She swiftly appeared from the back of the room, and Alan cued a prologic round of applause (host's upper frame) as she settled herself on the high stool on which (uniquely, and on account of her height) she usually sat to tell.

Amara verbally introduced her story (item 241), describing it as a Tibetan folktale. She then told the story, and was greeted with epilogic applause preceded by a reflective *mm*, as she returned to her seat. Alan then simply stood up and asked for a volunteer for the next story. The rest of the floor session comprised performances by five tellers, and Alan's links between storytellers (that is, his performances of the host's upper frame) were consistently of this kind, as for example before items 242 and 243:

Thank you very much. And who'd like the unenviable task of following Amara? (*Paul volunteers*) Well done, Paul! What a brave man.

Right, thank you very much, Paul. Who would like to go next? Young Chris. Young Chris. (*Chris: Thank you. I'll do it now.*) Is that all it takes?

These open invitations modified the tone of the session from a relatively formal presentation to an audience, to a looser, semi-formal gathering, resembling those at Wenlock Edge. Item 242, was told by Paul Degnan a regular floor teller at the club, who came from his seat to the telling point as Alan sat down. This performance adhered to the standard pattern of a story within a teller's upper frame comprising a verbal prologue by the teller and epilogic applause by the listeners. Item 243 was told in the same fashion, according to the standard pattern, by Paul's partner Chris, another regular teller. After the applause died down, there was a rather anomalous episode. Prompted apparently by the foregoing performances, Alan took the floor again and announced other forthcoming storytelling events in which regular tellers at the club were involved, and taking his cue, Roy Dyson made further announcements of the same kind. These announcements were of a type observed at other clubs and at other Hebden Bridge events. However, they

were quite anomalous in that they occurred in the middle of a session rather than at the beginning or end, and also in that a featured guest also participated in making them. Roy's role was already highly ambivalent: he was a featured guest at the Hebden Bridge club by virtue of the fact that he was a host and promoter performing in a group of regular floor tellers from another club. During these exchanges, this ambivalence was compounded: in announcing further events he was participating at the Hebden Bridge club in a manner only otherwise observed of hosts and regular tellers at the club in question throughout the sample. These exchanges exemplify the extreme fluidity with which the formal structures of storytelling revivalism are quite easily and unselfconsciously enacted in practice. They also exemplify the consistently supportive quality with which members of revivalistic storytelling groups tend to treat each other. Just as individual performances almost never met with a negative response, so here clubs were mutually supportive in allowing space for each other's performers and extraneous announcements. As the history of the movement demonstrates (see Chapter 4), disagreement within storytelling revivalism can be expressed only with some difficulty; the supportive, apparently uncritical quality of the storytelling club interaction expresses the purposeful cohesion of the movement as a whole.

Following these announcements, Alan resumed the normal running order, and solicited another floor teller (host's upper frame). Another regular floor teller, Rachel Loise, took the floor and told items 244 and 245. These formed a linked pair. The first served as the prologue to the second, and was structurally equivalent to the introduction of the standard pattern (teller's upper frame), but was substantially narrative in content sufficiently to warrant analysis as a separate item. It concerned the retreat of the nature spirits in the face of modernity. In the second, a butterfly collector is smothered by his collection.

This small set is therefore analysable as another development from the basic pattern in Figure 2:

Fig. 18. Analysis of items 244 - 245

| | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|---|-------------------|
| (1) → | (2) | → | (...) |
| <i>(prologic) story</i> | <i>story</i> | | <i>[applause]</i> |

The applause was of the quieter type, within which the hand-clapping was preceded by a reflective *mm*. This set is comparable to another, slightly more elaborate two-story floor set by the same teller Rachel Loise, in the second session of event 16:

Fig. 19. Analysis of items 229 - 230

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------|---|--------------|---|-------------------|
| (1) → | (2) → | (3) | → | (4) | → | (...) |
| <i>prologue</i> | <i>(prologic) story</i> | <i>prologue</i> | | <i>story</i> | | <i>[applause]</i> |

After the applause, Alan solicited another floor teller, and item 246 was performed according to the standard framing pattern (see Figure 2) by a participant who was not a regular teller. After the applause died down, Alan solicited another teller in very informal terms, and a regular teller, Andrew Macpherson, took the floor. Without introduction he told item 247, a long, dreamlike original story in a contemporary urban setting. The atmospheric, slightly menacing conclusion was greeted with quiet applause, with preceding *mm*. After Andrew sat down, Alan thanked him (host's upper frame) and verbally concluded the floor session (host's middle frame). The chat resumed.

Fig. 20. Repertoire item analysis of second session at event 17

| <i>Item</i> | <i>Performer</i> | <i>Title/description</i> |
|-------------|----------------------------------|---|
| 241 | Amara (<i>surname unknown</i>) | (The Lama and the Roatal) |
| 242 | Paul Degnan | (The Three Suitors) |
| 243 | Chris (<i>surname unknown</i>) | ("She did something of which her father disapproved") |
| 244 | Rachel Loise | (The Retreat of the Spirits) |
| 245 | Rachel Loise | (The Blue Butterfly) |
| 246 | <i>Male teller (unknown)</i> | The Last Order of the Grey Supercomputer Company |
| 247 | Andrew Macpherson | (The Dreaming City) |

At the end of the interval, Alan advanced to the telling point and asked in a mild tone "Shall we get going again?"²⁹ He then announced, "Right, okay, we're going to start now." He announced extraneous forthcoming events additional to those mentioned earlier,³⁰ including a storytelling workshop run by Alan himself and by Roy Dyson, and a tour by the Canadian storyteller Wendy Berner. With these announcements complete, he reintroduced the featured guests for the final guest session (host's upper frame). There was a prologic round of applause.

The first guest to take the floor was Gary Breinholt. He commented favourably on Roy and Alan's workshops, which he had himself attended, and then launched without further introduction into item 248. The five items in the final set were all performed without verbal prologues; all were received with applause (teller's upper frame). When the applause for the final story died away, Alan took the floor, and thanked the guests, verbally closed the event

²⁹ Also observed at event 7 (session 2) and event 16 (session 2). This mild question was also typical of Alan's openings for whole events (host's lower frame): events 7, 11, 16.

³⁰ This was usually done once per event, at the opening of the second session (events 7, 11, 16).

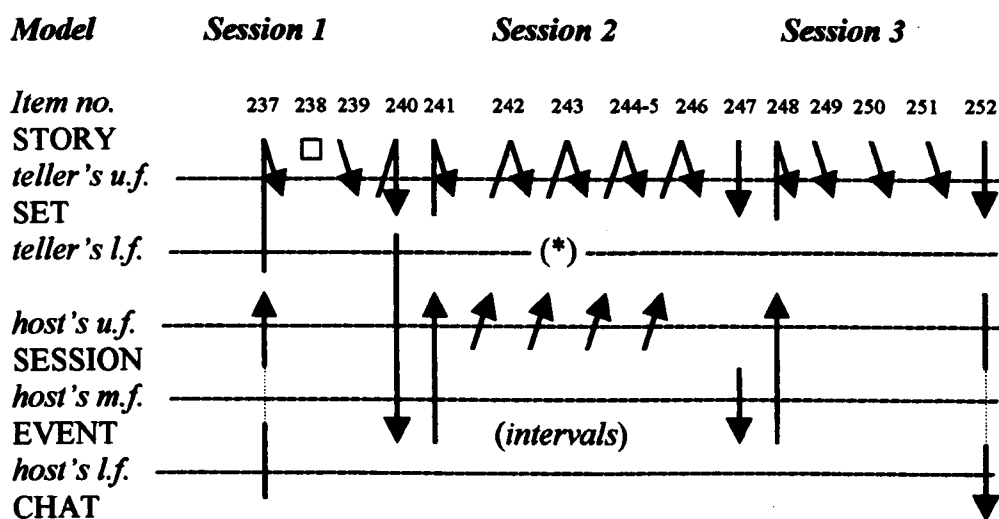
("I think that's it for the evening"), thanked the guests again and cued a final epilogic round of applause (host's upper and lower frames).

Fig. 21. Repertoire item analysis of third session at event 17

| Item | Performer | Title/description |
|------|-----------------|--|
| 248 | Gary Breinholt | (The Bron Anam) |
| 249 | Roy Dyson | (The Three Green Ladies) |
| 250 | Susan Broadrick | (The Flea, the Grasshopper and the Jumping Jack) |
| 251 | Gary Breinholt | ("Two Horse's Ears on Labraid Loingsech") |
| 252 | Susan Broadrick | (The Piggy Bank) |

The illocutionary analysis of this event can be represented as follows:

Fig. 22. Illocutionary management of forward progression of event 17



Legend as for Figure 7. (*) denotes the anomalous announcements between items 243 and 244. The white square denotes item 238 (not recorded).

Overall, this illocutionary structure, despite some anomalies, has a clarity and regularity which resembles event 6 at Tall Tales at the Trip and is to be distinguished from the two older clubs in London and Shropshire. Framing routines in the guest sessions were more clearly, economically and formally structured, and closer to the standard pattern, than those in the floor sessions. These latter became increasingly loose, polymorphic and heterogeneous in structure, with the more standardised patterns of the first two performances yielding place to the anomalous exchange of announcements and Rachel Loise's long prologic narrative. The figure does not record that they were informal in texture, increasingly so as time went on: colloquial, functional, and performed solely to manage and clarify the running order, with no purposeful part in creating atmosphere. In this they came to resemble framing routines at Tales at the Edge, which was similarly characterised by regular explicit cueing by the host; the main difference was that there was a static telling point where individual tellers came and went, and that there was no set procedure for deciding the next teller, a fact which prompted Alan simply to invite volunteers. The guest sessions were much more standardised in their framing structures than the floor sessions, and often, like the Camden Ceilidh, stark and economical in tone as a result. Again, there was an observable correlation between the levels of experience of the performers and the levels of formality of performance. The neat segmentation of the guest sets correlated with the relative inexperience of the featured guests, who, although they had recently become regular tellers at their home Nottingham club, were not experienced as featured guests and had no substantial history of performing as a group. The regular tellers at the club, by contrast, were in rather more familiar territory, and this correlates with the looseness and informality which the middle session generally displayed.

6.4 Conclusion of event observation

The illocutionary model illustrated by the analogy of the ladder prompts consideration of the revivalistic storytelling event in terms of the social and psychological dynamics expressed by the illocutionary structures of interaction, and the morphologies of behaviour overlying these, specifically the relative degree of formality of tone, register and ambience. Before drawing final conclusions regarding storytelling clubs, it is worth pausing a moment to recapitulate. The four storytelling clubs of the sample were institutions which provided regular meetings on weekday evenings in public places for adults to tell and listen to stories, usually (and characteristically for the English *milieu*) shorter traditional folktales and folktale-like original and literary items. Some of these items had circulated orally within the revivalistic community, but many were ultimately mediated from extraneous source traditions, often *via* printed anthologies; their provenance was eclectic, but material from within or near the British Isles was especially popular. These stories were performed in spoken English without rote memorisation and consequently with the surface variation and underlying textual stability associated with oral narrative. This narrative idiom incorporated a range of stylistic techniques intended to transcend the limitations of the conversational colloquial English which underlay it, to heighten the performative register of narrations, and to achieve an appropriate and successful performative texture. Of these techniques, repetition, hyperbole and parallelism were noticeable in that they resembled, apparently without being purposefully imitative of, widespread features of oral narrative culture; however, other stylistic features, such as characterisation, was more literary in quality, and the revivalistic style remained hybrid, experimental, and occasionally dependent on irony and self-parody. The repertoire of listener responses, and particularly the quality of applause, were

similarly distinctive and reflective of the special qualities of the material performed.

These gatherings occurred in sociable surroundings, always with alcoholic drinks available, and usually on licensed premises. They drew in a participant group which was largely white and English in ethnicity, and middle-class in culture, education and professional qualification, but which was rather marginal in employment status and economic standing. Numerically, participant groups were dominated by women, but as one ascended the hierarchies of involvement this dominance receded; the regular participant body comprised equal numbers of men and women, and the core élite of featured guests and organisers was dominated numerically by men. The clubs met under the inspiration and tutelage of one or more leaders who were active within this core élite. These leaders had always been already inspired by prior involvement in other revivalistic storytelling; in their own persons they constituted the nexus whereby the revivalistic movement spread from institution to institution by the larger process of external exemplification described in Chapter 4. They undertook the administrative responsibilities involved: finding and securing premises, distributing publicity, generating an audience, engaging featured guests, obtaining grant aid, and often underwriting the enterprise financially. They also hosted the events themselves and managed the interaction at them. Featured guests often provided the bulk of storytelling performances. The rest of the storytelling came to be provided by the participant group themselves, according to a developmental pattern whereby participants attempted public storytelling, and then either abandoned the practice quickly and completely or went on to make it their regular habit, thus enlarging and enriching the active, self-sustaining storytelling culture of the club. Of these, a further minority had eventually gone on to attempt paid public storytelling performance. Overall, however, the active participant group

at each club (that is, the floor tellers and hosts, considered collectively) was always a minority, and sometimes a very small minority, of the total participant group.

The analysis of interaction reveals a minimum requirement that whole events and individual sessions be inaugurated and concluded explicitly or implicitly by guests, or more usually by the host, and the routines developed to ensure this were usually stable and regular at the illocutionary level. It was additionally necessary that, during floor sessions, there be some recognised means of negotiating the transition from teller to teller. This was normally done by the host's direct intervention; at the Camden Ceilidh, despite the formal tone, it was a more open and negotiated enterprise, but the host retained a facilitatory role. Repertoire items were often but not always performed within further illocutionary framing routines by the tellers. These routines varied in their actual morphology (at event 6, for example, owing to the length of the Dacres' set, verbal epilogues and rounds of applause were often interchangeable in their illocutionary function relative to the whole event), and different events showed different degrees of morphological variation. There was a striking lack of correlation between regularity of illocutionary structure, formality of tone, the degree of hierarchical control of events on the one hand, and on the other the degree of morphological variation relative to illocutionary function at specific events. Tales at the Edge and Tales at the Wharf were generally less formal in tone but more controlled than floor sessions at the Camden Ceilidh. Nevertheless, as explained below, these variables related in specific ways to the history of the clubs and of the individuals concerned, and to their placement in the general development of storytelling revivalism. Clubs and events had historically explicable characters and qualities which allow informative generalisations to be made. Generally, and very significantly, the illocutionary structures analysed above succeeded to a very high degree in

their underlying purpose of negotiating the discontinuities of the event. The overriding impression left by most storytelling events was one of relatively smooth and unimpeded forward progression. As the quotations reproduced above exemplify, the sequential subunits of the storytelling event mingled inextricably together at many levels. Chat segued smoothly into event opening routines; prologic introductions segued smoothly into stories, often mid-sentence; stories, framing routines and even interval chat became taxonomically indistinct on account of their thematic continuities and the universal incidence of episodes of actual oral narrative discourse within them. Paradoxically, the clear, discontinuous structure of the storytelling event served only to give shape and forward momentum to these continuities; and where discontinuities were heightened, even exaggerated, the effect was so jarring as to require parody (as in Roy Dyson's mock-lugubrious framing routines) or to portentously heighten the tension (as during the tense silences between floor tellers at the Camden Ceilidh). Overall, then, revivalistic storytelling performance was a complex phenomenon, but consistent patterns can be discerned in it. These can be tabulated, and the four storytelling clubs compared, as follows:

Fig. 23. Comparison of performative idioms at the four clubs in the sample

| <i>Club</i> | <i>Illocutionary structure</i> | <i>Tone and morphological variation</i> | <i>Hierarchical control</i> |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| Tall Tales at the Trip | clear and regular | informal and varied | very high |
| The Camden Ceilidh | fluid and irregular | formal and fairly invariant | fairly low |
| Tales at the Edge | fluid and irregular | informal and fairly invariant | fairly high |
| Tales at the Wharf | clear and regular | informal (floor tellers) formal (guests) | high |

The interpretation of these findings begins with the following two observations:

1) *The storytelling event is role-governed and hierarchically ordered.*

There were four basic categories of participation or roles, arranged into two elements of a dyad in mutual dialogue: on the one hand the listening group; on the other the featured guest, the floor teller, and the host. At all events, the basic, stable structural format - the running order of tellers - was implemented, directly or by implication, by the host. The various storytellers retained control of the choice of performable material, but they fitted their sets and stories into the structure contrived by the host, often negotiating with him or her before or between sessions in order to do so effectively and smoothly. These roles, although constrained by the formal structure of the event, carried greater hierarchical status and freedom than the role of listener. Listeners (largely including non-performing hosts and storytellers) limited their interaction to quiet attention and responsive applause serving obvious illocutionary framing functions. All this is straightforward, but two further points should be noted. The first is that this system of roles was very fluid and responsive to the needs of the interactive moment. During performances, hosts and other storytellers participated as listeners, hosts participated as floor tellers, and event 17 contained an extreme example: Roy Dyson, a featured guest at the Hebden Bridge club, participating by virtue of the fact that he was a host and promoter performing as a member of a group of regular floor tellers from another club, and complicating the issue further by participating momentarily in the manner of a host or regular teller at the club in question - that is, by announcing other forthcoming events.

From these examples it can be seen that no effort was expended maintaining coherent and consistent role patterns. The role structure of the event was not fixed; it was a vocabulary of ideas and interactive stances which could be combined and exchanged freely in ways which were irreducibly fluid and adaptable to the mood and the requirements of the moment. The second point is that, nevertheless, hierarchical role structure is central to the understanding of the underlying interactive processes generating the storytelling event. The illocutionary structure of the events is the direct result of role structure because it is implemented by hosts and tellers relying on the interactive privileges which the role system confers; it is not the product of egalitarian consensual co-operation by participants, except in the indirect and secondary sense that audience members are not physically coerced into their passive role. Inattention to this point is the mistake which Skeengles the trow was imagined to be making when considering the storytelling event as a linguistic structure and failing to notice anything other than a normal conversation which happened to be dominated by certain individuals (see above, pp. 158 - 9). The element missing from Skeengles' understanding was awareness of the generative mechanism whereby the observed patterns of interaction came into being: namely, preordained role, as distinct from normal force of conversational personality. Preordained hierarchical role structures and their effects distinguish the storytelling event from everyday conversation; nothing else does so, and specifically no linguistic features do so. The various framing routines which define the subunits of interaction are the symptom and purpose of this necessary but half-disguised hierarchical system of roles. This hierarchical quality of the event was ironically referred to by Roy in his comments to the listeners at the opening of event 9, quoted as the epigraph to the present chapter: "We can do with you what we will until such time as we let you out." The humorous hyperbole of this reference suggests that Roy is referring to a feature of the encounter which is real and necessary but also

potentially rather uncomfortable in its implications and therefore requiring careful reference. On the other hand, the host's dominance relieves most of the participant group of any need to have much detailed prior knowledge of the idioms pertaining during the event. It is possible for a revivalistic storytelling club to function with a participant group who largely lack detailed knowledge either of traditional narrative or of revivalistic storytelling culture. All they know, and all they need to know, is how to act as an acquiescent audience at a public performance. If they do so - with the supportive camaraderie and occasionally condescending forbearance of which several instances have already been noted above, as appropriate to a collective venture into the unknown - the host will take charge, explain proceedings as they unfold, choreograph the storytellers, and contrive the rest. One important effect of this is that the revivalistic group, although it cannot function without a host, can function without a shared aesthetic sensibility. Its hierarchical structure is portable and durable and is contrived in and for the inhospitable environment of a group without deep prior awareness of what is happening, whose members are reduced to the condition of passive spectators. These hierarchical constraints and norms of supportive gentility constitute the price paid by storytelling revivalism for venturing outside the comfortable confines of the aesthetic consensus within which mature traditions and vernacular *milieux* operate.

One vital qualification must nevertheless be made to this point, which is that the dependence of the participant group, and the compensatory hierarchical quality, is apparently attenuated as clubs and their participant groups themselves acquire a measure of experience and maturity. This is a finding of central importance. At the two older clubs (Wenlock Edge and London), and to a lesser degree at Hebden Bridge (during the floor session), there was a tendency for the host to implement more open and egalitarian ways of

selecting the next teller. The formal atmosphere notwithstanding, teller selection was entirely open at Camden; it was open in the way the host solicited tellers during floor sessions at Hebden Bridge; and at Wenlock Edge teller selection proceeded by an automatic rotation round the room which required minimal management by the host but was largely self-implementing. By contrast, at the newer clubs Nottingham (and to a degree at Hebden Bridge), teller selection was more firmly in the control of the host and the hierarchical underpinning of the event was more pronounced. At Tall Tales at the Trip, most participants had effectively foregone the opportunity to tell by not notifying Roy in advance, but the floor tellers themselves did not know who was to be chosen next. Roy explained his manner of organising the progression, after the opening routine and his own inaugural performance in the first session of event 4 (AE/7a):

And now this is the time when all the visiting storytellers dread, because I don't make a programme and I don't tell them when they're go'n'o come on, they just are told - asked, I should say.

It has been seen in the previous chapter that participant groups at the older clubs were more experienced, proficient and committed than at the newer clubs, and this relates to the fact that older clubs also operated in a slightly more egalitarian way. This vital qualification - that hierarchical inequalities were attenuated when participant groups were more experienced and active - must therefore be considered alongside the second conclusion.

- 2) *Informality and structural/morphological ambivalence characterise the performances of older clubs and more experienced revivalists; formality and structural/morphological clarity characterise the performances of newer clubs and less experienced revivalists.*

All events in the sample shared the formal illocutionary structure illustrated in the ladder model (Figure 3). Each club had its own characteristic way of

managing this structure. However, at all clubs, there was a tendency for illocutionary practice to be loose, protean and morphologically fluid, and this tendency was heightened under certain specific circumstances, again associated with greater experience on the part of the participants in question. Usually (as at events 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, and 15), hosts performed the first repertoire item in the whole event themselves, more or less as a floor performance. There were frequent omissions of framing routines which full explication would logically require. This was mostly motivated apparently by a high degree of confidence and familiarity with the overall process. Also, there was a consistent tendency throughout the sample for experienced revivalists to tend towards informality, structural ambivalence, and morphological fluidity in performance, and for less experienced revivalists to tend in performance towards formality and structural and morphological clarity. This operated at the level of the whole club and also at the level of the individual storyteller. The largest example of this feature of interaction at the level of the whole club is the behaviour of the host in the chat before events. As at all clubs, the host - the *compère* or facilitating master of ceremonies for the event as a whole - was always a club promoter: either the same person on every occasion (Roy Dyson in Nottingham, Alan Sparkes in Hebden Bridge) or alternately one of two people (Richard Walker or Mike Rust at Wenlock Edge, Jenny Pearson or Bernard Kelly in London). As noted in the previous chapter, the older clubs had a larger proportion of regular attenders in their ranks, and, as groups, they were more familiar not only with each other, but with the hosts. As a result, the organisation of the preliminary chat differed predictably according to the age and longevity of the club. At the newer clubs in Nottingham and Hebden Bridge the focus of the pre-event chat was more dispersed. Before events at these clubs, hosts tended, like everybody else, to chat to a small number of people and ignore everyone else; often they would be quietly finalising the running order with guests and others (as on the tape at

event 4, AE/7a), but novice attenders walking into the room would have had no obvious means at that precise moment of recognising the host as an individual whose role within the event would be special and demarcated. At the older clubs, by contrast, pre-event chat tended to be more centralised. As participants arrived, they would tend to join all others in one large, informal conversation and here, even before the event formally began, the hosts might begin to dominate proceedings, by immanent charisma which was not directly or immediately dependent on their role as host. In the chat before events, Richard and Mike in Much Wenlock, and Jenny in London, all tended to interact to a degree as individuals facing an undifferentiated group, holding forth amid the informal chat, fielding jokes, and addressing individuals with apparent consciousness of the third parties listening in, in a way that Roy did less often in Nottingham and Alan in Hebden Bridge did hardly at all. It is conceivable that many confident and skilled talkers could chaff expansively in this way in many social situations, without the support of an impending shift of role, but in fact it was always the club promoters who did so. Moreover, although Richard and Mike tended to assume the host's role in alternate months, both would hold forth as a kind of double act if both were present, with the non-host for the month jocularly undermining the host's attempts to govern the proceedings. As a club evolved a regular participant body, the unitary and hierarchical character of the event was therefore carried over into informal interactions, and the formal status of hosts and promoters overflowed and transmuted into a more informal charisma. Generally, old hands at the storytelling clubs became better acquainted with each other and freer of each other's company. In doing so, they preserved and reproduced the corporate features of the pre-existent formal events, but the basic point is that the structure of interaction at the older clubs, while maintaining its élite-led character, was more informal. This was not the only way in which this characteristic, of informality increasing with experience, was observable. At

the two older clubs (Wenlock Edge and London), and also during floor sessions at Hebden Bridge, the host's upper framing routines cueing and introducing the next storyteller were slight; if they had any verbal content, this consisted minimally of the host nominating the next teller. At Wenlock Edge and at floor sessions in Hebden Bridge, they were also very informal in tone. By contrast, at Nottingham, during the guest sessions at Hebden Bridge, the host's upper framing routines were relatively formal. The Nottingham club was younger. So was the club at Hebden Bridge, but at the guest sessions there the guests were less experienced in the performative context than the resident floor tellers. Interaction was more informal and chatty when the performances were those of the more experienced and comfortable roster of floor tellers; it became more formal when the fledgling guests held the floor. There was thus a general and entirely commonsensical tendency at the three non-London clubs for performative formality to be high when individuals, groups and institutions were relatively new to the exact performative context and idiom in question, and for this formality to be less when individuals, groups and institutions were performing in a familiar context and idiom. This correlates with the above-noted tendency for older clubs to proceed in a more egalitarian way than newer ones. A consistent picture here begins to emerge of stable characteristic differences between the formal revivalistic storytelling of the inexperienced, and the more informal revivalistic storytelling of those with greater experience.

The anomaly was the Camden Ceilidh. As it was an older club, the foregoing generalisation suggests that its formality of practice would be as low as that at Wenlock Edge. Camden, however, retained a conspicuously formal manner and ambience. Here the omission of verbal framing routines involved a degree of vertiginous tension which was purposefully used to heighten the atmosphere. Firstly, however, it should be noted that the performances of

individual storytellers displayed the same variability in practice at Camden as at other clubs. Performances by less experienced tellers, such as the workshop participants at the Camden Ceilidh, tended to adhere to the standard framing pattern of a brief verbal introduction, followed by the story, rounded off with applause (see Figure 2). More experienced tellers, by contrast, tended to elide the distinctions between interactive subunits such as prologues and stories, to handle them with a freedom born apparently of greater confidence, and to maintain thematic continuities from story to story with greater strength. Of this the most obvious example is Jenny Pearson's introductory story analysed above, which matches Michael and Wendy Dacre's gala performance at Nottingham in event 6 for fluidity and continuity. The variation at Camden between formal, thematically discontinuous performance by novices and informal, thematically sustained performance by experienced tellers thus matches the variation at Hebden Bridge between the formality surrounding the inexperienced guests and the informality of the more practised floor telling.

Secondly, however, and more importantly, the rather stilted formality of the Camden Ceilidh as a whole institution can be explained by its relatively close connections with the early metropolitan storytelling movement. Channel 4's 1990 documentary *By Word of Mouth* records that the early movement was highly selfconscious in its ambience. Its performances were experimental, explicitly theorised and formally contrived in the manner described above (see p. 276ff.), performers and performance spaces were often conspicuously decorated in quasi-exotic ways, and there was a general sense of excited opportunity for rediscovery and experimentation, carrying the risk of a certain hothouse affectation. The Camden Ceilidh clearly preserves this ambience, with all its opportunities and risks. The other three clubs, by contrast, are part of a later, less metropolitan stage of "revival," drawing from but developing the work of the early pioneers in the manner exemplified by the later work of

Tony Aylwin, discussed in Chapter 4 (see p. 263). Participants who entered revivalism at this later stage of development, such as Michael Dacre and Mike Rust, were characterised by even greater ease and informality of practice, by even greater integration into the folk narrative culture of their own locality and region, and by even less reliance on selfconscious presentational techniques, formal ideologies or clear segmentation of performance from conversational speech, than the most experienced veterans of the early metropolitan movement. The apparent anomaly of the formality of the Camden Ceilidh in the mid-1990s is therefore explained as a small but precise example of the folklorist's erstwhile totem: the survival. It is the perpetuation of the idioms of a former stage of "revival" into a period when revivalism generally has assumed a rather different character and trajectory of development. As such, although apparently anomalous, the long-established formality of the Camden Ceilidh is a symptom of a progression from formality to informality on the scale of the whole movement and its larger historical development, similar but much larger in scale to the processes governing the development of individual clubs and storytellers. If this is borne in mind, it becomes plain that developments of performative idioms at all levels of scale within storytelling revivalism are explicable in terms of an ongoing shift from relative selfconsciousness and formality to relative unselfconsciousness and informality. This applies at the levels of individual careers, the development of institutions, and the development of the whole movement. The results are fluid and diverse because of the many different levels of scale at which this basic generative process operates, but the underlying generative process itself is strikingly consistent and simple to understand. Individual storytellers, storytelling clubs, and the whole movement were therefore all alike in that they tended to develop in varied ways away from formality and selfconsciousness, as their experience, proficiency and confidence in the new form grew. Apparent anomalies at one level are explicable as the effects of the

same process operating at another level. Most notably, the extravagant formality of the Camden Ceilidh confirms the truth of this assertion at a larger level of historical scale. The conclusion must be that formality and selfconsciousness were not valued for their own sake. The formal structure and register of performance were consistently kept to the decreasing functional minimum required to contextualise an increasingly familiar practice of revivalistic storytelling.

Over the present and previous chapters, additional differences have emerged between the qualities and characteristics of older revivalistic storytelling clubs (such as those in Wenlock Edge and Camden) and newer ones (such as those in Hebden Bridge and Nottingham). The range and pattern of differences may be tabulated as follows.

Fig. 24. Comparison of storytelling clubs

| <i>Older clubs</i> | <i>Newer clubs</i> |
|--|--|
| | |
| <i>Participant groups</i> | |
| Smaller groups | Larger groups |
| Larger proportion of active tellers | Smaller proportion of active tellers |
| Large proportion of frequent attenders | Large proportion of sporadic or monthly attenders |
| Large proportion of regular tellers in the total telling group | Small proportion of regular tellers in the total telling group |
| | |
| <i>Interactive idioms</i> | |
| Stronger thematic links and no clear illocutionary segmentation | Weak thematic links and clear illocutionary segmentation |
| Conflation of intra-event and extra-event interactive norms and episodes | Separation of intra-event and extra-event interactive norms and episodes |
| Informality of performative and interactive register (except Camden) | Formality of performative and interactive register |
| Egalitarian ethos | Hierarchical ethos |
| | |
| <i>General issues</i> | |
| Large proportion of participants with experience of involvement in other revivalistic institutions; the club draws on a wider revivalistic community and is relatively integrated with other revivalistic institutions | Large proportion of participants with no other point of contact with the storytelling movement; the club generates its own participant group and is relatively isolated from other revivalistic institutions |

To understand these variations it is necessary to bear in mind that the storytelling club was revealed to be an essentially missionary institution; it functioned not by providing existing forms of culture but by inculcating a new form of culture. By establishing a relatively formal interactive hierarchy which privileges the *cognoscenti*, it managed to function with only a tiny proportion of experienced and active participants, and over time it grafted the revivalistic culture of this privileged élite onto the existing sociocultural stock of the participating body, producing in the mature revivalistic storytelling club an integrated sociocultural hybridity. On the one hand, the mature revivalistic club had more substantial links with the wider revivalistic movement; on the other, it was more directly shaped by the human environment within which it operated. Two of the clubs in the sample (Tales at the Edge and Tales at the Wharf) had patterns of participation significantly shaped by interaction with existing networks of family and friendship; another (the Camden Ceilidh) was equally significantly shaped by close integration with existing substantial metropolitan revivalistic storytelling networks, which compensated for the apparent inactivity of family links and ties to pre-revivalistic vernacular culture by being themselves more substantial, ingrained and long-lived in London than anywhere else in the country.

The missionary quality of the storytelling club thus interacted in varied ways with the context, to correlate with the observed variation in the degree of formality of proceedings. It is common sense that as a sociable group's mutual familiarity increases their reliance on formality will fall. The informality of Tales at the Edge correlated in large part with its relatively close connections with local family structures and the local pre-revivalistic oral narrative culture. By contrast, the formality of the Camden Ceilidh correlated with its distance from pre-existent structures of kin and culture, but revealed its compensatory close connections with the ingrained culture of the early metropolitan

storytelling movement. Developments of idiom within storytelling revivalism have been explained in terms of an ongoing shift at all levels of scale from relative selfconsciousness and formality to relative unselfconsciousness and informality, and this is thus seen to occur alongside a similiar shift from sociocultural autonomy towards increased sociocultural integration. In a word, clubs, and their participants, both relax and put down roots as they age. This summarises the basic finding of the present research regarding the local-field interactions of revivalistic storytelling. The next requirement of the study is to set these findings alongside an independent analysis of first-hand testimony regarding the experience and understanding of involvement in the movement, to see if this corroborates them.

7 The experience and interpretation of revivalistic storytelling

There has to be a point. I've never really thought what the point is.

“Fred”¹

Just all those dead *human* things that you don't have to think about. That's the point of it.

“Diane”²

7.1 Preview

The aim of the present chapter is to discuss how a sample of 14 storytelling revivalists described and interpreted the experience of involvement in the movement, in one-to-one (and in one case one-to-three) interviews conducted between March and July 1996. As outlined in Chapter 3, eight of these 14 interviewees were contacted through fieldwork at Tales at the Edge; four through fieldwork at Tall Tales at the Trip; and one each through fieldwork at Tales at the Wharf and the Camden Ceilidh. Interpretation is illustrated, necessarily, by the representative summary and quotation of interview testimony, and analysis aims to uncover the recurrent patterns and themes in this testimony. As noted previously, comparable material is presented by Dégh (1969) and Falassi (1980), and is also presented in the pilot study for the present research, in Chapter 3 above. Though evocative in conclusion, Dégh's and Falassi's published work - like the pilot study described above - are

¹ “Fred,” on the point of storytelling. See below, pp. 452-3.

² “Diane,” on the same. See below, pp. 452-3.

opaque methodologically. As a result, while the scholars in question have apparently discovered real and valuable things, it is impossible to tell whether they have weighted and contextualised these discoveries rightly in proportion and in the context of the experience of the tale-telling culture as a whole; arguably, as will become clear, central implications of demonstrable facts have been obscured. The aim in the present research is therefore to consider each informant's testimony as a sustained and structured whole, offered within the context of the interview and governed by its conventions. These conventions, including the means of eliciting responses through specific questions, are inviolable parts of the testimony and integral parts of the analytical method. They are therefore subject to all pertaining strictures regarding exhaustivity, transparency, and inductivity, and are presented as such.

All 14 interviews were analysed in the manner described below. However, presentational problems were encountered which resembled those confronted in the foregoing chapter: namely, the very large quantity and often rather homogeneous content of the data involved. A full presentation of these data would have been bulky and repetitive. A cursory survey would have been unacceptably lacking in clarity and precision, and characterised by wide-ranging generalisation at a low interpretative level, while an impressionistic selection would have contravened the basic methodological premises of the study. In order to present the findings of analysis with requisite conciseness, fullness and precision, it was therefore decided similarly to discuss a representative sample of interviews in some detail, and to refer to other interviews more briefly to preserve a sense of the shape and quality of the data as a whole. Example interviewees were chosen, as in the previous chapter, for the degree to which they were representative of the whole informant body. A full account of the selection of examples is given below with the preliminary survey of the informant group.

In preparation, summaries were made of the first section of the 14 recorded interviews, comprising biographical and developmental data. In accordance with the holistic focus, complete verbatim transcripts were then made of the second analytical section of each interview. These transcripts included hesitations, repetitions, stutters, and filled and unfilled pauses, but they excluded other paralinguistic features such as pitch and intonation in order to keep the volume of data manageable. Taken together, these transcripts and summaries totalled over 370 pages of single-spaced text. It was clearly quite impractical to present fully a body of data of this volume, even as an appendix. The next stage was therefore necessarily to abridge and summarise transcripts so as to preserve the overall structure and argument of informants' responses, and the dialogic context of questioning within which it took place. The dual objective, as stated above, was to present the propositional content of informants' words, and the overall structure and modality of the arguments within which they were set. The dialogic context is recorded in two ways. Firstly, testimony is arranged, as outlined above, under the headings of the questions which prompted it. Secondly, additional information about the context of quotations and citations is given where necessary. At all points, the interviewer's viewpoint is made explicit and distinguished from the informants.' It thereby remains possible to preclude random selection and methodologically opaque reconstruction of the nuances of recorded testimony, even in the partial presentation of analysis which is all space permits.

7.2 Biographical and developmental issues

Four informants were in their twenties, three in their thirties, four in their forties, and three in their fifties. Seven were women and seven men. There were two full-time professional storytellers, two full-time students (one a mature student of performing arts and one undergraduate in a scientific

subject), a trainee counsellor, a financial advisor, a social worker, a part-time secretary, a librarian, a white-collar worker at a textile factory, a retired lawyer, a telecommunications network advisor, and a full-time housewife. The remaining informant suffered from chronic ill health and had been unemployed and in receipt of state benefits for several years. Eight were married (two to each other), and six (the married couple and four others) had families, with children ranging from late primary-school age to early adulthood. All informants were involved in white collar work, and several in performing arts, including professional and semi-professional storytelling; the split between men and women was equal, with seven each. The demographic profile of the informant group therefore matched that of the core group of regular, committed participants identified in Chapter 5, rather than that of the participant body as a whole. The large body of passive listeners identified in the demographic survey was under-represented in the sample. Socioeconomically, the informant group was representative of the core group of regular participants. For reasons stated in Chapter 3, informants are not identified. The women are referred to pseudonymously as Alison, Barbara, Diane, Harriet, Isabel, Linda, and Nina; the men as Chris, Eddie, Fred, Graham, Joe, Karl, and Martin.

With two deliberately chosen exceptions (Martin and Nina), informants' careers within storytelling revivalism were also largely typical for the core group of committed regular participants. Nearly half of the informants (Harriet, Linda, Eddie, Fred, Joe, and Karl) were relative storytelling veterans, and had discovered revivalistic storytelling in the mid- to late 1980s, during the third period identified in the conclusion to Chapter 4. As is now to be expected, most of this veteran group were male. The remainder, mostly female, became involved in the earlier 1990s, in the fourth historical period. This correlation between gender and duration of involvement was not

deliberate on the researcher's part; it was discovered during analysis, and corroborates the earlier conclusion that men are more likely to be more extensively committed to the storytelling movement. The routes of entry into the movement varied. Most (Barbara, Chris, Diane, Eddie, Graham, Harriet, Isabel, Linda, and Martin) could identify antecedents to revivalistic storytelling in their own life history: in their leisure-time reading, memories of childhood family entertainment, and/or formal verbal performance as adults, such as after dinner speaking. Only four (Alison, Joe, Karl, and Martin) had discovered their first event through formal commercialised channels such as paper or broadcast publicity. Three (Barbara, Diane, Fred and Isabel) had encountered it in the course of full-time or part-time work or study in related areas. The remaining six (Chris, Eddie, Graham, Harriet, Linda, and Nina) had discovered it through informal social contacts with family and friends who were also participants and had begun their involvement earlier on. Some (Alison, Chris, Diane, and Joe) reported a strong and deep subjective response on their first encounter, comparable to that attested by Jenny Pearson (see p. 278): Alison was "enchanted;" Diane was "blown away;" for Chris, "something clicked."

Informants came mostly from the core group of regular participants. All had told a story in a club at least once. Two were full-time professional storytellers, and nine of the others had some semi-professional experience of public storytelling performance, sometimes extensive. The remaining three had participated purely as floor tellers; the two relative newcomers, Martin and Nina, had done even this only once. Informants' motives for becoming active storytellers as well as listeners varied. For those who encountered the movement through formal professional or educational involvement, some experience of active storytelling had been unavoidable because it had been a prerequisite of involvement on these terms. Less formally, Linda's early

amateur involvement involved performing because the group was small and composed entirely of active storytellers, and passive listening never occurred to her as an option. For others, by contrast, passive listening could realistically have been their sole mode of participation, but all had nevertheless decided to start telling. All but two informants followed the pattern, well-observed among the core participant group and described in the previous chapter, of beginning to perform soon after their first introduction, and continuing to do so on a regular basis: the desire to tell as well as listen surfaced early, and remained. It was often associated with a particularly inspiring experience of a performance by another storyteller (Alison, Chris, Eddie), and/or by a degree of encouragement, cajoling and gentle pressure from event hosts and promoters, and sometimes formal workshop training (Alison, Graham, Karl, Martin, Nina).

Two informants, Martin and Nina, were relative newcomers to revivalistic storytelling, having attended one club once or twice within the previous year. They seem to be following the pattern, also well-represented in the statistical data and described in the foregoing chapter, of attempting public performance on one occasion, and avoiding it thereafter. As explained in Chapter 3, it was originally intended to interview more people who were relatively inexperienced in storytelling revivalism, but this proved impractical. Seven informants (Alison, Barbara, Diane, Harriet, Chris, Graham and Joe) performed largely as regular floor tellers; the other five (Isabel, Linda, Eddie, Fred and Karl) had involved themselves more seriously, as promoters and/or as part-time or full-time professional storytellers.

Informants rarely knew the precise number of stories in their own repertoire. Two (Martin and Nina) had only tried performing once and had only the one story as a performable repertoire item. Two more (Eddie and Joe) specifically

declined to offer an estimate, and resisted the idea of precisely enumerating their repertoire on principle. The idea ran against an implied belief that storytelling is, and should be, an organically embedded process rather than a structured, monitored activity. This implied belief is a significant and recurrent *Leitmotif* of the discussions which follow. Others' estimates varied widely, and correlated in scale with their professional status. Large repertoires were reported by professional and semi-professional storytellers: two estimated active repertoires of up to 50, within larger semi-inactive (that is, half-remembered) repertoires of 200 or more; one, a fluctuating active repertoire of 50 - 100 items; one, 100 - 120 items. Non-commercial floor tellers reported smaller repertoires. Two estimated eight stories and under; one estimated 10 - 15 items; two, 20 - 30 items (with one guessing that she had as many items again in her inactive repertoire, recoverable with a little thought); one, 30 - 40 items. The accuracy of these guesses could not be tested, but they seem plausible.³ The wide gap between the estimated sizes of professional and amateur repertoires is noticeable. Repertoire items were obtained by informal verbal exchange with other storytellers, family and friends, from formal performances and audio publications by storytellers, and from print anthologies and books. Most informants drew stories from a number of these sources. Eddie, Fred and Linda expressed a preference for aural acquisition of stories, but Fred, like Barbara, Chris, Harriet and Joe, had an extensive personal library of anthologies and books on traditional story, and obtained performance items from these.

³ Jane Flood, a professional storyteller, has remarked (informal conversation) that she had once, out of idle curiosity, written down the titles of as many stories as she could remember being able to tell, and immediately wrote 300 titles without effort. She had never made any other attempt to determine the size of her repertoire. Claims of repertoires running to hundreds of stories are not unusual in the personal publicity of more experienced professional storytellers. Duncan Williamson's published books record the claim that he knows over 3,000 stories.

Most informants therefore had repertoires of more than one story, and this usually demanded a measure of repertoire management: memory aids and techniques for the storage, retrieval, and preparation of stories. Most used written précis in their repertoire record and/or preparation. Five (Alison, Barbara, Diane, Graham, and Harriet) reported having made rough notes while learning or preparing repertoire items, while four (Chris, Fred, Isabel, and Linda) reported keeping a notebook of titles and/or summaries of repertoire items as a memory aid. Informants usually reported that these notebooks were out of date relative to the teller's actual active repertoire; changes and fluctuations in the active repertoire ran ahead of informants' efforts to document it, which were quite unsystematic and without anxiety, a fact which again argues a general preference for story as an embedded process rather than a systematically organised activity. Most repertoires were therefore partly supported by literate and organised apparatus, but retained a measure of independent, embedded life. Ways of preparing a story for performance included reprising it silently in one's imagination (Fred, Graham, Karl, Linda), reading it aloud from a print source (Barbara), telling it to oneself in front of a mirror, or while cycling, walking the dog, lying in the bath and so forth (Alison, Diane, Eddie, Karl, Joe), telling it to family or friends (Barbara, Graham, Harriet, Linda), and practising it using formal theatrical rehearsal techniques (Diane, Isabel).

It was necessary to select a representative sample of interviews for full presentation, and a decision was made to limit the number of interviews presented fully to four. A selection of four interviews from a total sample of 14 preserved a proportion similar to that of the presentation of four storytelling events from a total sample of 16, and was similarly manageable in scale and bulk. Although all interviews were analysed fully, representativity of the selection was an issue because of the clarity with which this selection would

draw attention to pertinent issues in the final presentation. On this basis there was little reason to preserve in the four interviews selected relative proportions of basic demographic variables as age, gender, and occupation. Even if these had correlated recoverably with the content and modality of informants' responses (which they did not), this discovery would have had relatively little interest or heuristic value. More relevant were structural and biographical variables. The two biographical variables, as described above, were duration and capacity of involvement: in terms of duration, the whole sample was divided into the largely male group of six who had first become involved in the mid- to late 1980s (the second historical period), and the largely female group of eight who had first become involved in the early 1990s (the third period); in terms of capacity, the whole sample was divided into a group of two full-time professional storytellers, a group of nine part-time or occasional professional storytellers, and a group of three purely non-commercial floor storytellers. In a selection of four, these proportions would be broadly respected by retaining two from the group of veterans and two from the group of relative newcomers; one professional storyteller, one floor teller, and two semi-professional storytellers; and, if possible, one informant from each of the four clubs. The selection made was Karl, Fred, Graham, and Diane. This selection covered all the stated criteria. One informant was chosen from each club. Fred was a full-time professional storyteller, Graham a floor teller without professional experience, and Karl and Diane largely non-commercial tellers with some professional and performance experience. Fred and Karl dated their involvement from the mid- to late 1980s, and the others from the early 1990s. Reference to the other 10 informants is not precluded, but it is not systematic.

7.3 Interview analysis

Introductory comments clarified the nature and purpose of interviewing, and, specifically, to make it plain that the final part should be regarded reasonably playfully. Preliminary explanations were given at the opening of the whole interview, and also recapitulated halfway through, after the basic biographical and developmental topics had been covered. Over fieldwork, I evolved and used the stock image of a practice round of tennis, in which I compared the questions to tennis balls which I would lob over the net for informants to knock back in any way they preferred. To give a typical example, I began Alison's interview as follows.

(In the following quotation, and throughout the present chapter, commas indicate brief pauses; longer pauses are timed in seconds, as for example (5s); dashes indicate syntactic breaks; ellipsis indicates material omitted from quotation; and nonverbal vocalisations are described in round brackets. Other punctuation is typological but kept to a minimum. False starts, hesitations and filled pauses are retained for transparency and to represent more fully the tone, quality and modality of the response.)

- SH What I'm going to do is, I'll just er, er fire off the questions at you, if I may, and, like I said before, I mean the major thing is, not to get, stressed about it cau- I mean it's, all I need is your answer to the question
- A Yes
- SH And it doesn't matter if that's not a considered answer if you're talking off the top of your head
- A Yeah
- SH In fact many ways it's probably better if you do talk off the top of your head
- A Yeah
- SH Er, and, if you sort of if you say, if your, feeling is "What a stupid question why did you ask me that?" then, that's that's what I want to hear, you know, um, I'm not trying to get,

- definite, information, er, on, on storytellers and storytelling but, what I need to do to keep, to make sure that I can compare one interview with another, er, is to ask everybody the same questions
- A Sure
- SH Er whatever the answers are, you know, is fine. So, er, anything you want to say is okay really, a- although some of the questions might sound a bit
- A (laugh)
- SH A bit weird or intense, and some of them will probably sound, slightly irrelevant but
- A Right
- SH Possibly, anyway
- A Okay
- SH But just just just relax and
- A Yeah, take it as it comes
- SH And er, take it as it comes, exactly. [AI/1a/0:34 - 2:04]

After covering biographical and developmental issues, I opened the analytical section as follows:

- SH Bit three is er, we've been kind of skirting around bit three all the way through really because, er what bit three is about, is um, er, it's the final bit (laugh)
- A (laugh)
- SH Is um, like the basic, ideas, if you like the in- the intellectual stuff you know ...
- A Mm
- SH Er, about storytelling, and what storytelling is for you. And what I've got here is um, just as a- as usual a list of questions and, I think in this bit maybe more than in the rest of it it's, it's um, there's no obligation to answer. It's
- A Right
- SH I'm just going to er lob a load of tennis balls at you and you can hit them back any way you like really
- A (laugh)
- SH It's just it's it's kind of a game
- A Right
- SH If we play a game with it. So once so again er these er these might well be quite, they they I mean they might be totally, er they might make total sense or they might not. So
- A Right
- SH Let's just er, let's kind of, look at it as a quiz. A mastermind. A pub quiz.
- A (laugh)
- SH Or something. With no score. With nobody keeping a score (laugh)

A Right. Right. Okay
 SH Right [AI/2a/8:29 - 9:33]

Similar prefatory remarks were made at all interviews.

7.3.1 Section 1

The aim of this section was to see how informants chose to define the central term *storytelling*: if they would dialectically present it as a reified, rationalised, abstract entity in the terms which the revivalistic context would seem to suggest.

What is storytelling for you?

This first question gave just over half of the informants measurable pause for thought, ranging between three and seventeen seconds. Also, several informants began by giving satirical or evasive responses. Fred answered more or less immediately:

F It's s- s- sharing, what is basically, some form of narrative but without a set form, in an improvisational form. It is, risk, taking risks, it is dangerous and improvised, it is going into, areas, it's, that's it really

SH Going into areas?

F Going into areas where there possibly is danger. It's, because it's improvised it's risk taking. But it's sharing, it's sharing, I, I don't know whether you can say narratives, I suppose you can, yeah, it's sharing narratives in, a non-fixed form with other people. And it's entertainment.

Graham replied, simply and finally, "Spiritual," after which we moved on to the next question, but later on in the interview I raised the topic again and asked for clarification. He then defined spirituality in terms of a "natural

energy.” Drawing on the metaphor of life as a path or journey, he explained that

I think storytelling is a bit sort of like, you know, c- can fit together and sort of, communicate aspects of that pathway and, and fit into sort of, how we, construct and define our own reality I suppose.

Karl’s response involved a seventeen-second pause, the longest in recorded interview testimony:

(laugh), What is storytelling? (17s) Er storytelling (laugh) is communi- -cating something from, before, into the present

This concluded his response. Diane’s response was improvisatory in tone. It began in a qualitative way, and soon turned to functional criteria:

Um, I think it’s a chance to um, first of all it’s a chance to, e- enter a a s- an unreal space a a a kind of, that’s not about, being passive, that’s not about, ... trying to get drunk or going out to a disco or going out to the cinema or going out to the theatre where, um e- essentially I think it is passive. So, that, for a start, and it’s very very social as well, ... And, um, I think, I ou-, I love, having, the impetus t- to, write or create or adapt stories, as well, so that, is a very creative thing, ... also, I love going and hearing, what other people have found, and, it’s a- there’s always, it amazes me that, ... so many different people come to the club ...

Two things become immediately apparent from this range of responses. Firstly, there is a clear sense that the question has cut across informants’ expectations of the interview. With other informants, this sense was even more marked. After about three seconds’ pause, Linda wryly referred back to my introductory comments: “You’re right, it is a stupid question! (laugh).” Martin perceptively commented:

What is st- that's a that's a, pretty open sort of a question, isn't it! ...
 I should have s- sat down and thought about this a great deal I
 should have expected a question like this really ...

From this momentary puzzlement it was clear that the informant body as a group had never needed to define storytelling as a phenomenon in order to participate in it: the definition of storytelling as such was quite etic as an intellectual undertaking. This is analytically significant. The second point is that, once solicited in interview, attempts to define storytelling adopted one of two strategies. On the one hand, after this initial hesitation, Fred's and Karl's answers consisted of attempts to answer the question in the spirit in which it was asked: to encapsulate the surface features of storytelling in a relatively neat lexical definition. This is directly analogous to the Kirghiz informants' attempts to define the car by listing its specific features as they perceived them, as discussed above in the account of Luria's research (see above, p. 182), and it shows that, when necessary, informants can direct towards storytelling the habits of abstract, distanced appraisal similar to those inculcated by formal education. On the other hand, Diane's and Graham's answers circumvent the definable surface features of storytelling entirely and attempt instead to describe the basic essence of the experience involved. Diane's answer is entirely experiential in content and her interpretation proceeds from remembered experience, expressed, as theorists of "revival" would expect, in the generalised context of an implied contrast with the deficiencies of mainstream forms of cultural, social and artistic life. Unlike the other two answers, however, these are not attempts to delineate a certain semantic domain. There is no need to conclude that Graham would regard *storytelling* as the best term for spiritual experience generally, or that Diane would similarly use *storytelling* of any activity constituting a "chance to enter an unreal space that's not about being passive" or "trying to get drunk," or displaying the other characteristics she mentions. The second part of Fred's

answer is similar: he does not imply that all forms of risk-taking or sharing constitute storytelling by lexical definition. The two strategies used in this response can therefore be termed *lexical* and *qualitative*. Lexicality follows the prompt of the question and suggests that storytelling as a concept is available for reification, definition and abstract appraisal such as would be consistent with an intellectually rationalised activity. Qualitativity suggests that storytelling is not primarily interpreted as a discrete concept and that embedded and experiential rather than abstract and intellectual understandings are preferred. The results suggest that lexicality was available as a subsidiary strategy in these terms, but that it was not immediately congenial to the emic interpretative viewpoint and other, more concrete, or deeper considerations were slightly more likely to be invoked, and the range of responses presented is representative of the total spread of all informants. Storytelling was not a reified, rationalised, abstract entity in the terms which the revivalistic context would suggest *prima facie*. It was primarily understood in implicit, experiential terms. These could be expressed in the form of an implied revivalistic ideology, as by Diane, but, if intellectual understandings were invoked at all, their expression tended to resist abstraction from the discussion of the moment of aesthetic and social contact.

In what basic ways, if any, does storytelling stand apart from other ways of communicating?

Owing to the fluid application of the interview schedule, this question was not put directly to Fred, but it was put directly to the others. Diane began by contrasting the performing arts, governed by preset formal techniques and judgmental expectations, with storytelling, which is "unknown" and

quite democratic ... it's a real sharing experience and, really rewarding in that way. ... there's ... much less ego ... it's like, humbling without being, e- judgemental ... it just breaks down

barriers completely, and you're all there together, sitting there like "Oh God" you know, "Aren't we all like that" or "Do- isn't that funny" and, "Couldn't you just imagine him" ...

She then also mentioned the

corny lines that you hear about- storytellers say, about "You're only the vehicle" and, all that kind of stuff, you know and "I am nothing and the story's everything" and all that kind of stuff ... I think there can be an egoism of that as well and that makes me really makes me laugh you know, because it's like a, a false humbleness about it ...

I asked if she had heard storytellers around her using the language of humility in this way. She had, "quite a lot." Karl's response echoed Diane's closely, although they attended different clubs and had apparently never met each other. He defined storytelling as

about being there at the birth, in a funny sort of way, although it's already born it's kind of, um, you get to see the birth. It's alive. It's not a dead object. And it takes two. It can't happen ... without ... other human beings.

I suggested the same might be true of theatre, but he countered the suggestion:

'Cause it's scripted isn't it theatre and stuff ... so I think that's what it is, its kind of aliveness, it's about, and it's about co-creating something ... what happens in between ... the teller and the audience.

Like Diane, he satirised the revivalistic storyteller's formulaic professions of humility:

- K And I don't want to sound like some dreadful old storyteller that keep er go on about this kind of thing, but (laugh) ... "The storyteller behind me and the storyteller" (several syllables indistinct) (laugh) All this business, um, (laugh) ... The way which is, incredibly insincere most of the time
 SH (laugh)
 K Um, they don't believe a word of it, do they?

The whole question seemed rather irrelevant to Graham: he found it “hard to answer,” but briefly mentioned the larger audiences of storytelling, its “texture” and “concepts,” its content of “traditions” and “histories” and its “working through the imagination.” At this point, I asked him to clarify “spiritual,” his one-word answer to the previous question, and in a long response he defined spirituality as outlined above.

These responses are striking. Qualitative modalities of response were again preferred to lexical modalities, even more strongly than in the responses to the previous question. No informant distinguished storytelling primarily by its defining surface features, such as narrativity or orality. Diane and Karl distinguished storytelling from theatrical performance by the absence of formal technical constraints, such as scripts and performance techniques. These distinctions have lexical implications, and, again, both imply a revivalistic contrast with the deficient mainstream, while remaining preoccupied with the qualitative core of the storytelling act. However, having answered the question in these terms, both Diane and Karl immediately sensed that they had implied relatively abstracted reified, rationalised ideological manifestos. In response, both immediately then turned to satire against ideological manifestos of this kind, seeking as it were to distance themselves from the implied abstraction and re-assert the embedded nature of storytelling. In these satires, the archetypal falsely humble “dreadful old storyteller” was imagined as indulging insincere self-abasement before the story’s content (“I am nothing and the story’s everything”) and/or before the mystical antique community inherent in traditional transmission (“The storyteller behind me and the storyteller ... ”), which are roughly the terms in which Graham unenthusiastically answered the question: the “concepts,” “traditions,” “histories” and “working through the imagination.” It was clear that these statements satirise or distance informants from a general phenomenon within

revivalistic culture. Informants have known fellow-participants make ideological statements; they have interpreted these as extravagant and untrustworthy professions of false humility; they are aware that the question has uncovered some conceptual common ground which they share with those who make such professions; and so they take pains to distance themselves from them. Consistently then, all three informants acknowledged that the primary qualitative experience of storytelling had inescapable ideological implications, but also carefully distanced themselves from their unduly explicit abstraction, both etically within the interview, and emically within revivalistic culture. Again, experiential rather than intellectual understandings were preferred. Storytelling was not a reified, rationalised, entity in the terms which the revivalistic context would suggest *prima facie*. Abstract intellectualised understandings are admittedly inescapably thrown up as a secondary symptom of the primary embedded practical experience. However, they are tabooed, and their explicit expression is discouraged apparently because it leads to insincerity and irrelevance. These arguments were taken up and developed in the responses to further questions below.

Do you think about it in general terms, or do you just do it?

Six informants - nearly half - more or less flatly denied that they ever by choice consciously reflected on their storytelling. These included Chris ("No I hadn't really given it a lot of thought till you asked the question"), Eddie ("E-um, I don't go round, e- e- philosophising about it"), Fred ("Away from times like this, never"), Graham, Harriet and Martin. Diane and Karl both suggested that general and reflective talk, such as that in the interview, was not wholly unlike the sort of discussion they might find themselves having with fellow participants. But for neither was it a very frequent occurrence outside the interview, and Diane actually relished the interview because it gave her an

unusually extended opportunity to explicitly recall and examine the sources of her enthusiasm for storytelling.

this is nice because, I mean I don't know if anybody's said it to you but like it's just, I forgot in a way er how much I really, do get off on it, until I've just been having (with) these conversations with you ...

Karl disavowed any coherent philosophy as a storyteller: "(I), haven't, got any, picture on it yet, (not a), you know, a kind of a view." This question invited informants to report on the understandings and intellectual habits which they would have been drawing on for previous answers. Selfconscious rationalised theorisation of storytelling was not emically widespread; it was indulged minimally by a small minority of informants as a subsidiary activity to a largely practical undertaking. These responses were entirely congruent with the foregoing.

7.3.2 Section 2

The aim of this section was once again directly to solicit general intellectual rationales through questions which were open regarding content, and pointed regarding modality. In each interview, up to three questions from the schedule were asked.

What ought storytelling to achieve?

This question was put to all informants, except Graham, in whose interview it was omitted through oversight. Usually it was put in a more open form: I asked whether there was anything which storytelling ought to achieve. Karl responded with the single word "No." Three other responses (Eddie, Martin,

Nina) were similarly simply flat negatives. Fred considered for a few seconds, and replied

It ought to achieve harmony. (3s) It ought to achieve friendship. It ought to achieve, dare I say, love, I suppose, really.

He then described storytelling as gift-giving, with explicit connotations of peacemaking. Then he added, "it ought to inspire people to have a go [i.e., at storytelling]." Diane's response was longer and fuller, but in similar vein. She argued that the achievement of storytelling was properly unschematic and submerged:

I don't think it ... ought to, um, achieve anything, ... it does anyway ... it, achieves, making people very very happy, and co- and, just, really, making people feel like something's lovely, they've just experienced, something, so therefore it's participatory and that's, really great ... I think it does achieve things on different levels but it's not, and that's what's nice about it it's not deliberately, sort of setting out to do that i- th- it's just sort of like, here's a jumble of all of this and ... you can't possibly, remember everything that has just happened ...

She then described her own private reflections on storytelling over the past year, which she had reviewed privately in preparation for the interview. She described the potential of storytelling for offering counselling and guidance without being overtly didactic. In response to my recall of some ideas she had mentioned earlier on, we discussed at some length Diane's fear that storytelling might reinforce oppressive social structures by sublimating resistance and dissipating tensions through catharsis in the Aristotelean sense, and her hope that storytelling could facilitate genuine liberation and offer genuine moral guidance. At this point Diane's answer seemed to become programmatic in modality - which was consistent with her formal education, which had included issues such as Aristotelean philosophy - but anti-

programmatic in content. Diane was arguing in intellectually rationalised terms against the abstract intellectual rationalisation of storytelling, and embedded primary experience was still uppermost in her mind. Similar arguments were made by Alison and Linda. This is superficially cognate with Rosenberg's description of folk music revivalism as "an intellectual music with an anti-intellectual ethos" (1993, 6: see above, p. 68). The evidence points against Rosenberg's implication, however. Informants were clearly not merely observing a taboo against the open discussion of intellectual issues. Most were also simply and unselfconsciously testifying to their fundamental irrelevance. On this evidence, there is no reason to suppose that storytelling revivalism is an intellectual form with an anti-intellectual ethos. On the contrary, it is a non-intellectual form, shielded by an anti-intellectual ethos from the intellectualising norms of its educated sociocultural *milieu*. It has a submerged but genuinely non-intellectual content.

What is the point of storytelling?

Again, Karl and Diane (like Barbara and Chris) responded with simple negatives. As in his previous answer, Karl simply said: "There is no point."

Diane countered the question with sardonic satire of its programmatic tenor:

- D (laughs), I don't think there is one, is that a right answer
 (laugh)
 SH (laugh)
 D (do) I get a tick there is no, there is no point
 SH (laugh)
 D Why, there shouldn't, the-, I mean people don't tell stories for- for a point except to, pass on something (and er th- th-) there must be a point but no it's not, it's not um, tha- it's not thought through really is it. I think it's just a r- e- it's, h- community and, social cohesion and unity and, just all those sort of, dead human, things that, you don't have to think about, that's the point of it

Fred's answer was interesting because it seemed genuinely anti-programmatic, without itself being paradoxically programmatic in the way he phrased it. He seemed to be speaking generally against certain tendencies which he had observed within the movement, while avoiding the censure of individuals. After a few seconds' silent reflection, he began:

There is a p-, absolutely, there has to be a point, I've never really thought what the point is, um, the point is to do with, one-to-one concern, really.

He went on to describe anecdotally moments of interpersonal contact with listeners which he made while telling. He then listed things which he felt were to be avoided: "an artificial, hierarchy of storytellers;" "an artificial tradition which it's doubtful if we've ever had;" "to ensnare stories into a set form so that, they're told time and time again in the same way;" "pomposity and, stupidity like that." These references denigrate not only the abstract ideologies ("artificial tradition" and "pomposity") which other responses in interview have also rejected, but also, interestingly, the idea of hierarchy, on which, as the previous chapter shows, storytelling revivalism in fact depends. This point demands further discussion, and is treated again below. Fred finished by listing more desirable qualities, which, again, were embedded in lived experience and resistant to intellectual abstraction: "the simple sharing, by, real people of things that they, they really enjoy ... enthusiasm, I suppose."

These responses strongly confirm the impression left by the analysis of responses to section 1. The questions in this section were open regarding content, and pointed regarding modality: the possible content of rationales was not hinted at, but the questions clearly suggest that they exist. Informants tended to reject the implied invitation to abstraction, both purposefully, by reiterating the importance of immediate experiential concerns as the "point" of

storytelling, and unselfconsciously, by expressing rather nonplussed confusion at the idea that, there might be other, more intellectual and distanced reasons to engage in the act. Where they followed the prompt of the question enough to mention wider rationales and programmes, they did so in censorious or satirical terms.

What is the point of storytelling in the here and now, i.e. in late 20th century Britain?

Of the four selected informants, this question was put only to Fred; its relative similarity to other questions and the loose, conversational tone of the interviews made it a somewhat awkward question to ask. Fred, however, replied that "It, it seems to have reached a time when, the media's gone mad." He mentioned the almost universal ownership of television sets, and the fact that

you can't really let kids play out now, 'cause it's dangerous, the world out there is dangerous. I sometimes wonder if it is any more dangerous than it was when I used to go playing out ... I don't think it's got any great point in, sort of world reconciliation or anything grand like that. Not for me anyway.

However, it is worth citing testimony from other informants besides the four selected. This illustrates the consistency and homogeneity of responses to this question among those interviewed, and also the sense in which they went against the tenor of previous responses. Joe argued that

stories are about connection, with nature, ... and all of that, ... is completely, against the current, of, civilisation, now, perhaps particularly since the industrial revolution, ... the feeling that, machines, give us freedom ...

Linda's answer was also very long, and along similar lines. She began by observing that

a lot of, the reason that there's a revival going on, is that, a lot of people are finding that, they're missing something. ... I think the world that we live in at the moment, an awful lot of the magic has gone out of it, um, and people are trying to find, their roots, they're trying to go back to, to old ways ...

She mentioned the interest in Eastern and alternative religions and spiritualities, the lack of contact with the land, and the lack of relationships with neighbours within modern communities. To remedy these problems,

Storytelling, provides a basis where, everybody's on common ground, er, everybody's sharing the same thing, ... and, there's an awful lot of teaching there, for, how, to return, to, the, to your roots. How to return, to the land ...

She mentioned supernatural ballads such as *Tam Lin* and *Thomas the Rhymer* as examples of a resurgent "Western mystery tradition," but, more appositely,

just the fact of bringing people together, and bringing a bit of, magic, back into people's lives, ... it's a very freeing experience listening to a story, and it's something that, the television, or, er, sort of modern entertainments don't really achieve, in quite the same way.

Martin began with a gentle parody of the whole idea, but went on in similar vein:

Don't we all think that society would be better if everybody was like us! But ... I think we, we've got a generation of people almost, um, who just, expect too much, ... they're quite prepared to, um, to go to a disco because somebody's there, playing records for them and somebody's there, um, serving them drinks ... Um, whereas, in, the folk arts in in general ... there's more of an equilibrium. There's more of a feeling, that you're giving back. ... that's missing, um, from, great strata of the society.

These responses are fluent and elaborate excursions into abstract intellectual rationalisation, with an eye to history and a mildly iconoclastic sense of larger societal concerns. As such, they contrast sharply with other responses so far reviewed, which tended to avoid or minimise such rationalisation, or unselfconsciously to demonstrate its irrelevance. Unlike previous questions, this question was a specific prompt towards considering the role of storytelling in the modern world, and the pointed nature of this prompt must be the immediate reason for this unusually full and explicit exposition of the revivalistic ideology. Informants readily espouse ideologies if prompted specifically, but will evade or simply disregard them if the prompt is weaker or less pointed. If ideological issues arise in interview, informants will readily discuss them; but they themselves will not broach the topic. The implications of this finding are developed more fully below.

7.3.3 Sections 3, 5 and 6

These questions originated as separate sections. As interviewing progressed, these questions came often to be conflated, for actual questioning to become briefer and more general, and/or for one section to serve duty for both. They are therefore conflated in presentation.

What are the ethics of storytelling?

What are the storyteller's responsibilities:

To him/herself?

To the listener?

To the story?

To the source of the story, the individual and/or culture from which it originally comes?

Graham courteously but clearly expressed a lack of interest in the issue. He eventually cited the issue of ownership by specific ethnic groups of their culture:

I th- I think that, that um, there might be certain, situations where, maybe a cultural group ... who might want to keep their tradition, of a story, I think we should respect that and not change it.

He cited a hypothetical example, but regarded the issue of ethics as rather beside the point:

But for the general pleasure and entertainment of storytelling, as we know it in this country I don't think there are sort of many, many ethics.

Diane spontaneously interpreted the question in terms of egotism on the part of the teller, but she felt that this would be so obviously detrimental to the quality of performance that adverse reception by listeners would curb it alone - another deferral to experience. She valued the informality of the storytelling scene, and rebutted the modality of the question, stating that it would be detrimental for the application of standards to become too prescriptive or institutionalised. She interpreted the idea of storytellers' responsibilities in terms of good quality performances, thorough preparation, and not telling simply to shock or disturb the listeners:

there is a certain, mode of thinking in that where you can, mess with people's heads, and, y- y- you're weakening them, and, y- you know, I think it's, people that are out of control themselves, c- er, do that to other people. So I think there's a responsibility on that level.

Like Diane, Fred was slightly resistant to the programmatic tenor of the question:

I mean, story migration, that that's always happened, so it should. It's the most natural, way of it, you know, ... [But] there are some stories that I don't think you should take and plunder. Ethically I don't think you should, dress up in, the robes or the clothes of another country, and say, "Right, I'm going to tell you some stories from, Arabia," or wherever, never having been there, never having, met with them and talked with them. ... I don't know, I I find it hard

to, actually use that word ethics in that er ... But I think there are some things that I feel uneasy about, ... it's more important to know, the people, than to know the stories. So maybe plundering stories like that's what I would say.

Karl requested clarification of the idea of ethics, so I listed the possibilities from the interview schedule, and also mentioned the issue of changing or adapting stories from a source tradition. He then responded:

I think, there's ethics to the story itself ... Definitely. And if that's paid attention to then the others will be o- all right.

In a rather long answer, he explained that

there's a form to the story there's a you know, um, there's a kind of truth, ... I think there are some stories which you don't change. Um, certainly kind of Zen stories, ... I think you muck about with that kind of stuff at your peril, really, I don't, um, it's not your place.

Again, like Diane, he stigmatised "abusive ways of telling:"

You know. You know sh- shouting at your audience and things (laugh). You know, ... this kind of ranting ...

Informants expressed a sense of responsibility to the audience and to the source tradition, but this was usually qualified and weakly expressed, and there remained a resistance to the articulation of programmatic agendas and ideological manifestos.

What MUST a storyteller do? What MUST a storyteller NOT do?

Diane began by stipulating that storytellers should "do it to the best of their ability." She went on to discuss textual matters; unlike Karl, she was happy for storytellers to adapt or change stories: "I don't think you need to be, um,

faithful to the source or faithful to the story.” In response to specific prompts, she professed herself happy for storytellers to memorise or read from texts, as she considered that listeners’ subjective experiences would be unaffected by these matters:

people ... go off on their own anyway no matter what you do ... get into your own world see it in your own head, great, absolutely great, you know, ... I don’t think there are any rules like that really.

Graham’s reply was intriguing:

I think probably if we look (3s) if we look deep enough I think probably, there a- there are ethics in storytelling ... But they aren’t spoken ... Sort of comes to mind when you said that, actually. I think there is a sort of certain, there are, some expectations.

He then mentioned that reading aloud is

not telling a story is it? ... It’s reading out of a book ... how strict you you adhere to that, I don’t know. ... I don’t think, I agree with making rules, as such ... But um you wouldn’t encourage that.

He had no strong feelings about rote memory, and mentioned monologue recitation.

By contrast with the previous question, all the eight recorded responses concentrated on the immediate act of storytelling, without considering wider issues, on which there was no substantial consensus and on which informants’ opinions tended to be rather vaguely expressed. Only Graham cautiously conceded a submerged role for explicit intellectual or ideological manifestos. Originally, the questions had been designed to elicit reflection on wider ideological issues; they suggested that storytellers had certain obligations which were available for abstracted discussion. Again, when prompted to

consider wider issues, informants acquiesced, but they rarely volunteered discussion in these terms themselves; there was a definite sense that informants were unable or unwilling to express their sense of obligation on the issues stated in abstract discussion. They had a sense of the ethics and ideologies of storytelling revivalism, but these questions were not successful in eliciting them.

7.3.4 Section 4

To what extent is it possible for an individual or group or culture to “own” a story, or a style?

This question was intended to show what ideologies of appropriation existed, and whether they would be readily expressed as selfconscious intellectual rationales. Karl did not pursue the idea in any schematic way, but he testified to associating particular stories strongly with particular tellers, and said he would feel odd about telling them for this reason. Previously, he said, he had been greatly exercised by the claims of more broadly cultural ownership, that is, the idea that a given source-traditional community should retain control of traditions which are suitable or attractive for revivalistic appropriation; but this issue troubled him less nowadays. He, too, felt that obvious quality of performance alone would be effective in the regulation of revivalistic appropriation. Successful performance could result only from a sensitive and respectful attitude to the source traditional culture in question, and indigenous tellers would always have a mastery of their own traditions which was superior to that of appropriative revivalists. Nevertheless, “you should tell what, you’re drawn to.”

Diane, however, strongly supported the idea of cultural ownership, but not commercial ownership and control, which she regarded as distinct and which she equated with a kind of censorship. She would feel enormously flattered if she heard someone else telling one of her own original stories, but at the same time she would very much want to be acknowledged as the author,

but it doesn't matter ... In real terms, like, unless somebody else gets money out of it so it's so it's that level isn't it, where things get published and money, (ship) and ownership and copyright and things that's all a bit dodgy ... so in a nutshell, um yes, and no (laugh)

I asked her to define the concept of ownership in this case, but again she was resistant:

it hasn't been institutionalised I don't think, I think the issues of ownership are quite, m- malleable and flexible really.

She then moved onto a different tack, and suggested that the story could be considered the teller's absolute property during performance, but ceased to be so immediately afterwards. Finally, she identified three categories of ownership:

I think ownership's sort of on three levels really on that, personal thing about telling them about, them being from somewhere else and it's okay to tell them but then I think there's just that that insidious level which is really quite, scary ... about, copyright

She concluded:

I haven't got an answer to that really what, you know, what is ownership, er. 'Cause I think it just, like, it just, invades into everything but, you kind of ignore it ... Well I do anyway.

Initially Graham reacted negatively to the idea of ownership, but then reflected more favourably on the idea of ownership by indigenous cultures.

These responses, like those to the previous section, were characterised by vagueness and a lack of consensus. Overall, seven informants (Alison, Barbara, Chris, Eddie, Harriet, Isabel, Joe) were largely in favour of free appropriation and against prescriptive ideas of ownership; five (Linda, Nina, Diane, Karl, Graham) were rather more in favour of prescriptive ownership by source traditional and indigenous cultures, although there was more widespread sensitivity to stories' original textures and contexts, and to the rights of source traditional communities, and opinion in the informant group was not really clearly divided. Free appropriation was preferred, but some risks were acknowledged. One relatively consistent pattern was the role played by the idea of impersonal tradition as a public domain and a guarantee of accessibility for appropriation; it is also interesting to note that this was often contrasted favourably with commercial ownership. There was no clear resolution of the issues, but this was certainly another revivalistic opposition to mainstream modernity. To this extent, revivalism is here operating exactly as might be expected, juxtaposing tradition, as a communal, non-commercial, and holistic state, in favourable contrast with an individualistic, commercialised, atomised modernity. It is also clear that this contrast is largely implicit and unselfconscious in revivalists' ways of thinking. Revivalists resist the explicit articulation of ideologies, but their practice shapes and is subtly informed by an implicit set of attitudes.

*How ought a storyteller to approach stories from a different culture?
Do stories go beyond cultural boundaries, or boundaries of time?
Is it ever possible to faithfully tell a story from a different culture?*

Again, this question was intended to show what revivalistic beliefs were, how they related to practice, and whether they could readily be expressed as selfconscious intellectual rationales. Once again, the body of testimony was characterised by a certain vagueness and lack of consensus. However, although all informants accepted that some slippages and changes of meaning were part of the appropriative process, these were always seen as relatively superficial. Echoing the fact that most informants used writing to prepare or record repertoire items, Diane mentioned her disagreement, for practical reasons, with one storyteller who insisted that stories learned for performance should never be written down. She then recalled an experience of telling Caribbean stories, mentioning culturally specific names and dialect phrases within them, and raising the problem of adopting non-habitual dialect, without clearly resolving it.

you've got to make your own choice about that really ... whether a white person, ... doing a Jamaican accent won't be perceived as, something a bit, racist, ...

She named one English storyteller who adopts an Irish accent to tell, which she thought

gives the flavour to the stories and, adds to the occasion, so I really think it's up to, personal interpretation ... but I think that's also about sensitivity ... no I think you should do what you want with them really, 'cause, it's a story from the other culture but, I-, I think, ... the originals are there ... they won't lose them ... So therefore I think you can do what you want, with them.

On the question of whether stories could cross cultural and temporal boundaries, she believed that

it, definitely changes, I think it, will, lose, um, original authenticity, um but I think the essence of the experience, should stay there, ... in this day and age with political correctness as, this in- incredibly feeble and sensitive, and waning and waxing all over the place and nobody knows what to think and how to think, ... but I think it's completely viable in general and I'd, I'd be really pissed off if someone told me that I couldn't do something like that, ... I think that's the argument to fight ... You know "I'm human and you're human and, and that's a story about humanity so, ..."

Again, revivalism here operates as might be expected, assuming that the continuity of traditional transmission is preserved through the appropriative process. It is also clear that this attitude is largely implicit and unselfconscious in revivalists' ways of thinking. Once more, revivalists resist the explicit articulation of ideologies, but their practice shapes and is subtly informed by an implicit set of attitudes.

How would you deal with unacceptable features, such as sexism or racism, in stories from other times and cultures?

This question was similarly intended to reveal the content and modality of informants' ideologies. Often, to focus discussion in interview, the example was given of the Grimms' *The Jew in the Thornbush* (Zipes 1992, 398ff.; AT 592 *The Dance Among Thorns*), in which a litigious thief, stereotyped in the original as a Jew, is magically discomfited. It was suggested that one could tell the story with the villain as a moneylender, so as to avoid the explicit racist slur without losing the story. Diane's argument was that

I think it [i.e., the offensive story]'s got historic viability, and it is but I wouldn't want to tell it now ... I'd change it ... That's where the responsibility comes in going back to one of the other questions

about the responsibility of a storyteller ... is to not oppress people, I didn't think of that before ... Not being, racist or sexist.

As in her previous answers, she felt negative audience reaction would suffice as a check on racist or sexist storytellers. She approved of the idea of adapting *The Jew in the Thornbush*, but guardedly:

it's also important to remember where, we come from, where these are coming from, you know 'cause um, (all), (but it), that, 'cause that, that kind of censorship can also be really dangerous ...

Fred was forceful on the issue of race, and entirely agreed with the idea of appropriating a story with racist elements excised:

I just have a natural, abhorrence of anything that is to do with racial stereotypes or anything like that ... and i- i- they just get, cut out immediately. Doesn't mean that I won't do the story though, if the story's a good one, just cut it out ...

He also argued that he would fight shy of explicit sexual or scatological motifs, swearing, sexism, "any stories that, were anti anybody's religion." He then cited an example from his own repertoire in which he excised a gratuitously violent motif, but noticed half-way through talking about it in the interview that it also contained a scatological motif which, despite his own testimony, he had been happy to tell. Overall, then, his approach, though not thoroughly programmatic, favoured adaptation rather than abandonment of stories with tabooed or unethical elements:

Just a few I wouldn't tell, but mostly I'd er, I'd just tell the story in a slightly different way if I liked the story and it got a good w-, you know, i- it would develop differently.

*How does storytelling fit into contemporary culture and society?
What can storytelling offer society?*

It emerged in interview that the content of this section replicated that of earlier sections (especially section 3), and so it was omitted in later interviews, unless the treatment of those sections had been unusually cursory. Diane began with immediate, subjective criteria and moved towards more distanced revivalistic arguments:

Mm, um, I think it's a good family activity I think it's a good, um, social (and) leisure activity, in- in- in that way, um, I think it offers people a chance to talk to each other, and to communicate ... even if you're not talking to your friends while storytelling then you all, kind of, know what each other's thinking about ... it's that link it's one of the links backwards isn't it, in terms of ... an opportunity to do something really really human that's, ... nothing to do with technology, and, the divisions that that causes and the set up that that's got, and um, I think it's also something there's not, too much control i-, involved in it ... it's got loads to offer.

Karl made the same points more laconically:

Yeah, I think we're going to go brain-dead pretty quickly, with bloody computers and, virtual reality ... Completely off our heads ... It [storytelling]'s about human to human contact ... in a, in a particular form.

The interesting thing about these responses is their striking homogeneity of content and modality compared with responses to other sections. Here, the clarity and consensus of the early responses is restored, after an intervening period of vagueness and lack of consensus. Again, this is associated with a very pointed question. A fear was voiced by all five informants asked (Barbara, Chris, Eddie, Diane, Karl) that new media and information

technology cannot fully serve, and might even impoverish, real human communication, and that there is therefore something worth remembering and preserving from the time before these new media were developed. This is the clearest, most consistent expression of a Bausingerian revivalistic ideology recovered by the present study. As such, two salient features need to be noted. Firstly, manifesto-like Bausingerian arguments about new technology are often tied in, as all responses are, with more intimate attestations of the potency of the subjective communicative moment and are associated with attempts to understand or explain this potent effect. Secondly, these manifestos, consistent and developed as they are, nevertheless needed to be elicited by focused questioning, which often gave informants some pause for thought. They function as glosses on lived experience; they are available when glosses are required or elicited, but they are not otherwise made explicit. This reproduces the patterns revealed in section 1, and is a major finding, requiring full discussion, as below.

7.3.7 Section 9

Is storytelling new?

It will be recalled that the aim of this section was to test the boundaries of informants' basic conceptualisations of storytelling, and the perceived strength of the essential links between "revival" and the traditions of the immemorial past. This question was deliberately rather counter-intuitive, and put fairly bluntly. Answers tended to be correspondingly laconic. Eight informants (Alison, Barbara, Chris, Fred, Graham, Linda, Martin, and Nina) gave short, often effectively one-word denials, invoking the immemorial past, such as Graham's:

- SH So. Yeah er. Right next question, er is storytelling new?
 G No
 SH Right. Next question!
 G (laugh)
 SH Er, does
 G It's age- It's age-old, isn't it?
 SH Yeah. Right. Well
 G Yeah
 SH Er
 G Before the beginning of time

In their brief answers, Karl and Diane, again in agreement, both made the same contrast between their personal experience and the global prevalence of tradition:

Is it new? Um, it's still new to me, but um no it's not is it it's really really really really really ancient (laugh)

Two informants (Joe and Karl) interrogated the question:

- SH Er, first of which is, er, is storytelling new?
 K New to me (laugh). Is it new, what do you mean?
 SH Er
 K My initia- er is no (laugh)
 SH Right
 K What do you mean? (laugh)
 SH What do I mean? I, I suppose it's a sort of, slightly clever way of saying, in, in what sense is it new and in what sense is it old, er
 (4s)
 K It's old. It's not new

Overall, eight informants, - Alison, Barbara, Chris, Fred, Graham, Linda, Martin, and Nina - saw storytelling simply as undifferentiated and ancient, and did not feel it necessary to distinguish revivalistic storytelling explicitly in this respect. The other six - Diane, Eddie, Harriet, Isabel, Joe, and Karl - acknowledged some distinction between storytelling in the general sense and the particular form it takes within the revivalistic movement. At least five of

these six, however, argued that the distinction was of secondary importance. Joe once again invoked a Bausingerian revivalistic ideology in some detail. Only Eddie denied any connection between immemorial tradition and the modern movement. Informants virtually unanimously claimed some real relationship with the traditions of the distant past, in distinction from the conditions of the present and recent past. A significant minority were aware that this relationship involves ambiguity and slippage. As regards modality, it is noticeable that the majority followed the tenor of the question in declining to engage in extended discussion of the subject.

7.3.8 Section 10

It will be recalled that these sections were designed to explore the implications of the hierarchies of revivalistic storytelling observed in the pilot study. It is plain that formal, hierarchical modes of organisation are of great practical significance in storytelling revivalism. In the previous chapter it was shown that they are a defining characteristic, if not the single defining characteristic, of revivalistic interaction in local contexts. The management of issues of hierarchy by informants in interview has already revealed underlying difficulties for revivalists, and this impression was confirmed by the following responses.

*Does storytelling need to be taught?
By whom?*

Graham answered very briefly in the negative. Karl responded laconically, "I think it needs to be encouraged, I don't think it needs to be taught." Linda

replied simply - and very elegantly indeed - "No, but it has to be learnt."⁴

Diane was undecided:

I think it's really good to have it, pointed out, ... 'cause it makes you aware ... that ... you do it in everyday life ... But, no, as well, because I think, that that would ruin it ... i- would be good to touch on it but not t-, to teach it ... part of the f-, fun is discovering your own, ... technique through it ... education ... can be divisive and dangerous and destructive. So, no it shouldn't be formally taught in schools, ... but I think, it should be taught as well, I don't know how. (laugh) I don't know how (I), got no idea (laugh)

Echoing Diane's confusion, Fred actually changed his mind mid-answer:

F Storytelling doesn't need to be taught. W- Workshops are necessary to allow you to develop once you've decided, that's what you want to do. ... Maybe it does need to be retaught. Yeah, all right, complete role-reversal in an answer

SH (laugh)

F There you are. Yes, I think, people do need to be taught again the the joys of storytelling. They need to be encouraged to. And sometimes they need to be taught, what makes a good story. ... 'Cause we've all had the storyteller that, you've got to struggle to listen to, we've all had the storyteller that takes a basic story, and without developing it in any way just drags it on and on ... so those bits need to be taught, really. Yeah ... Changed my mind entirely in an answer there.

Asked who ought to teach it, he answered the question indirectly by commenting acerbically on the status of academic folklorists - and, perhaps, turning towards satire of importunate and inappropriate academic interviewers:

I always used to say, "If you can do it, do it, if you can't do it teach it, if you can't teach it, criticise it, if you can't criticise it, then write, an academic treatise on it and kill it altogether!"

⁴ Interestingly, exactly the same answer was given by Peter Clarke, one of the test interviewees in the planning stages of the interview.

He then stated - perhaps out of courtesy - that his anti-academic animus had since dissipated. This, however, is the only example on the record of the mild teasing which I occasionally encountered, reminding me of the dangers of missing the spirit of the enterprise through an over-intellectualised approach. This was good-humoured, but seemed to express a real anxiety about undue authority claims. As seen in Chapter 3, such claims have occasionally fuelled controversy within the movement. As argued fully below, a doctoral thesis presented to a university violates two linked taboos of storytelling revivalism: one against formally instructive hierarchies, and one against excessive reflection divorced from practice. These are important points which are developed in the conclusion to the present chapter. Fred went on, in a somewhat improvisatory manner, as he had just completely reversed his opinion:

Well, it's got to be taught by those that do it, ... that are prepared to take on board (3s) some sort of development ... in the ability to teach. 'Cause the best storytellers in the world, aren't necessarily good teachers. ... I think there's a danger that a lot of storytellers just add to their sort of list, that you know, "I will run workshops, and I have done this, and I have taught teachers, and I have done this." ... So it has to be other storytellers, who've g- who've got enough experience ... to answer the needs of the people that they're teaching.

Ten out of fourteen responses were ambivalent on the issue of whether storytelling should be taught. The other four (Chris, Eddie, Graham and Martin) were unambivalently negative. Of the ten, only Fred answered with a plain affirmative, but this was the result of a change of mind mid-answer. Six others substituted *taught* for a less prescriptive term or idea. Of these six, three - Alison, Barbara, and Karl - preferred *encouraged*, a term which Fred had also used in his more positive response; one, Linda, elegantly substituted *learnt*. The other two, Diane and Isabel, emphasised the facilitative rather than the instructive function of formal teaching environments. Fred, Harriet and

Nina reverted to Bausingerian revivalistic ideology, explaining that modern life inhibits the natural human potential for storytelling, and implying that formal instruction, while not ideal, perhaps had a role in countering this tendency. This content is very interesting. In passing, it is noticeable that the strongest denials of the idea that storytelling needs to be taught are all from men. The women tend rather ambivalently to concede a role for structured encouragement and facilitation. This suggests that the men were happier than the women to put themselves forward within existing revivalistic institutions without feeling any need for further extraneous encouragement or facilitation. This is congruent with known facts: as noted at the outset of the present chapter, male informants had generally a longer history of involvement than female informants, and it is shown in previous chapters that men dominated public storytelling structures. However, in terms of the present argument, the most significant aspect of the content of these responses is the way that formally hierarchical approaches - indispensable strategies in storytelling revivalism - are denied or rejected when straightforwardly suggested by the questioner. This is exactly congruent with the denial of prevailing hierarchies which Mackinnon notes in folk music revivalism, and it suggests that revivalistic movements in folk music and storytelling are similar in this respect. More interestingly still, when formal hierarchical structures are conceded a place, there is a degree of discomfort about this unfortunate necessity, and Bausingerian ideologies of revival are immediately invoked as a rationale. Therefore, like revivalist folk musicians, revivalist storytellers are élitists perforce, but they are reluctant élitists. They will grudgingly admit the occasional usefulness of formal hierarchies, but in very limited and qualified ways which often lead to, or result from, expositional confusion. Informants had not worked through this issue in their own minds. They were unfortunately compelled to admit hierarchies precisely because the wider circumstances are too inhospitable for storytelling to survive, as ideally they

feel it should, spontaneously and autogenically. Ordered hierarchies are an aspect of revivalism which informants do not much like, but they feel vaguely that they cannot manage entirely without them, and Bausingerian intellectual rationales are invoked to legitimise their presence and compensate for their effects. These responses, again, were vague and rather lacking in consensus. By contrast with previous unclear responses, there is a sense that this was not because the questions themselves were irrelevant to revivalists' practice, so much as because they had touched on an issue of central importance which contained an unresolved and uncomfortable paradox.

7.3.9 Section 11

Is it okay for a storyteller to want to be a "superstar"?

The responses to this question corroborated the sense that status hierarchies within storytelling revivalism were an uncomfortable and ambivalent issue. The grandiose term *superstar* seemed to confuse matters. In the question, it was meant simply to imply high status within the storytelling movement, but many informants took it to mean high status within society at large. Five (Barbara, Harriet, Eddie, Graham and Martin) were immediately and more explicitly negative about the open expression of personal ambition. This is what might be expected from the general disapproval, or at best grudging tolerance, with which storytelling and folk revivalists generally regard status hierarchies. Joe simply stated that the question was not seriously meaningful, and gave no further answer. Surprisingly, however, the remaining eight (Alison, Chris, Diane, Fred, Isabel, Karl, Linda and Nina) all freely expressed tolerance of the desire for stardom; two - Fred and Linda - even admitted to feeling it. It is noticeable, however, that all of these tolerant responses were

heavily qualified, to the point that, in terms of content, they significantly resembled the responses of the more censorious minority. Graham was laconically negative about the idea:

No, th- 'cause I think that focuses on the person, it should be on the story ... and the pleasure. Rather than the person. It can get quite élitist, can't it, once you've got sort of certain, personalities. No, I don't like the idea of that.

Fred expressed a greater tolerance, but he, too, quibbled at the term *superstar*:

Yeah. I do actually, um, "Superstar," I don't know. But, if if that's what a storyteller wants, if they want to be on platforms, and develop and become big and become well-known, as long as they never lose sight of the fact that it's the stories that are the superstar really ... I mean, I I would quite like to be, more famous as a storyteller.

Diane too began by expressing tolerance, but rather ambivalently, and towards the end of her reply she openly censured the idea. Like Fred, she questioned whether the term could be applied to the storytelling scene:

Yeah it's okay if they want to be like that, it's whether people'll accept them being like that ... I think it's a, inherent destructive thing I but if somebody really wants to do it, then fine, ... I, just don't want to stop if (laugh) anybody'd want to do it but, I think it would r-, ruin things ... it would become, the culture of the personality ... Bruce Forsyth telling a joke on TV it's about Bruce Forsyth telling a joke the joke, is irrelevant ... it's ... an expectation of a dead pattern rather than, something spontaneous ... the story's second or third along the line.

Karl's response was very similar. He professed tolerance, but in such guarded terms that I subsequently explicitly prompted him:

K Oh, sure! Sure if that's what they want. Um, (I think) it's okay, yeah, okay. Um, (4s) yeah, sure, I think it's, um, (6s)

- yeah, I think it's okay, if that's what they want. Um (4s)
okay, if that's what makes them happy
- SH Um, do you think, um, possibly, er, is it totally okay? Or is it, I mean
- K Where wouldn't it be, er, why wouldn't it be okay?
- SH Well, ... here's me, definitely prodding you, ... I'm just wondering if, this whole superstar thing is something that ... might, sort of, get that rubbish, back in the way [a reference to a previous discussion; i.e., the storyteller's private preoccupations might worsen their public performance of a story]
- K Oh sure, but there's always going to be lots of rubbish
- SH Right
- K Isn't there, I mean, and lots of people, lo- like the rubbish. I've seen performances where, which people have s- given standing ovations for, which I, just think was completely, c- completely misguided
- SH Right
- K You know, just, you know, absolutely not what it's about at all really
- SH Mm
- K ... and that teller wants to be a kind of superstar in a way, and, and it's kind of, a bit, you know, "Whatever." But the w- the best work is not when he's in that mode, really ... bu- you know why you know, why shouldn't they be want to get, you know, superstar, you know, (laugh).

The apparent tolerance of egocentric motives is therefore clearly the indirect expression of a more ambivalent attitude. Informants were in interview, being recorded, perhaps somewhat taken aback by the question, and therefore on their guard. Open egocentrism was not accepted; it was tabooed, but so strongly that to express the taboo was itself, in this context, a tabooed act; apparently because it might imply covert egocentric jealousy or small-mindedness on the informant's own part. Karl interrogated the question quite directly, and was very guarded in his subsequent response. Isabel and Joe rejected it altogether:

- I It's not the most, gripping of questions
- SH (laugh)
- J (laugh) It's a silly one

No other question was spontaneously censured in this way. I was personally surprised by these responses. I certainly expected revivalist storytellers to be against personal ambition and egocentrism, but I expected them to be openly and unabashedly so. The anxieties which the question aroused - and the indirect nature of the responses - made the issue unusually uncomfortable to ask and discuss. I shared informants' unease in discussion at this point; I certainly felt as if the question had been indiscreet and rather rude. This suggests that people do, in fact, feel the attractions of high status, but this attraction is a source of anxiety, and most are unwilling to express it openly in the interview context. Also, however, informants were equally unwilling to express their opposition to it.

It seems that revivalists feel something like a guilty and covert attraction for high status. It is intrinsically desirable, but the destructive potential of this desire is also recognised. The logic of this attitude is interesting because it results in another instance of opposition to the abstraction and formulation of an ideology of storytelling revival. An open opposition to egocentric ambition would constitute an openly stated rule or agenda, and, as shown above, informants tended always to avoid stating such rules or agendas explicitly. There is thus a logical link between the two taboos of storytelling revivalism, that is, the taboo against explicit statement of rules and agendas, and the taboo against open status hierarchies. That is to say, informants avoided stating rules because they did not want to appear to be telling others what to do - as this would create a precedent for others to tell them what to do.⁵ Storytelling revivalists are instinctive anarchists. Their implied ideology is a form of romantic revivalism, but it is used only to increase or guarantee revivalists' personal artistic freedom to experiment. Any use of the same ideological

⁵ This taboo explains the controversy aroused by Ben Haggarty in 1991, and again in 1995. See Chapter 4.

heritage to enforce corporate discipline or legitimise leadership is excised and forgotten. This is not so much a considered philosophical stance as an unconsidered working-out of the hopes, sensitivities, and anxieties intrinsic to artistic or creative endeavour; but it is a primary determinant of revivalistic culture and ideologies and therefore has implications for their interpretation. Although personal ambition and prescriptive agendas are disliked, explicit censure of these in interview - being as it is a statement of a rule implying a claim to high status - is avoided, apparently because, on this sensitive issue, it smacks too much of a perpetuation of the problem. When informants in interview are confronted with potential breaches of these taboos - which these questions undoubtedly were - they express themselves in ways which reinforce a general sense of disinclination towards abstract ideology, but at the same time contrast conspicuously with the mass of interview testimony in that the dislike expressed is unusually intense and the mode of argument indirect, and even rather disingenuous.

7.3.10 Section 12

Consider for a moment your ideal for a perfect storytelling scene. In what ways does the contemporary scene match up to your ideals?

In what ways does it fail?

Do you ever find storytellers or storytelling events offputting, intimidating or discouraging?

This section was included largely as insurance against the assumption that revivalistic storytelling proceeded in observed ways because all participants wanted it to do so. This section investigated whether these small resistances were evidence of larger, coherently expressible dissatisfactions. They seemed largely not to be, although evidence of minor tensions was recovered. Four informants - Barbara, Chris, Diane and Joe - confined their comments to practicalities. Three informants - Alison, Eddie, and Karl - maintained the

theme of previous sections by objecting to prescriptive agendas, controlling hierarchies, and/or the resulting factional in-fighting that these could lead to. Two - Eddie and Linda - objected to excessively selfconscious atavism in revivalistic storytelling textures. These are significant responses because they stigmatise the very features which are commonly held to define revivalism, and show, once again, that informants are quite intolerant of these features and surprisingly preoccupied with the straightforward practicalities of the scene, which are seen as being in opposition or contrast to selfconscious atavism and abstract ideology. The remaining responses are significant because they are the only occasion on which informants' attitudes and arguments correlate recoverably with the duration of their involvement in revivalistic storytelling, and they show the effects of the revivalistic orientation towards longer stories. Martin and Nina, relative novices, complain that performances are often too long, while Harriet and Joe, relative veterans, complain that they lack the opportunity to tell longer stories. It is perhaps significant that even the veterans are more concerned with telling than with hearing longer stories. The club format occupies an intermediate position between participants with varying degrees of socialisation into longer stories, but the driving interest is in telling, not listening.

7.3.11 Section 13

This section was not originally part of the interview schedule. It was suggested by Diane in conversation after the interview. It was not therefore included in earlier interviews, but only in the interviews with Fred, Graham, Karl, Linda, Martin, Nina, Harriet, Isabel and Joe. The aim was simply to assess informants' expressed attitudes to the idea of tradition, and specifically to see if they would explicitly argue that the traditionality of story and storytelling was a significant part of its value; the larger focus was, as usual, on the

content and modalities of revivalists' understandings and justifications of their storytelling. Concepts of tradition had already been used by informants as part of their arguments on other topics, but it seemed worth asking directly if these qualities were important parts of the experienced value of the form.

Fred was unambiguous in his assertion that they were, but he related them intimately to subjective involvement and also to informal modes of transmission. When directly asked, he rejected the idea of applying them prescriptively or as independent criteria. He responded to the question grandiloquently and with some passion, using the additive, parallelistic style which revivalists bring to stories:

SH D- do you think, that, that storytelling is, is traditional? Or folklore?

F Well obviously I do. Um, but it doesn't have to be ... I am English. Um, I have to look, at what I would see as the English, folk, tradition. And it gets, misquoted misrepresented, ... but the English folkway there is the oral tradition there always has been, ... a fireside tradition. ... it's, soaking in a story through your pores through your eyes through your ears through your nose through your mouth through your hairs, ... and, it, then goes into that natural process where you, tell the story and as you have heard heard it and, it will change, a little bit. And it will have, developed. ... it's, what mums and dads use when they tell kids a story that they heard as a kid. ... ordinary common people don't have to be trained to, use words in an interesting and exciting way, and some have got, interesting and exciting voices, they become the storyteller. That is folk, that is tradition. ... Our tradition I d- I don't see us having a tradition for, court storytellers and things like that.

SH Do you think it's that, it's, it's the tradition- the traditionalness, of storytelling, that's worth, er, reviving if you like or or or or working for?

F It's not it's not the only thing (sigh)

Graham's approach was similar:

- (4s) Yeah. I think it needs to be set, I think it, is set, within tradition I think that's important ... 'Cause it gives it a history. That doesn't mean, i- i- it has to stay in tradition. I think it can, evolve, and become, contemporary and, and er, and what is tradition? You know.
- (3s) You know it's um, I think it's something that's s-, can be seen to be evolving. All the time. But I think its, roots are, tradition.

Karl, however, found the idea of folklore unappealing and irrelevant, and he regarded tradition as, at best, a side-issue:

I'm never quite sure what folklore is, and it's one of those things that put me off ... I don't think you should think too much about it, I do-, I think, the thing about origins and stuff, I just like, um, pointless, absolutely pointless, um, I mean we might be interested but we'll never l- it's beyond us. ... [The] stories that attracted me [are] not the kind of English folk tale stories (2 syllables indistinct) at all ... I'm, it feels like, you know, unconnected to them. The English connection seems, um, kind of sentimental and, folksy.

Again, there was a degree of confusing variety in understandings of terms, in this case *folklore*. Only two informants, Isabel and Karl, responded negatively to the idea of tradition. The other seven - Fred, Graham, Harriet, Joe, Linda, Martin and Nina - conceded that the traditionality of stories was important but, again, all of these informants took care to couch their approval in ambivalent terms which emphasised the negotiations and slippages involved in establishing selfconscious links with tradition, and the continuing freedom of stories and their tellers to adapt to the new. The underlying anxiety is by now easily understood: informants were careful not to allow tradition - or anything else - to become a pretext for explicit, prescriptive or controlling manifestos. The inevitability of negotiations and slippages was not therefore simply conceded; it was celebrated as a guarantee of continued healthy development of the form. At the same time, there was an underlying sense of the universal commonwealth of tradition, and the ultimate connection with the distant and absent source tradition bearers. Again, the relevance of these responses to the present argument is not in their validity as analytical judgements on the nature

of tradition, but in what they reveal about the nature and circumstances of revivalism. They certainly ascribe high value to past precedents and sources, but a situation further from the idea of “requisite freezing” - that revivalism involves incongruously rigid and inflexible adherence to the dead letter of precedent - could hardly be imagined. The terms of revivalists’ articulations with the past are much more lively, complex and ambivalent.

7.3.12 Concluding comments: responses to the interview

In the final section, informants were invited to reflect on the interview itself. Again, this was not routine practice in the early interviews; it evolved as fieldwork progressed. Only one informant, Fred, was simply positive about the whole process. Five others (Alison, Graham, Isabel, Martin, and Nina) were fairly positive, but they suggested to varying degrees that the content and modalities of the interview were rather at odds with their normal ways of understanding and talking about storytelling.

Fred commented:

I just, I mean, yeah, it’s nice, it’s lovely when somebody’s interested to listen to you, isn’t it? Er, that, that’s another, that’s a j- another joy about storytelling, because, how often in conversation is somebody listening all the time? ...

Graham laconically described it as “very interesting ... and stimulating. And thought-provoking.”

Clearly, then, like Luria’s informants, asked to define a tree (see Chapter 3, p. 182), informants in the present research were working near the edges of their habitual conceptual territory: they were thinking about familiar things in a

rather less familiar way and they recognised the results as improvised. Their willingness to accommodate the interviewer's viewpoint varied. Indeed, interviewing was planned with this possibility in mind, although the extent to which informants resisted the tone of the interview was rather greater than that expected, and this is an important point. At no point, however, did any interview break down into total mutual incomprehension. Clearly, then, interviewing elicited from informants interpretative expressions of a kind which may have been incongruous but was not entirely alien to them. They were capable of discussing the issues in this way, but as a community they tended not to do so habitually or by choice. As expected, there is therefore no wisdom to be had from reading informants' responses as transparent expressions of emic interpretative viewpoints. However, as informants negotiated with the tone and tenor of interviewing - at times adopting and developing it, at others evading or even challenging it - the patterns of their negotiations were fairly coherent and revealing. They were enacted from a fairly consistent, and loosely shared, body of emic interpretative assumptions, which can therefore be inferred from the patterns of expressed testimony.

7.3.13 Evaluation

The first step in the evaluation of this interview testimony is to reconsider the objections raised in Chapter 3 to the assumption that informants are capable of self-reporting accurately and reliably on the issues raised; that, when questioned about their understandings, beliefs, and primary motivations for involvement in revivalism, they can be trusted to know and state this. As argued previously, there remain three possible grounds for not taking informants' testimony at face value in the manner required by the modality of questioning outlined above. A scholar could (with, for example, depth psychologists) argue informants' own ignorance and unconsciousness of their

own cultural expressions; alternatively a scholar could argue informants' duplicity, and/or limits on informants' linguistic and expressive capabilities. These possibilities - despite the obnoxious implications especially of the first - were admitted as logically plausible, to be taken as realities if positive evidence could be adduced. In fact there are no theoretical or practical grounds for admitting any of these objections in the present case; indeed, there are reasonable grounds for suspicion that they would be unreliable in any comparable study. There are no positive reasons to regard informants *a priori* either as mistaken (that is, significantly unconscious of their own beliefs and understandings), or as deliberately misleading, or as insufficiently articulate on the fundamental issues. It is clear that they were not in any sense unaware of the effects of romantic, nostalgic ideology on their experience or practice; overall, they understood its content and conceded its secondary relevance and appeal; but they were scrupulous in maintaining that it was a secondary feature, and resisted attempts to abstract it and/or to imply that it was a primary motive for involvement. Far from being unconscious, they were conscious of the nuances of the issues to a high degree. If ideology had been operating in all-pervasive and unconscious ways, informants would presumably have been less able to detect and admit any relevance at all. Nor is there any reason to suppose that informants were responding in deliberately misleading ways. There was, indeed, a point in interview - the "superstar" question (section 11) - at which some informants seemed to be disguising ambivalent feelings about status hierarchies within storytelling. However, as argued above (see pp. 473ff.), these sections of the interviews stood out from the rest for that very reason. All informants showed themselves otherwise to be sincere, affable, and/or scrupulously thoughtful - often hesitant - in framing answers. The strongest evidence for informants' approaches to abstract, historicised ideologies derives not from their relatively fluent denials of its primacy, but from their often puzzled hesitation when confronted with

questions which posited abstract ideologies as primary motives *a priori*, and demanded answers couched in similar terms. It would be taking cynicism to the point of self-defeating casuistry to argue that these hesitations were an imposition. They are patently sincere and eloquent. The mild and often courteously veiled puzzlement with which informants confronted questions about, for example, cultural ownership, was palpable to myself as questioner. There is no reason, either, to assume communicative incompetence either on the interviewer's part or on the informants.' As stated in Chapter 3, practically all involved were speakers of a formally educated middle-class English, well-known for its facility for relatively abstract, discursive, reflective and sometimes introspective talk of the kind which the interview elicited. Some struggled to answer some questions, but there was never a complete breakdown of interaction, and all informants always managed to rally, make sense of the more recondite questions, and offer a coherent and relevant answer. They were culturally and educationally enfranchised in a formal sense and were never shy. All informants were recreational public speakers with well-formed opinions, few inhibitions about expressing them, and a basic familiarity with the idea of the audiotape-recorded interview. Many were friends or acquaintances of the researcher. None showed naive deference to academic researchers *ex officio* and some hinted at the opposite. There was usually only a small cultural divide to negotiate, and the gap between the informants' and the researcher's normal communicative conventions was almost as small as it could conceivably be. It is still logically or philosophically possible to deny *a priori* that informants are capable of offering relevant testimony, but only by precluding any possible appeal to evidence, joining Frazer and Hebdige in claiming a scholar's right to make groundless and insupportable assertions, and denying informants any independent agency; ultimately, any meaningful consciousness. In short, there is no reason not to take informants at their word. Their testimony can be

evaluated for what it says, as it stands; and, as it stands, it presents a strikingly clear picture.

The first step in this overall evaluation is to reiterate that questioning was deliberately pointed in both content and modality. In content, questioning was deliberately left rather open, but it gently encouraged the expression of historicised ideologies and ideas, of the kind which are held to characterise revivalism; and it was undertaken partly in order to learn how these ideologies interrelated with the practical needs and requirements of a living revivalistic movement. In modality, questioning generally encouraged informants towards the abstract intellectual rationalisation which, in the scholarship, is held to define the particular quality of revivalism. This prompting was deliberate and quite specific. As stated above, my own previous experience had been that storytelling revivalism was selfconscious and self-interrogatory, in the ways that the pilot study suggested, and that previous scholars have discovered in other forms of folk art revivalism. My expectation was that this modality would be fairly congenial to the informant group and readily available for expression in interview. This expectation proved to be mistaken. Certainly, as noted previously, the scholarly literature on revivalism encourages the expectation that Bausingerian ideologies of revival - the idea that revivalism is a mimesis of a lost Herderian holism - would be present in the content of responses, and at one level this proved to be the case. It would certainly be possible to quote selectively from the testimony presented in order to make the case that storytelling revivalism as a whole was primarily the expression of Bausingerian ideologies of this kind. However, if this content is considered, as it must be, in the context of the larger dialectic structures within which it was expressed - if it is understood in the context of the whole interview process and its modalities - the situation is revealed to be both more complex and more ambivalent. As a whole, the interview testimony can be divided into four

chronological episodes. In the first (sections 1 and 2), responses were relatively clear and marked by consensus between informants. In the second (sections 3 - 7), responses were marked by a relative lack of clarity and a dissolution of the consensus between informants. In the third (sections 8 and 9), clarity and consensus were restored, and in the fourth (from section 10) they were dissipated again. Consideration of the content of questions reveals that the greatest clarity and consensus were displayed when discussion focussed on the general qualities of storytelling. The attempt to elicit questions on specific issues relating to the appropriative process, based on specific propositions deduced from the pilot study, resulted in less clarity and consensus in responses. These parts of the interview were to this extent less successful at eliciting informative testimony regarding revivalistic attitudes, and suggested that the conclusions of the pilot study were not wholly to be trusted. Specific issues relating to appropriation are less at the forefront of informants' minds, and a less active feature of the revivalistic mindset, than the pilot study suggests. This impression is confirmed by the fact that, consistently, and irrespective of whether responses as a whole displayed either consensus or clarity, informants were reluctant to draw abstract ideological interpretations from a specific and embedded explanatory or mediating function. The testimony clearly reveals that Bausingerian ideologies of revival are invoked, if at all, solely and specifically as the subsidiary implication of the attempt to describe a primary embedded experience which is aesthetic and social in content. Although informants make some use of the concept of revival, they are not primarily interested in revival as an idea. The main focus of their attention is simply the unglossed act of storytelling. Revivalistic language is used to describe or explain the nature of this act; but, beyond this, informants circumvent and resist the selfconscious formulation of revivalistic ideologies and abstract programmatic manifestos. This is done in two ways. At a superficial level, this avoidance was itself a consciously implemented

strategy: informants sensed that they were being asked to formulate ideologies and manifestos, and pointedly (and, as it were, quite properly) avoided doing so. At a deeper level, however, this omission was entirely unselfconscious. Informants' understandings, including their resistance to intellectualisation, had not originated as or from an ideological stance. It was more straightforwardly the case that the informant group, although educated and articulate, had simply not previously attempted to reduce their understanding to such manifestos, or to abstract ideological programmes from their experience. As soon as they attempted to do, in response to the prompting of interview, they ran into intellectual and dialectic difficulties associated with a debilitating sense of the incongruity of the attempt. They tried, largely out of courtesy, but this was an etic project imposed by the conventions of interview. Simply as storytellers, they had not rationalised, and did not need to rationalise, their participation. Nor did they need to rely on a sense of the wider sociocultural implications of the movement to explain their involvement and give it purpose and substance. They had such wider awareness, but it was on the periphery of their vision and it served a specific function. It was, at most, a secondary and contingent feature of the experience of storytelling revivalism and its emic interpretation by practitioners. The interview found wider sociocultural ideologies on the edges of largely unselfconscious emic interpretative viewpoints; the interview technique adopted consisted of an attempt to push them towards the centres of attention; and this attempt was recognised, and resisted. The clearest examples of this fact concerned very basic definitions of storytelling (section 1) and the storytelling act (sections 3, 5 and 6). On very basic definitional issues, revivalistic storytelling was largely devoid of abstraction, reification, or intellectual rationale, to an extent which is quantitatively and qualitatively similar to the refusal of Luria's informants to define trees and cars by listing their characteristics (see above, p. 182). Both cases demonstrate fully integrated and situated cognition devoid of

rationalised abstraction. At a basic cognitive level, therefore, the storytelling movement lacks any significant degree of reified corporate identity. Participants do not think of the storytelling movement as a thing in itself. Storytelling is simply something they do.

This is not to say that ideological rationales were entirely absent; only that they were secondary. The content of responses was of two kinds: intellectual ideas (usually expressed in lexical terms) and subjective experiences (usually expressed in qualitative terms). There was reference to wider historical narratives, ideologies of society, and Bausingerian applications of ideas of folk culture, often voiced in response to some pointed and quite specific prompt in the question. In these the two basic *Leitmotifs* were, firstly, the idea of current cultural deficiency, and, secondly, the idea of the submerged commonwealth of tradition. These ideas are essentially those identified in pilot fieldwork and described in Chapter 3. The first is the idea that the mainstream culture of affluent industrialised societies is significantly deficient, in such respects as the power of electronic media, the passivity and superficiality of consumerist cultural life, and general alienation from other people and other living things. The second idea is that traditional art generically embodies universal human truths which are superior in content to the blandishments of the affluent urban cultural mainstream; that people in affluent industrialised societies are potentially able to respond to these universals, but that this potential remains buried under the accumulated strata of consumerist habits and constraints. The implication is that this hidden potential is released by direct individual engagement with traditional art; but traditional art must often be appropriated from distant times and cultures, because affluent urban societies have ceased to produce it in sufficient qualities and quantities. These vitalistic ideas constitute a vernacular social critique which is Bausingerian, romantic, nostalgic and softly iconoclastic in tone, and predominantly intellectual in

content. This critique, however, functions as an intellectual rationale for revivalism only in specific and subordinate ways. For example, one underlying issue in storytelling revivalism arises from the fact that it necessarily involves appropriation. Stories are obtained from a range of source traditions, and some submerged anxiety was certainly expressed about the politics of appropriation. Informants did not wish to think of themselves as stealing stories; certainly not from fellow-revivalists, but specifically not from marginalised or disenfranchised source tradition-bearers or source traditional cultures. To counter this anxiety, the idea of tradition was invoked as a public domain, within which stories, no matter what their actual provenance or sociocultural and political implications, fell, as it were, out of copyright and became available for appropriation. Moreover, this public domain, tradition, was placed in unselfconscious binary opposition in informants' minds with commercial copyright and individual intellectual property rights; and in this binary opposition tradition was clearly the favoured element. Taken out of context, this seems to be a romantic notion: tradition as an immemorial entity opposed to atomised capitalistic modernity. But this disguises the fact that, in context, it is applied quite unselfconsciously and unprogrammatically, but with noticeable consistency, for a quite specific practical purpose: namely, to facilitate the appropriation of stories. It is not gratuitously asserted; nor is it in itself primary motive for involvement; and the attempt (in section 1) to extrapolate from this to a sense of the storytelling movement as a discrete and unified entity met with unambiguous failure. The ideological proposition is invoked very specifically (and elegantly) to achieve a conceptual reconciliation of the implications of the practical problems of obtaining repertoire items of the desired kind. It facilitates the creation of an artistic culture of the desired kind. In interview, it is expressed only in response to highly specific questioning. It is never volunteered as an observation by informants. It is the unconsidered implication of a practical process of

appropriation, and, emically, its place is in the background. To represent it as having independent entity and force as an aspect of revivalists' motivations is to misrepresent it. It is, however, an ideology of the kind which scholars and other commentators on traditional arts revivalism tend to foreground, ignoring the fact that it exists only as a by-product of the vitalistic appropriation compelled by the revivalist's special predicament, namely, not having enough of the desired kind of story ready to hand in one's own oral culture. Although such ideological propositions are relatively conspicuous, this conspicuousness is therefore purely a by-product of a practical predicament. To regard it as significant in explaining why revivalism happens is to mistake by-product for cause.

Specific functionality, relative to highly pragmatic concerns, is a feature of revivalistic ideologies whenever they occur in testimony. The above is only the most striking example of a general tendency for informants to make judgements and arguments primarily on the basis of direct testimonials of lived experience, recollected feeling and intuition, and the specific practicalities of working in specific performative settings. As a contingent explanatory tool in this endeavour they use language which has analytical, ideological and historiographic implications; but the content of discussion is essentially experiential, and intellectual content, even when invoked, was positionally subordinate to experience. Intellectual rationales could be a way of dealing with the specific dialectic tasks of the interview, and/or a way of interpreting, explaining, or glossing the actual experience and practice of storytelling outside the interview: to explain the powerful effect of the storytelling act, and to legitimise potentially problematic appropriative strategies. This was done with economy and precision; it was never done unnecessarily or for its own sake. Intellectual approaches which were free-standing and independent, and so superfluous in this sense, were denied,

downplayed, or pejoratively parodied. Informants were often fluent in the rather abstract, discursive modes of discussion inculcated by formal education, but they used this linguistic resource to argue against unnecessarily abstract or discursive engagements with storytelling revivalism itself. The result superficially resembled Rosenberg's paradox of intellectual art with an anti-intellectual ethos. However, as argued above, Rosenberg's phrase is misleading in this case, and perhaps in all cases of traditional arts revivalism. Within this educationally relatively enfranchised group, underneath their selfconscious anti-intellectualism, it is clear that there runs a mode of aesthetic engagement which the evidence compellingly shows to be genuinely and unselfconsciously non-intellectual. Even though informants have the intellectual resources to interrogate storytelling rationally and explain it intellectually, they consciously resist, and, still more profoundly, react with unfeigned bafflement. Revivalism is not intellectual art with an anti-intellectual ethos; it is a non-intellectual form. It obtains among communities socialised by formal education into intellectual modes of understanding; but, within these communities, it does not appeal to, or satisfy, people's intellectual impulses, and it is not primarily a part of their intellectual lives. It is shielded by its inherent nature - and also, admittedly, by an overlying anti-intellectual ethos - from the intellectualising norms of its educated sociocultural *milieu*. This anti-intellectual ethos takes the form of two linked taboos. They were encountered when the content or modality of questioning broached these taboos, during the discussion of explicit hierarchies of status. There is a strong taboo on explicit expression of hierarchies of status, and another on the explicit articulation of abstract analytical or discursive agendas or manifestos. Paradoxically, both these things are practically necessary in order to define and sustain the storytelling movement: revivalism requires some formal structures to sustain it in a relatively hostile sociocultural environment, wherein long, extravagantly complex revivalistic storytelling performances

violate prevailing norms of brevity, economy and realism. These formal structures necessitate some hierarchical organisation and some rationalisation, however implicit or contingent. Informants tended to admit this in interview (section 10). There is nevertheless a fear that formal hierarchies and explicit rationalisations might lead to prescriptive controls which would destroy the anarchistic freedom which revivalists want and need in order to perform experimentally. As the movement cannot dispense with these formal contingencies, informants demonstrate how taboos are applied in order to rein in formal hierarchies and explicit rationalisations, and insure against their destructive potential. The same process is observable at a global level in the movement's history; as described in Chapter 4, Ben Haggarty's explicit discussion of performative standards was greeted by many within the movement with controversy and hostility.

Intellectual rationales, Bausingerian vernacular historiography, and status hierarchies may be disguised, but they cannot be dispensed with. They are experienced as necessary evils forced by the need to safeguard storytelling in a deficient cultural climate. Informants concede that storytelling needs to be taught (or formally facilitated or encouraged), necessarily by a more knowledgeable élite. This is conceded not because informants like the idea, but because they recognise its necessity if stories of the kind they prefer are to thrive in the prevailing oral *milieu*. Revivalistic ideology - the intrinsic value of what is seen as ancient - is invoked as justification of this uncomfortable state of affairs. The argument is that storytelling needs to be taught because a deficient modern culture has allowed it to suffer atrophy. Modernity is the scapegoat for what might otherwise look too much like élitism. However, the underlying truth remains, that these agendas and hierarchies, necessary though they may be, and hidden as they are by taboos, are not themselves absolute facts of the revivalistic predicament. They are contingent strategies enacted in

response to it and in pursuit of some wider aim. They are applied reluctantly, covertly, with economy and with specific functionality, and underneath them runs a genuine and non-intellectual engagement which justifies their existence and motivates their enactment. As the explicit, programmatic expression of any ideology might itself become part of the problem - because it could be applied as a controlling agenda - these, and other taboos and ideological formulations were put tacitly, by implication, and within a carefully preserved individualistic anarchism. Informants' uses of history were far too loose and provisional to constitute "requisite freezing" in the sense which Bausinger predicts; and they were against any attempt to impose ideological canons as dogma. Real requisite freezing would have been far too prescriptive for informants. Their primary aim was to leave space for speculation, experimentation, personal expression, and the free play which leads to the all-important moment of deep person-to-person contact through the medium of spoken story. Historicised ideas and symbolic values were invoked exactly as far as they facilitated this practical process of appropriation and personal contact, explaining it, legitimising it, contextualising it, or otherwise making it comprehensible and possible; but this invocation is kept implicit within the emic worldview; it is rarely allowed to become explicit. Moreover, as soon as ideas and values as such were suspected of impeding this practical process of appropriation and development, they were discarded without rigour. This leads directly on to the final point to be made about the interviewing process. Paradoxically, the ideas expressed were largely emic; they were often not directly prompted by questioning, which was mostly open regarding content. However, their coherent, discursive expression was etic; it was specifically pointed by the modality of questioning, and manifestly unlikely to happen outside interview. Therefore, what the present chapter has brought to light is a body of thought which revivalists own, share, rely on, and use, but which, by and large, they prefer not to express explicitly, and which is dedicated

specifically towards facilitating a mode of experience which cannot properly be understood as a body of thought at all.

In summary, then, the present chapter has revealed that in the internal, interpretative sphere, storytelling revivalism is - as the previous chapter showed it to be in the external, performative sphere - layered. In external performance, storytelling revivalism can be considered as a stratified series of interactive states, illustrated by analogy as atmospheric strata through which the participant group ascends in the course of an encounter. In terms of internal cognition, storytelling revivalism can be considered as a stratified series of cognitive states, best illustrated by the reverse analogy of buried subterranean strata, with each stratum supported - that is, logically and causatively dependent on - the stratum below. Above the topmost stratum - at ground level - is the ordinary, everyday cultural mainstream *milieu* within which storytelling revivalism subsists: formally educated, broadly consumerist, and generally welcoming of the mass media, and therefore usually limited to shorter and more realistic oral narrative genres. Storytelling revivalism seeks to undermine and subvert this mainstream; it is protected by cognitive substrata which have been excavated in interview. The uppermost stratum, against which the interview technique came with unexpected abruptness, is the double taboo against explicitly formulated agendas, and against open status hierarchies: the assumption, or insistence, that storytelling is a natural, spontaneous activity, and the anxiety of revivalists to portray their activity in these terms. Informants enforced these taboos in interview, often against fairly probing questioning. Underlying this stratum, as can now be recognised, is an actual practical dependence on implicit ideological agendas and covert status hierarchies, without which the movement could not function. Implied revivalistic ideologies serve to legitimise the necessary formal intellectual and social structures, and to mitigate the anxieties caused by status

hierarchies and other practical strategies of "revival." These strata constitute the intellectualised but anti-intellectual ethos of storytelling revivalism. However, there is another inescapable conclusion which only a few of the most recent theorists of revivalism have approached, and which none have fully stated, and which seems to reassert an oddly conservative view of folk culture. This is the surprising conclusion that, underneath these upper strata of contingent but necessary (and dangerous and therefore tabooed) activity, there runs a deeper, more essential, and more real current of cultural exchange. This is not predicted by or dependent on the upper strata - the submerged agendas, hierarchies and practices which revivalistic ideologies palliate. On the contrary, they are predictable from it, and dependent on it. This is, simply, the stream of directly experienced and intuitively understood aesthetic engagement with the stories themselves, as media of social togetherness and, perhaps more fundamentally still, as objects of aesthetic and imaginative contemplation. This is the stratum of which the existence makes storytelling revivalism, not an intellectual art with an anti-intellectual ethos, but a non-intellectual art shielded against the intellectualising norms of the mainstream by the protective carapace formed by the upper cognitive strata just described. The surprise is that - contrary to what was expected when planning the interviews, and despite the manifest presence of ideology as a legitimising set of working assumptions - there is a quite independent, indeed primary force as a motivation for involvement. The core of storytelling revivalism really is unselfconsciously experiential, situated, integrated, and independent of intellectual rationale. It is something done and experienced, not thought about; and the really telling testimony to this effect is not the selfconscious stances which storytellers articulate, but the habitual and unselfconscious ways in which they remember and discuss storytelling, including the long pauses, the hesitations, and the inconclusive musing - and to a lesser degree the suspicious evasions - with which they field any question which seems incongruously

programmatic. This testimony - especially its occasional lack of fluency - is uncalculated, eloquent, and trustworthy. Revivalists selfconsciously attempt to imitate the modalities of source traditional cultures; but the evidence suggests that at the deepest levels, underneath the inevitable slippages, they succeed less selfconsciously in recreating for themselves modes of engagement with the forms of traditional art as directly experienced, un glossed entities. This lowest stratum has a discernible boundary and mutually functional relationship with the upper strata of ideological rationalisation, and there is no reason why the two strata cannot be considered simultaneously as co-occurring and interrelated aspects of a single process of the communication of culture. This conclusion - and the evidence which substantiates it - stands some of the older and more sceptical received wisdoms in the scholarship neatly on their head. Storytelling revivalism is not concerned with appropriating stories in order to embody, still less to symbolise, underlying Herderian ideologies; if they were, informants would not be so subtly equivocal and nuanced in their expressions of Herderian understandings of revivalism. On the contrary, Herderian ideologies are peripherally implied, in order to frame and facilitate the impact of the story simply as such: as an autonomous, aesthetically potent mentifact. Informants rely on Herderian understandings of traditional narrative because these are the only interpretative schemata which the vernacular *milieu* provides; but they are not primarily concerned with them. Herderian romanticism is simply a way of contextualising the story as a preliminary or adjunct to direct involvement with it: a way of beginning to understand, contextualise and express what traditional narrative has already been experienced as being. Herderian longings are not the prime motive; story in itself is. In this, despite the manifest slippages involved in revivalism, storytelling revivalists show themselves to be fundamentally in deep congruity with source traditional cultures. That is to say, they involve themselves in storytelling not in order to recreate an imagined, exoteric, vanished culture,

but in order to achieve something quite specific and integral to the cultural *milieu* in which they actually live. Herderian language is the only way that this can be imagined and expressed within that cultural *milieu*. However, revivalists show only secondary interest in Herderian historiography *per se* and, in context, its use does not argue adherence to a theory of history, so much as a rather unsystematic, peripheral and often less than entirely enthusiastic attempt to understand and discuss a certain aesthetic experience in the present. This is a highly significant finding. It suggests that selfconscious ideological programmes are not as significant a feature of the quality of revivalism as they might seem, and from this basic insight further implications can readily be developed. This summarises the basic findings of the present research regarding the experience and interpretation of revivalistic storytelling. The final requirement of the study is to set these findings alongside conclusions previously drawn regarding the global historical development of storytelling revivalism and the local-field interactions of which it consists, and to develop the further implications of this larger picture.

... just as no enumeration of the physical properties of a beautiful object could ever include its beauty, ... so no factual description of any human environment could include the uncanny and the Numinous or even hint at them.

C.S. Lewis¹

The foregoing study has had the overall aim of defining the essential characteristics of the storytelling movement of England and Wales, as a cultural *milieu* in which a form of vernacular artistic performance is practised under the rubric of revival: to describe it as a “revival” and to learn thereby what “revival” is. This, as noted in the conclusion to Chapter 2, is to ask after the defining characteristics of the “revival” as a subcategory of traditional culture in a larger sense. The habitual implications of theories and models of revivalism have been abstracted, and, in effect, taken as hypotheses and tested empirically in the field. These implications took the form of a central theoretical and empirical paradox. While “revivals” form an effectively distinct category of traditional *milieu*, they retain some generic consistency with mature traditions and have no specific or unique features which can be theorised as such without compromising the disinterested application of prevailing concepts of folklore and folk culture. This paradox was illustrated using the imagined example of Skeengles the trow, fieldworking in the mortal world, and failing to notice any essential distinction between “tradition” and

¹ Lewis 1983 (1940), 8.

“revival;” the conclusion drawn was that Skeengles would be right not to draw such a distinction. On the other hand, “revivals” feel different from “traditions” in consistent ways. Skeengles’ imagined conclusion was an intellectual, not a holistic or experiential judgement. Moreover, it is proven that there are fairly clear and stable patterns of change in the performative habits of individual source-tradition bearers such as Ray Hicks, Ed Bell, and Stanley and Jeannie Robertson, who make the transition from source-traditional to revivalistic performance *milieux*. The conclusion was that there was, after all, some clear, stable effective and interactive distinction between mature traditions and innovative “revivals.” In the absence of individual distinguishing features, the precise nature of this distinction remained beyond both theory and evidence. This vagueness was imputed to three constituent issues in the scholarship, which were identified as the issue of transparency of representation, the issue of scale of scrutiny, and the issue of consistency of interest. A speculative prospectus of possible solutions was deduced from the existing theory. This suggested that mature traditions and “revivals” are best theorised as subcategories of a larger supercategory, the traditional *milieu* considered simply as such. The traditional *milieu* itself, in this basic underlying sense, was defined under two aspects, accompanied by a third feature which was seen as a frequent and significant corollary of tradition, but not an essential feature of it: as a diachronic chain of transmission and authorship, and/or as a synchronic and socially cohesive bond; and, thirdly and less essentially, as a synchronic, traditionalising label or frame. These aspects co-occur within particular contexts and, indeed, constitute basic generic features of the traditional *milieu*, presenting as such both in mature traditions and in innovative “revivals.” It followed that the difference between mature traditions and innovative “revivals,” as subcategories of tradition, could be understood in terms of respective variations in the quality and extent of the chain-, bond- and label-like operations of culture and community in specific

contexts, and in the relationships between them. This theoretical formulation fitted the evidence offered in previous studies of traditional arts revivalism. Previous researchers found the defining quality of traditional arts revivalism precisely as an unusually highly marked, selfconscious, label-like revivalistic self-traditionalisation, a group's assertion of its own status as a traditional group, perhaps in opposition to a negatively conceived and putatively traditionless modernity which is felt to surround the "revival." Self-traditionalisation in this sense is seen, in the existing literature, as an implicitly or explicitly sociopolitical statement. It involves what Marett defined as the use of the forms of folk culture as symbolic representations of certain desired value systems. This is certainly the way in which later and more empirical scholars, such as Mackinnon, Pilkington, Livingston, Bohlman and others reviewed above, have described revivalism and the developmental process leading to it from source traditions. It was suggested that revivalistic communities are less strongly shaped by traditional aesthetic and social transmissions and cohesions, and compensatorily more reliant on traditionalisation in its labelling aspect. That is to say: participants in "revival" have less of a communal sense of aesthetic standards or other deep insights to share than participants in mature tradition and, in compensation, they are more strident in their assertions of continuity with extraneous source traditions. This develops the point made in Chapter 1 concerning revivalistic representations of source traditions which assume in their use some of the qualities of myth, having legitimising functions regarding the activity immediately in hand.

The empirical and inductive methods adopted to test this hypothetical sketch have been dispassionate and analytical. They have also been holistic, and therefore they have been both eclectic and compendious; but they have related mainly to the enactment and meaning of storytelling revivalism as a whole *milieu*, rather than of the specific tales and genres which are performed within

it. This methodology is purposefully independent of partisanship; assessments of artistic potency are derived solely from informants' testimony, without any direct critical argument or adjudication by myself. It was foreseen at the outset that this project would necessitate a return to basic concepts, and a reassessment of some first principles in folklore studies; it was foreseen, too, that the descriptive and explanatory conclusions attained would be applicable to the study of other such appropriative movements in the traditional arts, and possibly also, by extension, to the study of art in general, and of any of the very wide range of historical and contemporary social situations in which the idea of revival has relevance. In conformity with these expectations, the study has led to a reassessment of basic issues and a broader applicability of conclusions. The aim of this final chapter is to summarise the conclusions of the whole study and to explicate its broader implications. Existing scholarship is incomplete not in that it has wholly failed to perceive what revivalism involves, but in that it has failed to develop the implications of this perception. Many of the initial conclusions therefore corroborate previous findings and statements about revivalism (see especially points 1 - 4 below). As these implications are developed, subsequent conclusions do not clarify or augment what has already been implied so much as begin to adduce new evidence and achieve new insights into what revivalism is and why it happens (see especially points 5 - 8 below). Moreover, these findings imply more general philosophical conclusions about culture and its interpretation, and these are also explicated (see points 9 - 10). These latter points begin to open up possibilities for future research in the field; in conclusion, these and other such possibilities are outlined.

8.2 Conclusions

- 1) *Storytelling revivalism displays chains of transmission and bonds of social cohesion which are attenuated by comparison with those of mature traditional milieux.*

Storytelling revivalism is certainly an appropriative, vitalistic movement of middle-class cachet and of relatively recent provenance. It involves a partial attenuation of diachronic and synchronic traditionality because of the inevitable slippages and distances of the vitalistic appropriative process, the public nature of revivalistic storytelling gatherings, and the normal contemporary setting of the movement within large and (sub)urban settlements lacking strong local networks of community. This is particularly conspicuous when revivalistic groups are compared with source traditional communities. In mature traditional communities, the nature and purposes of particular genres, their artistic potential, and the criteria for performative success, are clearly understood according to a developed aesthetic consensus based on long practice and habituation to the form. In revivalistic communities, by contrast, the nature and purposes of particular genres, and the criteria for performative success, are matters for experiment because they are not deeply understood and have not yet been fully experienced or brought under control by the participant community. It could be argued that, on the whole, revivalistic art is generally less polished and mature than much source traditional art; that the chains of oral transmission and authorship are more attenuated, and the social cohesion of revivalistic groups is less. Although the present study excludes direct aesthetic evaluations for reasons stated, it is clear that there is some incomplete truth in these observations and that they have some significance. Certainly the effects of the movement's novelty pervade its praxis at many levels. Most specifically, they are exemplified in the missionary nature of the

revivalistic storytelling club, and the provisional and experimental nature of revivalistic performance artistry. These are demonstrated in the following conclusions.

- 2) *The storytelling event is a strategy for the inculcation of new cultural forms, which works by superseding everyday conversational idioms and disabling the force of informal conversational personality and charisma. It is not a linguistic entity. Its identity inheres in the existence and effects of a certain hierarchical system of roles.*

During fieldwork, participant groups were divided into a dyad comprising a performing élite and a responsive audience. The interactive work done at each event was mostly a sustained formal dialogue between these elements which was less a linguistic entity than a symptom of the underlying hierarchical system. By the time they came to be told, stories were comprehensible to the whole participant group as performance items because of the sustained formal dialogic structure of framing routines, which was self-explicating enough to obviate the need for previous audience experience, and entirely controlled by the élite. As a result it was possible for a revivalistic storytelling club to function within relatively ignorant and inexperienced participant groups, provided these groups were (as they uniformly proved to be) happy to act passively as audiences and defer at all times to the élite.

- 3) *For practical purposes of appropriative mediation, storytelling revivalism relies on a selfconscious formality of practice which constitutes a form of self-traditionalisation and is more conspicuous as such in revivalistic than in mature traditional milieux.*

This self-traditionalisation is conspicuous in revivalistic interaction at the local level, manifesting as the cultivation of quasi-atavistic ambiances through such means as the choice and decoration of revivalistic performance space and the

cultivation of public personae by performing storytellers, and adherence to the formal structure outlined in point (2) above.

- 4) *Also for practical purposes of appropriative mediation, storytelling revivalism relies on a selfconscious revivalistic ideology which similarly constitutes a form of self-traditionalisation and is similarly more conspicuous as such in revivalistic than in mature traditional milieux.*

When prompted in interview, revivalists readily associate their involvement with their dissatisfactions with modernity, with an experienced loss of opportunities for deep social and imaginative contact with others and most especially, as a cause of this, with the pervasions of the mass media. They place the modern mainstream in unfavourable contrast with the goals and aspirations of the movement, and imply that the movement thereby restitutes defunct and atavistic cultural states. These characteristics evoke the Bausingerian (and Marettian) model of revivalism as the symbolic articulation of social values, and the imagined restitution of a perceived lost societal wholeness. The two implied *Leitmotifs* were, firstly, the idea of current cultural deficiency, and, secondly, the idea of the submerged commonwealth of tradition. These vitalistic ideas constitute a vernacular social critique which is Bausingerian, romantic, nostalgic and softly iconoclastic in tone, and predominantly intellectual in content.

- 5) *The hierarchy, formality and ideologically controlled aspects of storytelling revivalism (outlined in points 2 - 4) are tabooed within the movement; although necessary for practical purposes of appropriative mediation, they run counter to participants' actually felt aspirations.*

In both mature and innovative *milieux*, it is a constant that artistic forms require some kind of sociocultural framing or glossing; stories in general, and particular genres, need to be understood as such, and placed in participants'

minds within some sort of cultural context. It is universally the case that in order to tell and enjoy folktales it is necessary to have some sense, however unconsidered, of what they are, where they come from, and where they belong. Otherwise, they would lack meaning and congruity, and immediately fall into disuse. Mature traditional communities achieve such explanatory framing by implication and assumption within a developed consensus of which the maintenance is a relatively straightforward matter requiring little intellectual and communicative effort. It is different for revivalists. Seeking to contextualise appropriated traditions in order involve themselves in them, but lacking the deep familiarity which would allow them most easily to do so, revivalistic communities turn instead to the only resource which their vernacular culture provides: the vernacular theory of tradition which, as Bausinger notes, is now itself a widespread feature of folk culture in affluent, technologically developed societies; that is, the idea that traditionality exists in diametric contrast to a threatening modernity, and is apt for appropriation for this reason. Thus, revivalists acquire from popular scholarship a sense of what they are doing, and of the historical contexts, meanings and implications of their activity, which are sufficient to offset the incongruity of the new genres and the novelty, provisionality, and necessarily hierarchical discipline of the attempts to appropriate or "revive" them in performance. This vernacular theory is drawn from defunct academic scholarship, and preserves many of its romantic and Herderian assumptions; and this, along with the general novelty and provisionality of revivalists' endeavours, gives revivalistic movements, especially in their early stages, a selfconscious quality and a rather disingenuously quasi-nostalgic effect. These disguise, compensate for and excuse hierarchical modes of performance, dissemination, and educative proselytisation, and compensate too for the unfamiliarity of the form, allowing for the transmissive spread of revivalism through the host community.

So far, then, the present study confirms and extends the expectations of existing theory. However, it integrates these insights with a sense of the larger and deeper processes involved, and, in doing so, effectively overturns the conclusions and implications which some scholars have previously been content to draw.

- 6) *All of these features (i.e., those outlined in points 2 - 4) are evanescent contingencies expediting a deeper aim. None is an essential or fundamental quality of storytelling revivalism as a whole milieu. They are tabooed precisely because revivalists do not like or value them intrinsically, and sense their fundamental incongruousness. The diachronic process of revivalistic development at all levels of scale therefore shows that they are consistently kept to a minimum and frequently discarded as soon as is practical.*

Confusingly, it became manifest that the qualities of ideologically informed mediation - formal, hierarchical performance structures and selfconscious programmes of cultural reform and revival - were not essential qualities of the revivalistic *milieu* at all. The evidence relating to the manner of their application of these strategies - data relating to the history of the movement, to the qualities of storytelling clubs and, still more appositely, to revivalists' own understandings and interpretations - shows that formality and selfconsciousness were intermediate contingencies expediting a deeper aim. In the external interactive sphere, revivalists' reliance on formal structures and selfconscious ambiances was partial, contingent, and evanescent. Framing routines were not a preset structure requiring strict adherence; they were rather an improvised and fluid set of responses to the interactive needs of the moment, varying in texture and register from relatively formal to very informal. Open formality, as in Roy Dyson's hosting announcements, was often parodic or humorously hyperbolic. Formality generally was not therefore valued for its own sake; it was kept to the functional minimum required to contextualise the practice of revivalistic storytelling which was to varying

degrees unfamiliar to most or all members of the participant group. Moreover, storytellers and storytelling clubs varied in the degree of formality used, in ways which correlated coherently with the historical and developmental processes which had led to their existence. The fluidity and informality of individual storytellers' performances increased with their personal depth of experience, proficiency and status within the movement. Similarly, older storytelling clubs were less hierarchical and more egalitarian than newer ones; interaction at older clubs demonstrated stronger thematic links, less clear illocutionary segmentation, greater conflation of intra-event and extra-event interactive norms and episodes, and greater informality of performative and interactive register. The exception to this was the older but still more formal Camden Ceilidh, which enacted the paradox of open-ended performance, just as Tales at the Edge enacted the opposite paradox of managed chat. The former was explicable as a survival which itself testified to the deformalisation and, as it were, naturalisation of the movement's idioms over time: individual storytelling clubs decreased in formality over time, and, also, newer storytelling clubs tended to begin at a less formal level of interaction than older ones. The informality of Tales at the Edge also correlated in large part with its relatively close connections with the local pre-revivalistic oral narrative culture. Older revivalistic clubs had more substantial links with the wider revivalistic movement; also, they were more directly shaped by the human environment within which they operated. Two of the clubs in the sample (Tales at the Edge and Tales at the Wharf) had patterns of participation significantly shaped by interaction with existing networks of family and friendship; another (the Camden Ceilidh) was equally significantly shaped by close integration with existing substantial metropolitan revivalistic storytelling networks. Originally missionary institutions, storytelling clubs, like the movement as a whole on a larger and slower scale, thus grafted the revivalistic culture of an élite onto the existing sociocultural stock of the participating

body, producing in the mature club and in the more recent stages of the movement an integrated sociocultural hybridity. Similarly, more experienced participants, especially those who had themselves entered revivalism at a later stage of its development, such as Michael Dacre and Mike Rust, were characterised by the relative ease and informality of their practice, by a greater integration into the oral narrative culture of their own locality and region, and by a lessened reliance on selfconscious presentational techniques, formal ideologies or clear segmentation of performance from conversational speech. Experienced storytellers, long-standing clubs, and clubs established when the movement itself was older all therefore shared the characteristic of being less formal and more integrated than their newer, younger and less experienced counterparts.

In this way, over time, a network of storytelling clubs created a network of proto-communities, and subsequently (*ceteris paribus*) communities of a more lasting and profoundly involving kind. Storytelling clubs such as Tales at the Edge may have begun as formal, self-contained, selfconscious, concert-like performance structures. From the first, their performative interactions were deeply characterised by continuity, slippage, the sinuous interweaving of implicatures, and interaction at clubs assumed the qualities of informal, negotiated, but ingrained social interplay as the group became more mutually familiar. In this way, clubs lost autonomy, evolved norms and habits of communal interaction, and blended in with existing social processes; they attracted or created groups of friends, often kindling lasting and profound friendships; and they provided common ground for parents and children to share recreational time. In these ways, storytelling clubs became ever less distinguishable from the unmarked expressions of relationships of family and friendship. The underlying principle is that organised, formal quasi-communities can be (and in this case are) temporary measures in the creation

of deeper channels of community. The internally experienced effects of this social process are testified by informants to whom (for example) the immediate response to a request to define storytelling is to call it “a night out with my wife.”² Revivalists themselves, however, neither have nor need awareness of this long-term tendency towards deeper integration and greater informality. This process of imitation and spread is unprogrammatically and organically, and, at the level of whole *milieu* rather than of genre or individual tale-type, it exactly corresponds to Anikin’s chain of transmission and Bausinger’s social cohesion. Concomitantly, and underneath various taboos, the cognitive approaches of informants are characterised by a profoundly unselfconscious disregard of programmatic ideologies and views of history, and an equally unselfconscious preoccupation with direct aesthetic and social experience. Similarly, in the global historical sphere, the storytelling movement has developed, at once at institutional and personal levels, largely by an unprogrammatically, unmarked, and tradition-like process of external exemplification which accompanies, underlies and often determines the spread of formal institutions and programmes of storytelling “revival.” Individuals such as Idries Shah, John Masefield, Hugh Lupton and Robin Williamson, who conceived the idea of revivalistic storytelling performance on their own initiative, were comparatively rare in the movement’s history. Activity by individuals and groups usually began with direct imitation of a specific inspirational example. As a result, a quasi-historico-geographical awareness of genealogical transmissive relationships, spreading between storytelling groups and institutions across the British Isles, is crucial to an understanding of the spread of revivalistic performative idioms, and of the movement’s historical development through a number of distinct stages.

² Chris, speaking of Barbara. See Chapter 7.

Developments at all levels of scale within storytelling revivalism are therefore explicable in terms of an ongoing shift from relative (never truly dominant) selfconsciousness, formality and autonomy to relative unselfconsciousness, informality and increased sociocultural integration, occurring at the levels of individual careers, the development of institutions, and the development of the whole movement. Apparent anomalies at one level are explicable as the effects of the same process operating at another level. The overall process is consistent. This is a highly significant historical fact. Concomitantly, in the internal cognitive sphere, although informants make some use of the concept of revival, they are not primarily interested in revival as an idea; the main expressed focus of their attention is simply the unglossed act of storytelling. At a basic cognitive level, therefore, the storytelling movement simply lacks reified corporate identity. Participants do not think of the movement as a thing in itself. Storytelling is simply something they do. Specifically, they circumvent and resist the abstract, discrete and selfconscious formulation of revivalistic ideologies and manifestos. In interview, this avoidance was both a consciously implemented strategy and an entirely unselfconscious fact of expressed cognition. Informants' understandings had not originated as or from ideological manifestos, whether consciously or unconsciously professed. Ideological propositions were consciously asserted, but these existed on the periphery of informants' concern and served a specific function. They did not inspire and do not explain their involvement. Informants who were questioned as if theories of history - nostalgic or otherwise - were a primary motive for involvement therefore reacted with a bafflement which was spontaneous, unforced, unfeigned, unprogrammatic, and highly eloquent. Herderian ideologies are not brought to bear for their own sake, or because revivalistic communities are particularly interested in them as theories of history. Beyond a strictly and half-purposefully delimited mediating function relative to the basic form, theories of history have no substantial place in revivalistic

experiences, understandings or motives. This was found to be true to an extent which surprised the present researcher. Storytelling revivalism is clearly a response to the expansion of the *Umgang*, to the technologised and capitalist massification of culture and the erosion of local communities, but it is a response of a highly concrete and pragmatic kind which neither requires nor exhibits any profound or programmatic sense of its own identity as such, beyond the minimum required to cope with the novelty of the form. In storytelling revivalism, a desired sociocultural state, insofar as it is an object of attention at all, is pragmatically recreated through the oral performance of specific genres; the genres themselves are not pretexts for symbolic mimesis, which plays little or no fundamental part in the process.

Selfconsciousness and formality in storytelling revivalism are therefore contingent strategies dedicated towards maintaining performative continuities (rather than establishing politically eloquent discontinuities) between the culture of storytelling and the modern sociocultural context. They do not assert so much as palliate the outlandishness of the orally told folktale. They do not seek to place traditional storytelling in diametric contrast to modernity; rather, they address this contrast as a pre-existent fact of the revivalist's predicament and immediately seek to mitigate it and integrate the material into modernity as seamlessly as possible. This state of affairs is the opposite of that predicted by a view of revivalism as sociopolitical symbolism; the symbolic sociopolitical resonance of revivalism depends on its apparent distinctness from the mainstream, and the apparent fact that revivalists consistently work to undermine this distinctness suggests that evoking symbolic sociopolitical resonances is not one of their motives. It is no surprise therefore that storytelling revivalism is characterised at a deeper level not by studied formality of interaction, or by programmatic and reasoned understandings of history, but by their opposites. The unexpected findings of the present study

thus concern the ambiguous counterpoint between revivalistic self-traditionalisation, which is relatively formal and selfconscious but evanescent over time, and the actual chains of transmission and negotiated social cohesions whereby the movement is created and maintained, which are neither. The evidence is that social cohesions and chains of transmission are always present within revivalistic communities and will naturally strengthen over time, and, specifically, that as they do so formal and selfconscious revivalistic self-traditionalisation dwindles in extent and importance. This latter point is not in any way predicted by previous scholarship and it contradicts rather than corroborates previous scholarly conclusions concerning revivalism. It has several important implications, as follows.

- 7) *The fundamental causes of storytelling revivalism, expedited by the ideological strategies discussed above, are aesthetic and social. At the deepest level, therefore, storytelling revivalism is indistinguishable from mature source folktale traditions except by the fact of its novelty and consequent artistic immaturity. Revivalism tends, polygenetically and unselfconsciously, towards forms of developed artistry and integrated social cohesion comparable with those of mature traditions, even when revivalists themselves have no independent knowledge or awareness of these in other traditions.*

Herderian romanticism does not therefore penetrate to the core of revivalistic involvement or practice; the primary interest is the much more immediate and basic underlying social and imaginative experience of specific artistic forms which are vastly older and more widespread. Revivalists fall back on Herderian romanticism not because they are incorrigible political reactionaries, but because it is the one available way of contextualising a certain form of social interaction and aesthetic experience which is valued intrinsically even in the provisional forms of revivalist experimentation. The wider contextualisation of the apparently Bausingerian and Marettian qualities of traditional arts revivalism therefore results in a wholly new picture of it as a

phenomenon. Fundamentally, storytelling revivalism is profoundly conditioned by the basic aspects of traditionality: the diachronic maintenance of chains of transmission preserving a certain range of aesthetic and imaginative experience through enactments of certain genres, and the establishment of synchronic social cohesions. Similarly, at the local level, it is conditioned by the peripheral aspects of tradition - that is, Handlerian self-traditionalisation, and other ideological symbolisations of desired social states - only superficially, although this conditioning is certainly more obvious and elaborate than would be expected for a fully developed source traditional *milieu*. Moreover, the function of such ideological symbolisations is mostly the opposite of what Marett and Bausinger might have expected. That is to say, it is not true that specific behaviours and interactions are of primary interest as symbols of idealised social states. It is conversely true that idealised social states are used as symbolic icons fixing and explaining the experienced effect of specific aesthetic and communicative acts. Symbolic reference between the local and the global fields is therefore a two-way process in which local experience is the primary determinant, and this is a point of fundamental importance. Certainly, global phenomena determine the understanding of local phenomena: global sociocultural tendencies create objective conditions in which traditional oral narration comes to appeal to new communities because it supplies certain social and cultural wants which are not otherwise met, such as the desire for profound social contact, or for an imaginative life outside the electronic media. At the same time, and more fundamentally, meaning travels the opposite way along the same channel: local phenomena shape the understanding of global phenomena. Participants' awareness of history expedites and maintains a phenomenology which is at once deeper than it, more basic than it, more traditional in transmission and social cohesion, and more intimately embedded in its immediate and experienced (rather than its wider, putative and imagined) sociocultural context. People experience

storytelling and need to make sense of it in order to participate. In the immediate experience of storytelling revivalism, the local field is the primary determinant of experience and thus the core reality. It is probable therefore that participants do not adopt storytelling as a protest against the dominance of the media, so much as become more dissatisfied with the media as a result of their experience of storytelling. The dissimilarity between “tradition” and “revival” is therefore real and striking *prima facie*, but at the fundamental level it counts for extremely and surprisingly little because in each case the story itself - as an aesthetic performance with a certain general texture and propositional content - is the autonomous primary determinant. The selfconscious application of historical ideologies is a superficial mediating device, compensating for the uncertainties resulting from the temporary provisionalities of appropriative mediation, but it does not affect the underlying process. The functional contingency and self-obviating evanescence of the typical distinguishing behavioural and cognitive features of revivalism are therefore the main findings of the present study. One more conclusion needs to be drawn before considering the wider implications of these findings.

- 8) *Ideological mediating strategies exist to supplement the lack of deep aesthetic consensus which scholars have noted in revivalistic movements. Ideological mediating strategies are approximately functionally interchangeable with deep aesthetic consensus, and evanesce as the aesthetic sensibilities of the new movement develop. This interchangeability is the preferable basis for defining the distinction between mature tradition and innovative “revival.”*

The precise nature of the distinction between mature traditions and innovative “revivals” is seen as the means whereby each class of *milieu* achieves the necessary framing and contextualisation necessary for the maintenance of social cohesion, aesthetic potency, and chains of collective authorship and transmission, in order to preserve the aesthetic qualities of a certain type of

performance. In the early, naive stages of appropriative movements, selfconscious ideologies achieve what deep familiarity achieves within more mature traditional *milieux* - including more established revivalistic *milieux* - that is, the minimum cognitive contextualisation necessary for practical purposes. The basic motive comes in each case from the underlying level of direct aesthetic experience, which shows deep continuities between *milieux*. Established tradition and innovative “revival” differ in the relative sophistication and maturity of their art, but the major difference between them is in the mediating interactive and cognitive frameworks which each uses to facilitate their basic core activity: deeply rooted aesthetic consensus in the case of mature traditions; selfconscious programmatic ideology in the case of “revivals.” The underlying experience of participants, however, is qualitatively unchanged. With varying degrees of knowledge and insight, they seek and enjoy the same experiences from the same forms. This explains the confusing fact, noted in Chapter 2, that mature traditions and innovative “revivals” are theoretically indistinguishable but effectively very dissimilar. The basic conclusions of the present research are therefore twofold. Firstly, revivalistic selfconsciousness exists in order to gloss an underlying stable aesthetic experience, and in doing so it supplies the lack of mature aesthetic sensibility, of which it is an approximate (and evanescent) functional equivalent. Secondly, meaning travels both ways between the local and the global in the creation of revivalistic culture. Global socioeconomic and technological tendencies influence local experiences, but more importantly local experiences suggest global understandings to participants: revivalistic sociocultural ideology is primarily the symptom rather than the substance of revivalism. In summary: in Chapter 2, Bausinger’s view of revivalism was summarised as aesthetic de pragmatism: the idea that revivalistic forms are deficient art which revivalists pretend to enjoy as a symbolic show of support for a certain extrinsic ideology. This was noted to be a phenomenological evaluation

requiring supporting evidence in the form of informant testimony. This evidence has now been presented, and the conclusion is that, in revivalism, the specific forms of traditional art are not depragmatised aesthetically, but fully pragmatised in a certain context-specific way. In summary, revivalistic forms are, at the very least, early stages in the instantiation of a living and valid folk culture, in which symbolic support for extrinsic ideologies momentarily occurs as a symptom of conceptual adaptation by the revivalistic community. This exhausts the conclusions which can be drawn directly from the evidence presented. However, ontological and epistemological issues have been raised of which the resolution is beyond the specific terms of the present study. These demand some adjudication and the general conclusions so far drawn have strong implications for folklorists and scholars of culture generally. This conclusion, as foreseen, has prompted a return to basic concepts, and a reassessment of basic methodologies in the various branches of the study of culture, particularly of traditional and vernacular narrative culture.

- 9) *The foregoing argument demonstrates the irreducibility of the local, phenomenological and specifically aesthetic aspects of vernacular art. This irreducibility demonstrates the relative superficiality, and ultimately the fallaciousness, of symbolic readings of cultural forms, (as here) at the level of whole subculture or milieu, and by extension at the smaller scale of genre, tale, type, motif, etc. The fundamental local, phenomenological and aesthetic aspects of tales and cultures inhere in their literal, self-evident content; beside this, there is no underlying meaning, only secondary mediation. Emic testimony to this effect is serious, insightful, and widespread, and should not be ignored. At this level, and therefore fundamentally, there is significant continuity between source traditions and "revivals," which is thus revealed as exemplifying normal traditional transmission.*

Specifically, the present conclusions have implications for the second and most pertinent of the three problems noted in Chapter 2 above. This is the fact of the mutually irreducible emergence of culture in the global and local fields, which confounds attempts to reduce local-field artistic endeavours and

aesthetic experiences to symbolic representations of beliefs about society. In Chapter 2, an analogy was taken from science, in the relationship (or more precisely the lack of a direct logical relationship) between atomic physics and fluid mechanics: "Trying to explain why water spirals down a plughole simply from a knowledge of atoms is an impossible task" (Goodwin 1998, 32). The parallel problem in the study of the traditional arts is that correlated, independent, inductive scrutiny of revivalism in the global and local fields has so far not been fully attempted. This basic difficulty, as discussed in detail in Chapter 2, has led to serious, and far from disinterested, selectivity and inconsistency in the handling of the evidence regarding the nature and development of traditional arts revivalism. Underlying these problems is the basic fact that much of the scholarship reviewed in the present study relies on a certain sense of the relationship of the local and the global which is clearly shown to be an oversimplification in the present case, and possibly, by extension, generally. This is the assumption that local artistic expressions are primarily articulations of global meanings: that the meaning of local-field artistic and cultural actions is fundamentally allegorical relative to the global field. This assumption underpins such distinctions as those between Marxist base and superstructure and Jungian symbol and archetype. However, the best exemplars of this approach reviewed in the present study are those of Marett at the level of the whole movement or *milieu*, and Holbek at the level of the individual tale. Marett argued that "revivals" are, in themselves, large symbolic evocations - that is, allegories enacted mimetically on a large scale - of desired societal, that is, global values; and Holbek argued that the marvellous elements of individual folktales are similarly indirect representations - that is, allegories on a smaller scale - of global sociopolitical realities. The tendency to argue in these terms is a general one at many levels of scale and is at least as pervasive outside folklorists' methodologies as within them. To cite only a few of the many possible examples: to a depth

psychologist, a folktale witch may be a manifestation of the anima (von Franz 1996, 147); to a Marxist literary critic a similar witch be an allegory of primitive capitalism (Zipes 1979); just as, to Holbek (1987), the same figure is a periphrastic allegory across a range of real sociocultural tensions, between youth and age, maleness and femaleness, and socially high and low status. For the psychologists, the use of the witch as an allegorical symbol results from the unconsciousness of the folk as to the real meaning of the tale; to Zipes and Holbek, less condescendingly, it is a cautious, almost sardonic indirection used by the folk in circumstances where more open communication incurs unacceptable risk. Holbek conclusively demonstrates the shortcomings of depth psychology as an interpretative key, but his own critique is fundamentally of a kind with it: to all these writers, if the idea may so be expressed, a witch is fundamentally not a witch, but only seems so. This logic can be, and is, applied to whole genres, types and channels of performance, as well as to referents within particular tales and tale-worlds; it therefore underpins the view of revivalistic movements as mimetic re-enactments of social values. The following illustrate the logic as applied in recent scholarship on music revivalism (emphasis added):

The revivalist not only identifies a specific time and place for folk music but is fundamentally concerned with recreating its value-laden social context. (Bohlman 1988, 130 - 131)

The post-war folk and traditional music revival in the British Isles was a complex phenomenon which involved more than just the simple rediscovery and promotion of music and song. ... In conclusion, there is always an ideological basis for music revival. Recognition and promotion of the perceived artistic and cultural value of the music is only part of the process. (Eydmann 1995, 41, 49)

... how song has been used to construct identities in “the battle of two civilisations”. McCann 1995, 51)

The conscious or unconscious entanglement in decision-making processes can be understood ... as musical-political behaviour ... Many musicians seem to be unaware of their political statements or believe themselves to be non-political or apolitical. ... conscious or unconscious strategies of denial. (Baumann 1996, 71)

Similarly, addressing popular music, Harker and Middleton (in Mackinnon 1994, *Editorial Preface* on unnumbered page) state as a basic premises for research that

Music was never *simply* music; songs were never *simply* songs. Both were produced and used by particular people in particular historical periods for particular reasons ...

By some authors, these approaches are resonantly named the “hermeneutics of deceit” (Day 1984, vii - viii, Doty 1986, 166, 232): the interpretation of culture on the assumption that mentifacts such as songs, music, narratives and ideologies are never directly informative about their own real content, nature and purposes. These, it is asserted, must always be recovered by the scholar who, by approaching the primary material sceptically, succeeds in decoding the allegory and uncovering the social, political, cultural, economic, psychological or other realities which it indirectly expresses. Some scholars accept that this indirection is purposeful on the part of the people whose culture is under scrutiny; others deny even this. Exegesis of this kind has obvious shortcomings. It perpetuates a scholarly habit of opaque, arbitrary assertion which, as argued above, stretches in an unbroken line from Frazer to Hebdige and beyond. If, in 1996, a scholar is reduced to imputing “unconscious strategies of denial” in order to overrule those humble functionaries whose contribution is merely to play the music he interprets, it is legitimate to wonder whether the twentieth century has witnessed any improvement whatsoever in the scholarly interpretation of vernacular culture. Denial is discernible here only in Baumann’s own approach - if, that is, the

whole concept of “unconscious strategy” is not simply a contradiction in terms. This opacity is evident in all the above citations, and also more generally. Nevertheless, interpretation by the hermeneutics of deceit has been felt to be necessary because it is felt to be the scholar’s main bridge across the chasm which separates the global, cultural, economic and/or psychological realities which surround the tale from the local, imaginative experience of the tale itself. This, however, need not be assumed. Indeed, scholars accept, as Baumann’s otherwise groundless imputation acknowledges, that the hermeneutics of deceit do not reveal the emic view of the culture under study. Day (1984, viii), in the preamble to a lengthy and eclectic comparative analysis of mythology entitled *The Many Meanings of Myth*, notes that, like Baumann’s musicians, “archaic peoples”

accept myth without analysis, and, if pressed, ... usually assert that it means what it says.

The substantial existence of the rest of the book testifies to Day’s mistrust of this assertion, but he nowhere even attempts to argue against it. If it is true, he thereby shows an odd disregard for the opinions of the experts - that is, as the folklorist would say, the folk. Like Baumann’s musicians, the Irish storyteller John Campbell, asked why he tells stories, replied frankly (Brennan Harvey 1992, 56):

I don’t know why I tell them. I really don’t know. I just tell them.

Where, as here and often, there is a clearly stated emic preference for minimal critical or analytical comment, and/or for what might be termed self-evident or tautological meanings in culture, the hermeneutics of deceit require that it be disregarded *a priori*, as an obfuscation obstructing proper scholarly analysis. In the light of the above conclusions, however, there is no need to assume this

as the best or only way of correlating the interpretation of global with local phenomena. The key to an alternative method can be found in consideration of the work of Holbek. Although Holbek, unlike Baumann, gave traditional artists full credit for the intelligent and meaningful control of their own culture, he was an adherent of allegorical interpretation, which the hermeneutics of deceit necessitates. His work is therefore of interest to the present argument because he gives the most serious and substantial relevant application of this assumption and thus the clearest demonstration of its logical shortcomings. As argued in Chapter 2 above, Holbek regarded the *Volksmärchen* largely as sociopolitical allegory, and he consequently condemned the *Kunstmärchen* because he saw it as a deracinated one-way appropriation of the *Volksmärchen* which entirely missed the sociopolitical point of its source. In fact, as has already been argued, this is a logically inconsistent misapprehension which fails to explain known historical facts concerning the spread of the folktale to educated and privileged audiences and its mutually influential relationship with the literary fairy-tale. Historically, the traffic between the oral, working-class folktale and the literary, middle-class fairy tale went both ways; neither genre, simply *qua* genre, was as obnoxious to the other's audience as Holbek's sociopolitical reductivism requires, and revivalistic storytelling movements are a later symptom of the same societal adaptability of the folktale as a generic and textual structure. Neither the folktale nor the fairy tale, in their individual examples, lacked sociopolitical resonances; but there must have been something stable in the basic generic features of the tales which was not to be reduced to these, but which was significant in the reception and spread of the *Märchen*. This basic effective quality is invisible to Holbek's analysis, and, as has been seen, he explicitly excludes it at the cost of the conceptual consistency of his argument; but it is necessary for an understanding of the overlapping sociopolitical placement of the *Kunstmärchen* and the *Volksmärchen*. Holbek's conclusions are therefore,

at most, applicable only to the mediating level at which folktales addressed sociopolitical realities. They exclude the deeper level, which relates to the experienced generic quality of the tales, but is manifestly indispensable in coherently explaining the nature of the folktale as a generic entity, as well as its sociopolitical history. The existence and indispensability of this deeper, autonomous, experiential level, and the resulting two-way traffic of meaning between the local and the global, is implied, as outlined above, by the main conclusion of the present study. Both ideas are essential to a holistic understanding of storytelling revivalism to an absolute degree which suggests very strongly that they are similarly essential to a holistic understanding of traditional narrative, narrative in general, and possibly the entire phenomenology of cultural meaning.

Holbek studied genres and motifs, but, as Marett exemplified, the hermeneutics of deceit on which he relied can equally be applied, as in the present case, to the ideology of a whole subculture or movement. This application readily yields the conclusions reviewed earlier in the present study: the idea that whole revivalistic movements, like individual repertoire items in the traditional arts as elsewhere, are defined more or less as communally enacted sociopolitical allegories, an oral narrative counterpart to Baumann's "musical-political behaviour." Thus, Holbek's logic regarding genre and tale-type is reproduced at the level of whole movements or *milieux*. The result is the Bausingerian or Marettian conclusion, reproduced or implied in the work of later scholars, that revivalistic movements are primarily a coded response to sociopolitical tensions. This logic is similarly shown in the present study to be misleading in the latter case. There are two points to be made. On the one hand, as stated, informants testified that the revivalistic storytelling movement was less a coded response to sociopolitical tensions than a primary experience which (as a secondary concern) threw off sociopolitical implications in its

wake. Rational sociopolitical arguments, cognitions and modes of discourse were used in self-obviating ways to explain and gloss a primary phenomenological experience. This exemplifies the autonomy of the experienced local field at the level of whole movement or *milieu* in the case of storytelling revivalism.

The second point is that, in this as in other respects, neither theory nor evidence suggests any fundamental distinction between revivalistic oral narrative culture and mature source traditions as a class of cultural *milieu*. The invocation of Herderian views of society may well be conditioned by sociocultural factors, such as capitalist massification of society and (as Litt and Bausinger note) the expansion of the *Umgang*, but it is not an absolute departure from the practices of mature traditional narrative cultures. Rather, it is, so to speak, a socioculturally specific oicotype of a historicising tendency which is a fairly widespread pattern both in the aesthetic effects of folk art and in the legitimising strategies of folk belief and argument. This pattern appears at the level of type and genre in mature traditional narrative cultures, in such widespread practices as the setting of *Märchen* in a loosely-imagined antiquity (such that feudal kings and queens feature in the *Märchen* of countries which have never been anything but liberal capitalist republics) and, at a larger level, in the generic Bahamian label *old-story*. This loose historicising tendency is widespread enough to be a folkloristic commonplace. Congruently with it, revivalistic Herderian romanticism is characterised within storytelling revivalism not by requisite freezing - the narrowly prescriptive adherence to supposed precedent - but by requisite shift, such that the past is invoked, not in a spirit of static pedantry, but in fluid ways which purposefully leave space for experiment, creativity and free play. The main differences between mature tradition and nascent "revival" in this respect lie in such variables as the relative degree of elaborate explication with which this is done, but these are

differences of degree and modality rather than kind, and their importance resides at the intermediate, not at the primary levels of experience. In this as in other things, then, mature traditions and revivalistic movements are essentially sister subcategories of a larger category of traditional culture. "Tradition" and "revival" are distinguishable precisely as two different kinds of attempt to do the same artistic thing in different sociocultural circumstances.

It is worth noting that there is precise textual support for this idea. If revivalistic art is initially more provisional than that of mature source traditions, revivalistic audiences are correspondingly less experienced, sophisticated and discriminating listeners, and are for this very reason capable of reinstating storytelling *milieux* which are in terms of participant experience unselfconscious and unforced to a degree which scholars more readily associate with source traditions. Moreover, as time passes, revivalistic idioms mature and develop their own character as the competence of the revivalistic community deepens. This is shown by the frequent unselfconscious use of repetition and parallelism by revivalists to embroider and heighten their performative registers. As argued above, this is clearly not conscious imitation of traditional epic or oral poetic style; no informant showed any knowledge of this stylistic feature at all, still less cited it as an artistic influence or precedent. It is therefore simply a practical, commonsense response to a particular set of artistic demands associated with performance of a specific type. It resembles the parallelism of oral poetry by polygenesis, not imitation. Examination of the specific features of the revivalistic style thus corroborate the conclusions of a more general survey of revivalistic cognitions and interactive practices. The nascent revivalistic style shows (at the deepest level) the same rhetorical strategies as mature oral poetry, because it is an attempt to do what must therefore (at the deepest level) be the same thing. On

this specific point as on the wider issues, the differences between “tradition” and “revival” are circumstantial, not essential.

The apparently widespread emic preference for minimal critical or analytical comment, or at least for what might be termed self-evident, non-allegorical and/or tautological meanings in culture, is evidence of the fundamental and irreducible autonomy of the experiential local field. This is, *mutatis mutandis*, a feature of revivalism as much as of mature tradition. Its centrality is often suppressed and edited out by the selectivity compelled by the hermeneutics of deceit, exemplified in the study of folk revivalism most strongly by Boyes. It would have been quite possible to do likewise in the case of the present study. If one were to select from the evidence presented in the chapters above - for example, by discussing section 2 of the interview in Chapter 7, in isolation from other testimony - this would give apparent evidential support for a Marettian view of storytelling revivalism in England and Wales as an exercise in sociopolitical symbolism; but this would be to misrepresent the context and spirit of the testimony in the terms described, and be insufficient and disingenuous. Although storytelling revivalists profess sociopolitical agendas when prompted in a certain way, these are not of primary importance as motivations. Theoretically and evidentially, then, the hermeneutics of deceit, which result in interpretations of a primarily sociopolitical nature, have failed to account for the basic nature of storytelling revivalism in England and Wales. Specifically, they have failed to account for the terms in which revivalists experience and participate in the movement. Furthermore, as argued in the previous chapter, there is no reason to believe that storytelling revivalism is fundamentally anomalous in this regard; indeed, the phenomenological issues involved are fundamental, basic, and to this extent resistant to culturally specific variation. At most, revivalists may be anomalous in that their educational and sociolinguistic cachet allows them to

express this underlying phenomenology in language which is unusually amenable to explicit introspection; as a result, revivalism usefully permits investigation of a more directly inquisitorial, programmatic and monitored kind than might be possible within a source traditional community, where the linguistic and interactive rules will be very different. The evidence nevertheless suggests strongly that the underlying experiential reality of "revival" is not significantly affected by this educational or sociolinguistic issue; that there is no reason to regard it as deeply different from the underlying experiential reality of mature folktale tradition.

Understanding travels both ways between the local and the global: that is, local artistic achievements express participants' global awareness at the same time as they autonomously shape that awareness. In this process, sociocultural symbol, allegory or metaphor (that is, the global-to-local process whereby local achievements express global awareness) is secondary. At least, the evidence of the present study admits no other conclusion. To argue otherwise - that the aesthetic act is primarily an expression of sociopolitical belief - has always involved empirical selectivity and insufficient contextualisation of evidence, and has often involved condescending and arbitrary disregard for the intelligence of those whose culture is under study. It therefore results in something approaching a direct inversion of the reality. At most, symbolic and allegorical understandings mediate a primary experiential engagement with the literal content of local artistic expressions, and this primary experiential engagement cannot simply be ignored because it exerts specific effects on other levels of meaning. The evidence in the present case is the interview testimony reviewed in Chapter 7, in which informants juxtapose and purposefully privilege primary experiential engagement over sociopolitical symbolism and ideological meaning. Local effects cannot be reduced to global symbols and must be taken explicitly into account within revivalism.

Romantic nostalgia is, precisely, a gloss for the personally experienced effect of a whole new and potent aesthetic form. Although global and local meanings are constantly in two-way interplay, local meanings are dominant. This is the primary implication of the main conclusion to the present study. It too has its implications.

This conclusion privileges the experiential and phenomenological, but it therefore does so in a sense which is diametrically opposed to the more solipsistic and relativistic implications of revisionist folkloristics. The close interrogation of experience has led to a sense, not of slippage, provisionality and mutability, but of eventual depth of continuity and eventual authenticity of experience deriving from a maintained concreteness of content through a period of vitalistic appropriation and adaptation. To this extent the present study corroborates the conclusions of Munro, reviewed in Chapter 2 (see above, p. 81): revivalism is interesting because in it something real is reinstated in a new context. This assertion of continuity, however, has no relativistic implications. It does not imply that any treatment of traditional tales is as good as any other. The present study has deliberately avoided any such direct aesthetic evaluations; instead, it has relied on quantifiable features of recorded performance idioms and plausible informant testimony as to how these are experienced *in situ*. From this evidence, it is a plausible supposition that there are variations in the potency and effectiveness of oral narrative artistry and artistic *milieux*, and that these variations, although subjectively experienced, have substance and are best considered as concrete realities. Especially at first, urban and revivalistic tale-telling communities are not equally capable of deep communal engagement as mature traditional *milieux*; as communities, they subsist for a while on beginners' enthusiasm, but there may always be such a thing as aesthetically deficient storytelling and uncritical listening. Deeper continuity is at first tenuous and provisional. However, it is

striking how the literal content of the tales directly inspires revivalistic communities towards a praxis which may never be identical to that of source traditional communities, but becomes over time more similar to them in some ways: more comparable in maturity, technical accomplishment, and artistic seriousness. This happens gradually as the revivalistic communities and performative idioms mature. This argues the tales' autonomous agency as imaginatively sustained and socially transacted entities, with a given content and a basic quality which remains consistent during appropriation. Through this effectively self-correcting quality of praxis and performative texture, deeper experiential and aesthetic content of culture is instantiated in the new contexts, and deeper continuities are eventually established between new and old. In summary: Bausinger argued that

we must expose the error ... that the adoption of old forms also completely restores the old system of meaning and content. (1990, 71)

At the level of sociopolitical message or textual feature, the idea of complete restoration is plainly erroneous, and revivalists tend not to hold it; but at the deeper phenomenological level, more strongly conditioned by the literal content of narratives, partial or substantial restoration is clearly suggested by the evidence and, indeed, explains the protean adaptability of the tales better than Holbek's assumption of sociocultural specificity. The final implication of the basic conclusions of the present study is the largest and most speculative.

- 10) *The dissemination of narrative forms from milieu to milieu, exemplified by the transition from source tradition to storytelling revival, begs the question of universals of the narrative act. If such universals exist, the search for them may begin with consideration of the quality of wonder or awe.*

This final point consists in a qualified rebuttal of the epigraph of this chapter, concerning the relationship - or rather the lack of a relationship - between the facts of human environments and a phenomenological quality termed the "uncanny" or the "Numinous." It may be conceded that "no factual description of any human environment could include the uncanny," but the present study demonstrates that factual descriptions indirectly "hint at" some comparable quality, by including phenomenological, behavioural and ultimately historical effects for which detailed scrutiny has eliminated all other conceivable causative qualities: namely, the socioculturally protean quality of the folktale, and the contingent, self-obviating and evanescent nature of the sociopolitical and ideological mediations to which it is subjected during episodes of storytelling "revival." This explains a conclusion of Stotter and McCarthy, cited in Chapter 2 above (see above, p. 66), which is optimistic and plausible but oddly incomplete.

(d)espite changes ... it does seem that in a revivalist storytelling context the storytelling event, the experience of an audience listening to a narrator, remains remarkably consistent (McCarthy 1994, 155).

As sympathetic scholars of storytelling revivalism, Stotter and McCarthy celebrate this consistency, but they find it "remarkable;" they are hard put to explain it fully and do not try to do so. This seems to be because, as has been seen, revisionist folkloristics tend to deny or downplay the autonomy of text, or narrative content, and tend towards totalisation of context, performance, and the agency of the individual performer. The present study corroborates the idea of consistency, but goes further than Stotter and McCarthy towards explaining why and how it happens. It happens because the bare, literal, experienced content of given repertoire items is the central, autonomous force operating on participant experience, and this literal content - as preserved in

the appropriated text - is the main channel of continuity between source tradition and revivalistic movement. The hermeneutics of deceit are fallacious, and this suggests mistrust of the widespread assumption that a tale about talking beasts or magic tools cannot really be about talking beasts or magic tools, but must be a symbolic system referring to more real, mundane and functional things. The opposite is the case. Just as the task of interpreting storytelling revivalism eventually compels the admission that it is about telling stories (and fundamentally about nothing else), so the task of interpreting specific stories about talking beasts or magic tools will eventually compel the admission that talking beasts and magic tools simply as such (and nothing else) are the fundamental objects of reference within the language-game that constitutes the tale. To return again to the earlier analogy, it should be conceded that, at the deepest emic levels, a folktale witch will be construed as corresponding to half-perceived global entities such as the anima, primitive capitalism, and various other societal conflicts, primarily in order to frame and gloss the experience of the fictive idea that a witch is, simply, a witch, and the imaginative contemplation of this particular character-type. The present study demonstrates the same stricture at the level of whole movement or *milieu*. Textuality (in the sense of literal content) is thus shown to be the basic emic reality. If this is conceded, the effective continuity demonstrated between tradition and "revival" ceases to be remarkable, and the scholar's task of unravelling the emergent relationship between local experience and global context becomes more intellectually feasible. This idea is compelling despite the fact that it has conservative, even revisionist implications for the contemporary folklorist. It attaches considerable importance to stable content and transmissible text. Concomitantly, it moves the folklorist's attention away from the specific contingencies of particular cultures and contexts, and towards consideration of features which are basically experiential and common between cultures and contexts; taken to a logical conclusion, towards

the consideration of the universals of the narrative act. However, there is no real need for alarm at these conservative or revisionist implications. As recounted at the outset of the study, folklore studies, including folk narrative studies, began in the mid-nineteenth century as a search for comparisons and continuities, and developed through the turn of the century as a search for universals. Like other scholarship of the time, this search for universals can now be seen to have been misled by over-simplistic methodologies, and tainted by groundless assumptions of absolute European superiority and global leadership; but the search for narrative universals was not logically born of these errors and is not necessarily bound by them. Later twentieth-century revisionism, ignoring this fact, undermined the credibility of the search for concrete supracultural universals, and led instead to a relativistic (indeed, ironic and distanced) concentration on context, specifics, uniqueness and variation; and this led scholars towards various reformulations of the hermeneutics of deceit. The present study has not gone so far as to demonstrate specific universal features of traditional oral narrative, but it has shown a concrete phenomenological level which is deeper than and irreducible to sociopolitical or psychological symbol, but which demands integration into the study of meaning and historical development in culture. It has also suggested that it is at this level that such universal features of the narrative act, if they exist, are to be discerned.

The question then arises whether anything at all can be expressed about the universals which may obtain at this deep experiential level. It might seem at first to restrict scholars to noting tautologies - that, at the level of genre and tale-type, a reference to a witch can be interpreted as meaning simply a witch, and that, at the level of whole movements and *milieux*, storytelling movements are movements dedicated to storytelling. This fear, however, is unfounded. At their deepest levels, narrative acts and narrative cultures exist as they are

experienced - that is, in their literal meaning; further (and specifically allegorical) resonances, if they exist at all, are overlying mediations rather than underlying content. This does not forbid comment on intermediate allegorical levels of experience. However, it demands recognition of their secondary, mediative nature. It demands recognition of the fact that that even at the sociopolitical level, the history of folk art shows the independent agency of the primary experience of literal meanings; and it shows that a sense of history allegorises local experiences, more than, if not entirely to the exclusion of, the other way about. Also, and rather against the implications of ethnomethodology, discourse and conversation analysis, and the other disciplines surveyed in Chapter 3, it prompts further interrogation of the primary experiential level as a direct influence on interaction, specifically through a suspension of absolute scepticism and a discriminating trust in the direct testimony of informants. The most obvious question about this neglected phenomenological level is why it revolves around particular forms, actions, ideas and mentifacts - categorisable as narrative motifs and tale types - which, though they have a certain internal consistency and even logic, are nevertheless manifestly fictive and too extravagantly unrealistic to have any obvious rational referential function relative to participants' lives. The present study cannot directly address this issue except at the level of the ideological understandings informing a whole revivalistic *milieu*. At the deepest phenomenological level, however, storytelling revivalism as a whole *milieu* is of a piece with this general cultural quality. It involves close and absorbing participation in a quite incongruous and manifestly difficult and provisional enterprise, namely, substantial oral narration; and, moreover, the content of these narrations is often bizarrely distanced from everyday concerns, indeed quite incredible: sentient animals, magical objects, witches, hags, glass mountains, shape-shifters and the like. In one sense, the question which remains is the same question that exercised Holbek and which is, indeed, a

fundamental *explanandum* of folk narrative scholarship: the meaning of the marvellous. Holbek considered the marvellous within individual tales, whereas the present study has considered the whole *milieu* which makes possible an incongruously strange form of tale-telling; but, in that both tale and social *milieu* are imaginative accomplishments, sociofacts and mentifacts characterised by a strong effect of novelty, they are alike and can be considered together. Holbek's conclusion was that the marvellous was a system of allegorical reference to the everyday world; that the marvellous was a disguised form of the non-marvellous. Other scholars drew similar conclusions about the whole phenomenon of traditional arts "revivals." These cannot be accepted. The general principle is that, in the interpretation of whole narrative cultures, and by extension of individual narratives, the literal is the fundamental level of meaning. One does not better understand how a culture involves X by assuming (groundlessly) that X is really a disguise for a Y which can somehow never be directly experienced, identified or stated, because Y in this case does not exist; it is a fiction of scholars, who should properly confront the perplexing truth that X is X. It therefore makes no sense to explain away the many gratuitous incongruities of folk narrative culture as conscious or unconscious allegories for mundane realities which participants are either unable or unwilling to refer to directly. To ask after the meaning of the marvellous is, rather, to ask about the marvellous - about sentient animals, magical objects, witches, hags, glass mountains, shape-shifters, revivalistic storytelling movements, and other marvels - as phenomena (mentifacts or sociofacts) in and of themselves. The narrative imagination is fundamentally not functional, allegorical, or even symbolic, and its interpretation therefore demands a scholarship which is fundamentally not functionalist, symbolist or based on the assumption of allegory. Once such chimerae are dispensed with, the problem of the marvellous appears with such clarity that it practically resolves itself. The primary experience of traditional tale-telling, and of its

“revival,” is aesthetic: simply, a sense of the marvellous; of wonder; of the contemplation of surprising and inexplicable but apparent possibility; of the arousal and satisfaction of curiosity and of the desire for novelty, particularly for the quality of “arresting strangeness” (Tolkien 1975, 50); and, arising from this, a carnivalesque distance from the experience of the everyday world and the everyday self, with their constraints, stabilities, limitations and imperfections. So put, the attractions and meaning of the marvellous are basic and easily understood. The core experience of storytelling, and of the storytelling movement, is mediated through reference to known, mundane reality, but at a primary level it leads directly out of its gravitational pull, towards the unknown and towards the new and strange, contemplated for its own sake. In simple terms, the deep experience of contemplating given motifs, images and practices seems to be valued as a way of inculcating a sense of wonder at their transcendent strangeness. Narratives of the marvellous refer to the mundane (including the culturally specific) primarily as a mediating strategy in this inculcation of this experience. In doing so, they arguably exemplify a more general aesthetic and cultural process whereby references to the mundane function primarily as starting points orienting the participant in the contemplation of the uncanny. This conclusion by no means excludes attention to the influence of social, political and historical concerns on such preliminary orientation, but it acknowledges specific functions and limits to the depth of their impact. The present study therefore ends with the speculation that an interest in and orientation towards wonder, experienced for its own sake, is the universal quality of narrative. This is a large and daunting line of inquiry, into a field which is apparently little explored within British folklore studies; its further investigation may lead the folklorist into hitherto unexplored territories of psychology and philosophy; but folklorists are by nature open to adventurous interdisciplinary collaborations, so this in itself is no reason for them not to pursue it. Here, then, if anywhere, is a starting point

from which to begin a reconsideration of possible universals in oral and traditional narrative culture and, by extension, in art and culture in the widest senses, without a return to the late Victorian Eurocentrism of the folklorist's disciplinary past.

8.3 Directions for future research

The study concludes with a brief indication of the possibilities for future research in the field. Methodologically, it has shown the absolute indispensability of participant testimony in any interpretative project. The study has been helped by the fact that interviewing conventions did not depart too drastically from the sociolinguistic norms of the revivalistic storytelling community, and the methods used above will not realistically be exactly applicable to the majority of folk groups and tradition-bearing communities within which very different rules apply, by folklorists who are already often hard pressed to establish rapport and trust with informants from widely differing social and cultural backgrounds. Nevertheless, research has shown the vital importance of bounded data sets and exhaustive analysis in preserving the nuances of testimony, and the fatal ease with which such testimony can be weighted and misrepresented in scholarly presentations. These lessons at least can be transferred to the study of other vernacular *milieux*.

The largest remaining unanswered question is that of the imposing but still distant possibility of universal laws of narrative, considered in terms of evocation of a sense of wonder, and rooted in the literal and self-evident meanings of narrative motifs and underlying any possible functional, sociocultural, political or ideological mediation. The vast variety of forms of narrative may not necessarily testify merely to varieties of mediation; wonder itself may take many forms which can be identified and discussed, and one not

unthinkable possibility for future folklore scholarship is a unitary, ordered taxonomy of the phenomenology of wonder as an interpretative tool for narratives, covering such experiences as that of the uncanny, the numinous, the terrifying, the surprising, the humorously and/or bizarrely incongruous, and so forth. The language of such a taxonomy will begin with impressionistic description and tend, as noted above, towards philosophy, psychology, literary and critical theory, even theology, but it will have to maintain the folklorist's deference to the sovereignty of the folk and be based ultimately on participant testimony, and it will have to be, in aspiration at least, cross-cultural. Another very large issue is the relationship between the global landscape and local experience. The present study shows local experience to be irreducible and dominant in a two-way relationship with globality, leading to the observed phenomenon that wider ideologies exist primarily (but not entirely) as a way of describing and understanding local experience. This is the opposite of the expectation that local behaviour would function primarily as a symbolic mimesis expressing global ideological beliefs, and has accordingly prompted a general rejection of interpretation according to the so-called "hermeneutics of deceit." If the conclusions of the present study are sound, there is no reason why the same pattern will not occur in a very wide range of revivalistic and non-revivalistic contexts and *milieus*. It should therefore be sought.

A further line of enquiry, more immediate but still substantial, concerns the nature of "revivals," and by extension their relationship with the cultures and traditions which they attempt to "revive." Research is also needed on the many traditional and musical "revivals" noted at the outset. The conclusions of the study constitute a model of revivalism which demands further testing in application to these and other revivalistic *milieus*. The evidence has revealed the primacy of the aesthetic (and by extension of the literal and self-evident) as a motive for "revival," the functionality and evanescence of relatively

selfconscious modes of behaviour and cognition, and the increasing informality and unselfconsciousness of modes of behaviour and interaction. This increase in informality and unselfconsciousness is seen to occur consistently at different speeds and to overlap at different levels of scale in the careers of revivalistic individuals, institutions and whole movements, resulting over time in an integrated hybrid of revivalistic and pre-revivalistic cultural behaviours. It remains to be seen whether other revivalistic movements will show exactly the same tendencies to the same degree, or whether a longer-term study of revivalistic storytelling would reveal the same pattern recurring in the same way. Similarly, and more broadly, the study has argued against any theoretical distinction between traditions and “revivals.” If its conclusions are sound, they will therefore be applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to mature traditions no less than to “revivals.” That is to say: mature traditional *milieux* will similarly be characterised by such features as aesthetic primacy, relatively selfconscious modes of behaviour and cognition displaying functionality, evanescence, and subordination to aesthetic concerns, perhaps in such behaviours as those of new, inexperienced or otherwise incompetent performers, or of experienced storytellers performing new repertoire items, and the approximate functional equivalence of these strategies with deeply grounded aesthetic consensus. The worth of the conclusions of the present study is to be measured by the degree to which they are able to integrate the study of “revivals” and mature traditions, and make the study of these two branches of tradition consistent at the theoretical level.

Finally, there is more work to be done on storytelling revivalism itself. Storytelling revivalism is spreading rapidly through the affluent world and there is no shortage of further direct applications of the above conclusions; most especially, perhaps, in Scotland and Ireland. More remains to be learned on storytelling revivalism in England and Wales. Any one of the methods and

lines of inquiry in the above compendium could usefully be extended and/or applied within a more specialist context: the historical development of storytelling revivalism, the composition and structure of the participant group, the generic content of revivalistic repertoires, performative styles (particularly their apparent kinship with general features of oral narrative poetry), the dialogic performance of whole storytelling events (particularly the implications of its carnivalesque violation of Gricean maxims), and the private cognitions and interpretations of revivalists themselves. Particularly, the present study has concentrated largely on the storytelling club; the movement in England and Wales comprises other revivalistic storytelling communities, most notably the body of professional storytellers, not all of whom have close links with storytelling clubs. The conclusions of the present study should therefore inform the investigation of other revivalistic sub-communities, no less than other storytelling movements, and other revivalistic movements generally throughout the developed world.

Afterword

Concern for methodological transparency and accountability has prevented me from offering any explicit opinion of the validity or aesthetic potency of revivalistic storytelling. For thoroughness' sake, however, and to allow full understanding of the arguments made in the foregoing study, the quality of my enthusiasm should be stated in more personal terms than the study itself has permitted. An initial blanket enthusiasm for revivalistic storytelling prompted its selection as a topic for postgraduate study and lasted until about 1996. Its erosion was occasioned by the volume of exposure and the intensity of scrutiny which research necessitated, and also by a growing sense of the considerable distance between the heavyweight artistic aspirations and claims of revivalistic storytelling ideology on the one hand, and on the other its often light-middleweight artistic achievement. Disillusioned, but anxious not to abandon the study of oral and folk narrative altogether - at least not until I had completed my doctoral thesis - I redoubled my attention to other forms of traditional and narrative art, including folklore texts from source traditions, especially traditional oral epic, as a leisure-time adjunct to research and teaching. This rekindled my faith in the artistic seriousness of traditional and oral narrative. However, comparison with Homer, the Beowulf-poet, Lönnrot's *Kalevala* and the work of the countless anonymous artists of the world's folktale traditions only reinforced my sense of the provisionality of storytelling revivalism and the relative superficiality of much even of its more prestigious output. At the same time, I continued to derive pleasure and real delight from the performances I saw, often from less prestigious tellers, including many of the tellers whose work is recorded and discussed in the foregoing pages. I remain especially persuaded by the aesthetic validity of the storytelling of transitional figures such as Stanley Robertson and Duncan Williamson, of revivalistic storytelling as an informal noncommercial pastime, and of professional storytelling work in

closed groups, and in educational, therapeutic, community and (in the broadest sense) pastoral contexts. My reservations are strongest about revivalistic storytelling as a professional public performance art. Here - with some exceptions - the mismatch between revivalistic pretension and revivalistic achievement is generally at its widest. This personal ambivalence correlates with the intellectual conviction, defended in the foregoing study, that partisan advocacy of storytelling revivalism is inadequate as a scholarly approach, certainly at present and probably intrinsically. On artistic as well as on intellectual grounds, it is unsafe to approach storytelling revivalism with an unqualified sense of celebration; it remains too experimental and provisional. On the other hand, as noted at the outset, it represents a measurable artistic success and retains enormous artistic potential. This success, and this potential, should be recognised for their own sakes, as well as because, as argued in the foregoing study, their existence carries enormous implications for folklorists and scholars of culture.

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Appendix 1

Summary sheet

The following page consists of a copy of the summary sheet formerly in use at the School of Scottish Studies at Edinburgh University, which formed the basis for the analytical techniques applied to storytelling events in Chapters 3 and 6. It has been partially inked in for clarity.

| ITEM No | INFORMANT (INSTUMENT) & NATIVE AREA | TITLE (FIRST LINE) OR "CUE" | TYPE OR INDEX REF. | DURATION/VERSES | SUMMARY, "INFORMANT'S REMARKS", (FIELDWORKER'S INDEX |
|---------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--|
| | | | | | |

Appendix 2

Interview schedule

1. *Personal storytelling history and outlook*

How did you first hear about storytelling, in the sense of events organised specifically for storytelling, for adults?

How did you end up at your first event?

What, if anything, attracted you to it? If you didn't like it, what changed your mind?

How, if at all, did you follow this attraction up?

When, if at all, did you start to tell stories?

What attracted you to the idea of telling, as well as listening?

How did you approach telling at first?

Where did you get your first stories from?

Other tellers? Their formal performances or informal chatting?

Non-revival storytellers' jokes, anecdotes, personal experiences?

Books? - Literature, folktale collections?

Elsewhere?

How did you remember and learn them at first?

What role did writing play early on in your collecting and learning?

Did you ask or need advice on how to learn at first, or did you work out your own methods and improvise them solo?

Where did you get your first ideas about how to tell stories well from?

Did you consciously adopt styles and ideas from other tellers?

Did you simply get the feel of the whole thing, and try and react to that?

Did you attend workshops or classes, and adopt the ideas suggested in them?

Who did you tell them to at first? When did you tell them?

In what ways have your methods of acquiring, learning and remembering stories changed since then?

Did you work out these changes for yourself?

Did you learn from someone else?

2. *Personal storytelling knowledge*

How many stories would you say you could tell, roughly?

Where did you get them from?

Other tellers - performance or chat?

Books - folktale books or literature?

Other non-revival people - jokes, anecdotes, personal experiences?

Elsewhere?

How do you choose which stories to learn and tell?

How do you remember them? Do you write them down?

How do you practice them?

How do you decide that they're ready to perform?

What kinds of stories do you like to tell?

Why?

Do you simply tell anything you like, or do you think that your style is particularly suited to one type rather than another, and select your repertoire on that basis?

Do you like certain types of story, or stories from particular cultures?

How, if at all, do you learn about stories and storytelling nowadays?

Do you consciously observe other tellers for points of style - voices, mimicry, etc?

Do you rely more on a generalised "feel" of it?

Do you talk with them about storytelling, or go to workshops and classes?

Who do you tell stories to nowadays?

Under what circumstances?

Are you ever booked and/or paid to tell stories?

How often?

What proportion of your telling is paid as opposed to unpaid?

Are you an amateur, semi-professional or professional storyteller?

Do you change the stories you tell and the way you tell them to take the occasion into account?

In what ways?

Is this a conscious choice, or instinct?

What part do you play, if any, in the organisation of storytelling events and the promotion of storytelling as an activity?

How do you go about this? Where did you “learn promotion” from? Did you learn from other storytelling promoters, or adapt skills learnt in other areas apart from storytelling? Which areas?

How do you conceive of and structure events in the initial planning stages, before you start to actually organise them?

Do you have a conscious approach to particular features of the evening, such as the room, the siting of audiences and tellers, format and running order?

Which features, and what is your approach?

To what extent do you rely on “feel” and “instinct” when conceiving of events you are planning?

3. Formulation of core concepts about storytelling and their relation to the social reality of the storytelling scene

Section 1

- 1a) What is storytelling for you?
- 1b) In what basic ways, if any, does storytelling stand apart from other ways of communicating?
- 1c) Do you think about it in general or terms, or do you just do it?

Section 2

- 2) What ought storytelling to achieve?
- 2a) What can it do?
- 2b) What are its strengths?
- 2c) What is the point of storytelling:
- 2ci) Generally?
- 2cii) In the here and now, i.e. in late 20th century Britain?

Section 3

- 3) What are the ethics of storytelling?
- 3a) What are the storyteller’s responsibilities:
- 3ai) To him/herself?
- 3aii) To the listener?
- 3aiii) To the story?
- 3aiv) To the source of the story, the individual and/or culture from which it originally comes?

Section 4

- 4) When and how far is or isn't it permissible to copy or adopt someone else's stories, style of storytelling, or ideas?
 4a) To what extent is it possible for an individual or group or culture to "own" a story, or a style?

Section 5

- 5) What **MUST** a storyteller do?

Section 6

- 6) What **MUST** a storyteller **NOT** do?
 6a) Read aloud from a book?
 6b) Memorise a set text from writing?
 6c) Plagiarise?
 6d) Fail to credit or otherwise respect his/her sources?

Section 7

- 7) How ought a storyteller to approach stories from a different culture?
 7a) Do stories go beyond cultural boundaries, or boundaries of time?
 7b) Is it ever possible to faithfully tell a story from a different culture?
 7bi) How can it be done?
 7c) How would you deal with unacceptable features, such as sexism or racism, in stories from other times and cultures?

Section 8

- 8) How does storytelling fit in to contemporary culture and society?
 8a) What can storytelling offer society?
 8b) What can contemporary culture contribute to storytelling?

Section 9

- 9) Is storytelling new?

Section 10

- 10) Does storytelling need to be taught?
 10a) By whom?

Section 11

- 11) Is it okay for a storyteller to want to be a "superstar"?
 11a) In what ways can the storyteller's ego affect his/her storytelling?
 11b) In what ways can egoism affect the storytelling scene?
 11bi) Is this good, or bad, or "good in parts"?

Section 12

- 12) Consider for a moment your ideal for a perfect storytelling scene. In what ways does the contemporary scene match up to your ideals?
 12a) In what ways does it fail?
 12b) Is anything being done to cure its failings?
 12c) How successful or influential are these attempts?
 12d) Do you think most people share a common viewpoint and hopes for storytelling in Britain in the future, or is there widespread disagreement on the way it should go?

- 12e) Do you think storytelling events could be structured better?
- 12ei) Do you ever find storytellers or storytelling events offputting, intimidating or discouraging?
- 12eii) What could be done about this?
- 12eii (1) Do you think about it in general or terms, or do you just do it?

Appendix 3

Draft event observation sheet

EVENT OBSERVATION SHEET

for pre-planned events advertised and open to the public

Aims: 1) to record information about events which cannot be recorded on tape or by photographs; 2) to partially replace tapes or photographs at events where the recorder and/or camera cannot be used; 3) to supplement tape and photography where these are used.

Name of event, as advertised:

Season/Festival, if any, of which event forms a part:

Promoter(s) (individual(s) or body/ies):

Date:

Time: start:

finish (approx):

Venue:

Type of event: as advertised:

inferred impressionistically by observer:

Host:

Featured teller(s) as advertised, if any:

Unfeatured tellers (numbers and, if possible, names):

I. PHYSICAL SETTING

Describe the physical characteristics of the setting of the event; alterations or modifications (e.g. decorations, props, lighting) made for the purposes of the event, and by whom; the placing within it of tellers, listeners, and others present, and how this was decided; problems (e.g. extraneous noise or cramped conditions) or comments made by the participants about the setting, in the course of the event or "outside" it temporally or structurally (i.e. privately), and by and to whom these were made.

II. THE AUDIENCE

Number of listeners, excluding featured tellers and hosts, exactly or approximately:

Male/female proportion (approx):

Age of listeners (impressionistic): children
adults under 20
20 - 30
30 - 40
40 - 50
50 - 60
over 60

Ethnicity of listeners: White
Afro-Caribbean
Asian
Other (specify)

III. EVENT STRUCTURE

Summarise the format of the event.

How was this format propounded and enforced? By whom?

What, if anything, served to disrupt it? How? How was this dealt with? By whom?

IV. THE TELLERS

For each teller, or as many as possible, give information on as many of the following points as possible.

Age, sex, ethnicity - Distinguishing marks (e.g. unusual dress) - Behaviour "outside" the event - Use of performing space - Use of gesture, body language, facial expression - Use of props, musical instruments.

Appendix 4

Event observation sheet

| EVENT OBSERVATION SHEET | No. |
|-------------------------|----------|
|-------------------------|----------|

1. GENERAL INFORMATION

Name of event, as advertised:

Season/Festival, if any, of which event forms a part:

Promoter(s) (individual(s) or body/ies):

Date:

Time: start: finish (approx):

Venue:

Type of event: as advertised:
inferred impressionistically by observer:

Host:

Featured teller(s) as advertised, if any:

NOTES ON EVENT OBSERVATION SHEET

This sheet is designed for pre-planned events advertised and open to the public. Its aims are: 1) to record information about events which cannot be recorded on tape or by photographs; 2) to partially replace tapes or photographs at events where the recorder and/or camera cannot be used; 3) to supplement tape and photography where these are used. It should be noted that:

1. All data is noted from observation at the event. Therefore data relating to audience numbers, age and ethnicity (parts 2 and 3), is impressionistic, and should therefore be regarded as approximate.
2. "Audience" means all those present, including floor tellers, and including promoters if they sit in and watch the performance; but excluding featured tellers, if any, and also excluding me, the person filling the sheet in.
3. Parts 4 and 5 should be used to note: the physical shape of the room; the placing of furniture within it; the decor and atmosphere of the room; further decorations, modifications and additions made by the performers and event organisers for the purposes of the event; the designation and use of the "telling space", the space used for performing stories, intro's, outro's, announcements and links in; the designation and use of "listening space", the arrangement of the audience.

| 2. THE AUDIENCE | At start | | Late arrivals (arr) and early departures (dep) | |
|-----------------|----------|--------|--|----|
| | male | female | Numbers, time, male or female | |
| Ages: 0-16 | x | x | xx | xx |
| 16-20 | x | x | xx | xx |
| 20-30 | x | x | xx | xx |
| 30-40 | x | x | xx | xx |
| 40-50 | x | x | xx | xx |
| 50-60 | x | x | xx | xx |
| 60 and over | x | x | xx | xx |

4. SKETCH PLAN OF ROOM w. ref. to pt. 5

3. ETHNICITY of audience (Afro-Caribbean, Asian, White or Other), w. ref. to pt. 2, above.

x
x
x
x
x
x
x
x

5. LAYOUT, DECORATION AND USE OF SPACE *within the room, w. ref. to pt. 4*

X
X
X
X
X
X
X
X
X
X
X

6. NOTES ON THE RUNNING OF THE EVENT *with reference to the recorded tape. Identify all speakers if possible, and give information on their age, sex and ethnic characteristics; note the various roles adopted during the event (e.g. host, floor teller, featured teller, audience member); comment on the visual aspects of the story performance and general interaction, the use of gesture and space, etc.; anything that might explain or add to the tape recording of the event*

Appendix 5

Questionnaire

CONTEMPORARY STORYTELLING QUESTIONNAIRE

I would be most grateful if you could spend a few moments filling in the following questionnaire, which is part of a postgraduate research project on storytelling in contemporary Britain. I am hoping to learn what kinds of people are now interested in storytelling, and in what ways they like to be involved in it. I hope you will be happy to fill in this questionnaire as fully as possible; you may of course withhold your name if this would help, and exercise your right not to answer particular questions if you feel unable to do so. But please don't let a difficult question put you off the questionnaire as a whole; do answer as many questions as you feel comfortable with; all the information requested is potentially helpful, so the more you can tell me, the better! All information received will be dealt with in confidence; whether or not you give your name now, you are guaranteed anonymity in the final thesis write-up, if you want it, and I'll assume you do want it unless you tell me otherwise. So don't be shy! Tick as many boxes for each question as are appropriate, if more than one category applies. I hope you enjoy completing this questionnaire. Thanking you in advance for your co-operation,

Best wishes,

Simon Heywood,
Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language,
University of Sheffield



1. Your age (please tick): 20 or under 2. Sex: Male
- 21 - 25 . Female .
- 26 - 30 .
- 31 - 35 . 3. Ethnic origin: Afro-Caribbean .
- 36 - 40 . Asian .
- 41 - 45 . White .
- 46 - 50 . Other .
- 51 - 55 . (Please specify) _____
- 56 - 60 . _____
- 61 - 65 .
- 66 - 70 .
- 71 or over .
4. Marital status: Single
- Married/sharing home with partner .
- Divorced/separated .
- Widowed .
- Other (please specify) _____
5. Do you have children, or fulfil a parental role (e.g., by sharing your home with a partner's children)?
- Yes . No .



- Christian .
 Hindu .
 Muslim .
 Pagan .
 Sikh .
 Other . (Please specify) _____
 Haven't got any .
 None of the above .

14. How, roughly, would you rate your interest in spirituality and/or religion, on a scale of 0 (not remotely interested) to 10 (deeply committed)?

15. Which of the following can be counted among your leisure-time activities and interests?

| | Regularly | Intermittently | Never |
|-------------------------|-----------|----------------|-------|
| Sport | . | . | . |
| Going to the cinema | . | . | . |
| Going to the theatre | . | . | . |
| Going to the pub | . | . | . |
| Watching television | . | . | . |
| Reading | . | . | . |
| Folk music and/or dance | . | . | . |
| Classical music | . | . | . |
| Rock/pop music | . | . | . |

16. What other regular leisure-time activities and interests do you have?



Now I'd like to ask you about your involvement in storytelling.

17. How, when and where did you first become aware of the existence of events organised specially for adult storytelling?

18. At that point, did you already have previous experience of telling or hearing stories, outside specially organised events? What kind of storytelling was this?

19. Roughly how often, on average, do you now go to specially organised storytelling events?

20. How often, if at all, do you tell stories at organised storytelling events?

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| Never | . |
| Have done once or twice | . |
| A few times a year | . |
| At least once a month | . |
| At least once a week | . |
| Other (please specify) | _____ |

21. How often, if at all, do you get engaged in advance and/or paid to tell stories, as a featured storyteller?

| | |
|---|-------|
| Never | . |
| Have been once or twice | . |
| A few times a year | . |
| At least once a month | . |
| At least once a week | . |
| Am a full-time professional storyteller | . |
| Other (please specify) | _____ |

22. Which of the following types of event have you been to? Which is/are your habitual storytelling haunt(s)?

| | Have been once or twice | Go a few times per year | At least monthly | More than once a month |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| Informal, private storytelling sessions, organised between friends | . | . | . | . |
| Organised public events, without featured guests (e.g. clubs) | . | . | . | . |
| Organised public events, with a featured guest and floor tellers | . | . | . | . |
| Public performances by featured tellers with no floor tellers (e.g. in a theatre) | . | . | . | . |
| Workshops (non-residential) | . | . | . | . |

| | Have been once or twice | Go a few times per year | At least monthly | More than once a month |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| Residential courses | . | . | . | . |
| Storytelling festivals | . | . | . | . |
| Storytelling events at folk festivals | . | . | . | . |
| Other (please specify) _____ | . | . | . | . |

23. What is your instinctive reaction to the idea of yourself telling stories in public?

- Pleasure .
- Excitement .
- Naked terror .
- Wish I could do it better .
- Wish I could do it at all .
- I'd rather just listen .
- Other (please specify) . _____

24. And finally, if you could say where and when you received this questionnaire!

Date (approx. if exact date not known): _____

Event, venue or place: _____

In what capacity did you attend this event?

- as organiser/promoter .
- as featured guest teller .
- as non-featured floor teller .
- as audience member .



Thank you for your co-operation. As well as conducting this survey, I am also interviewing people involved in storytelling in every capacity and at every level, and I am hoping that this survey might, among other things, lead me to possible interviewees. If you have no objection to, or are interested in, co-operating further with this research, then please give your name and a contact address, phone number, and/or e-mail address in the space provided below; if you would prefer this questionnaire to remain anonymous, but would still like to help further, then please feel free to send this sheet to me separately. Please return completed questionnaires and address sheets to the address below, using the envelope provided. Thank you once again for your time and trouble.

Name:

Address:

Telephone:

e-mail:

Please return to:

Simon Heywood,
C. E. C. T. A. L.,
University of Sheffield,
Western Bank,
SHEFFIELD S10 2TN

Appendix 6

Statistical data relating to the participant group

Table of contents

| | |
|-----------|--|
| 1. | Summary of data |
| 1.1 | Enumeration and basic typology of event sample |
| 1.2 | Total questionnaire returns by recorded date of handout |
| 2. | Demographic data |
| 2.1 | Economic standing, educational qualifications and vocational expertise |
| 2.1.1 | Question 6: What is currently your most "advanced" educational qualification? |
| 2.1.2 | Question 8: If you are employed, or unemployed with vocational experience or training, what is your job/ |
| 2.1.3 | Question 7: Employment status |
| 2.1.4 | Question 8: If you are employed, or unemployed with vocational experience or training, what is your job/ |
| 2.1.5 | Question 9: What is your current annual income before tax (approximate figure if preferred)? |
| 2.2 | Ethnicity, sex and age |
| 2.2.1 | Tales at the Edge |
| 2.2.1.1 | Age and sex of participants |
| 2.2.1.1.1 | Age and sex of participants: impressionistic survey made during event observation |
| 2.2.1.1.2 | Age and sex of participants: questionnaire returns |
| 2.2.1.2 | Ethnicity of participants |
| 2.2.1.2.1 | Ethnicity of participants: impressionistic survey during event observation |
| 2.2.1.2.2 | Ethnicity of participants: questionnaire returns |
| 2.2.2 | The Camden Ceilidh |
| 2.2.2.1 | Age and sex of participants |
| 2.2.2.1.1 | Age and sex of participants: impressionistic survey made during event observation |

- 2.2.2.1.2 Age and sex of participants: questionnaire returns
 - 2.2.2.2 Ethnicity of participants
 - 2.2.2.2.1 Ethnicity of participants: impressionistic survey during event observation
 - 2.2.2.2.2 Ethnicity of participants: questionnaire returns
 - 2.2.3 Tall Tales at the Trip
 - 2.2.3.1 Age and sex of participants
 - 2.2.3.1.1 Age and sex of participants: impressionistic survey made during event observation
 - 2.2.3.1.2 Age and sex of participants: questionnaire returns
 - 2.2.3.2 Ethnicity of participants
 - 2.2.3.2.1 Ethnicity of participants: impressionistic survey during event observation
 - 2.2.3.2.2 Ethnicity of participants: questionnaire returns
 - 2.2.4 Tales at the Wharf
 - 2.2.4.1 Age and sex of participants
 - 2.2.4.1.1 Age and sex of participants: impressionistic survey made during event observation
 - 2.2.4.1.2 Age and sex of participants: questionnaire returns
 - 2.2.4.2 Ethnicity of participants
 - 2.2.4.2.1 Ethnicity of participants: impressionistic survey during event observation
 - 2.2.4.2.2 Ethnicity of participants: questionnaire returns
 - 3. The internal structure of participant groups
 - 3.1 How often, if at all, do you tell stories at organised storytelling events?
 - 3.2 How often, if at all, do you get engaged in advance and/or paid to tell stories, as a featured storyteller?
 - 3.3 In what capacity did you attend this event?
 - 3.4 Proportions of genders claiming monthly or more frequent as opposed to sporadic or first-time attendance
-

1. Summary of data

1.1 Enumeration and basic typology of event sample

| Club | Event number and type | | | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|------------|-------------|-------|-----|-------|
| | Feb | Mar | Apr | May | Jun | |
| Tales at the Edge | 1(o) | 3(o)* | 10(o) | 13(o) | | |
| Tall Tales at the Trip | | 4(g), 6(g) | 9(g) | 14(o) | | |
| Tales at the Wharf | | 7(g) | 11(g) | 16(o) | | 17(g) |
| The Camden Ceilidh | 2(g) | 5(g) | 8(g), 12(o) | 15(o) | | |

N.B. Events were numbered chronologically. (o) indicates an open night, at which all storytelling was provided by floor tellers. (g) indicates a guest night, where the centrepiece of the evening was a prolonged, many-storied performance by a featured (and paid) guest.

* analysis of audiotape impossible because of poor quality of recording.

1.2 Total questionnaire returns by recorded date of handout

| | Feb | Mar | Apr | May | Jun | No date | Total |
|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|-------|
| Tales at the Edge | . | 17 | 7 | 2 | . | 1 | 27 |
| The Camden Ceilidh | 1 | 3 | 9 | . | . | . | 13 |
| Tall Tales at the Trip | . | 27 | 11 | . | . | 2 | 40 |
| Tales at the Wharf | . | 12 | 5 | . | . | 1 | 18 |
| Club unmarked | . | . | . | . | . | 2 | 2 |
| Total | | | | | | | 100 |

2. Demographic data

2.1 Economic standing, educational qualifications and vocational expertise

2.1.1 Question 6: What is currently your most "advanced" educational qualification?

| Club | Edge | Camden | Trip | Wharf | Category total |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| Don't have any | 5* | 1 | 4 | 2 | 12 |
| O-level/GCSE or equivalent (please state) | 3* | . | 5 | 1 | 9 |
| A-level or equivalent (please state) | 3 | 8 | 8 | 1 | 20 |
| Degree or equivalent (please state) | 12 | 2 | 16* | 8 | 38 |
| Master's degree or equivalent (please state) | . | 1 | 4 | 4* | 9 |
| Doctorate or equivalent (please state) | 1 | . | . | . | 1 |
| Other (please state) | 3* | 1* | 3* | 2* | 9 |
| Club total | <u>27</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>40</u> | <u>18</u> | <u>98</u> |

2.1.2 Question 8: If you are employed, or unemployed with vocational experience or training, what is your job/profession/trade?

Edge: 1 SRN/RMN; 1 HNC; 1 A-level student (and others under 20 without higher qualifications); 1 NZ Certificate in Engineering (intermediate). All listed as *other*.

Trip: 1 with O-levels and City and Guilds National Certificate listed as *other*. 2 3rd-year students at French Universities, listed as *other*. 1 Cert. Ed. listed as identified by respondent as *Degree or equivalent*. 1 HNC Bus(iness) and Fin(ance) listed as identified by respondent as *Degree or equivalent*.

Wharf: 1 respondent (listed as *Master's degree or equivalent*) ticked *other* and specified *postgraduate diploma*. 1 respondent (listed as *other*) ticked *degree or equivalent (please state)* and specified *B.A. - still studying*. 1 respondent (listed as *other*) ticked *other* and specified *C.Q.S.W.*

Camden: 1 graduate with PG training in dramatherapy and psychodynamic counselling, listed as *Masters or equivalent*, 1 with certificate in dramatic studies, diploma in voice and drama, and CQSW, listed as *other*. 2 HNDs, 1 diploma of librarianship, listed as *A-level or equivalent*, although identified by respondents as equivalent to O-levels or degree.

2.1.3 Question 7: Employment status

| Club | Edge | Camden | Trip | Wharf | Category total |
|------------------------|------|--------|------|-------|----------------|
| employed | 12 | 7 | 19* | 11* | 49 |
| unemployed | 2 | 3* | 5 | 4 | 14 |
| a student | 5* | 1* | 13 | 2 | 21 |
| Other (please specify) | 8* | 2* | 3* | 1* | 14 |
| Club total | 27 | 13 | 40 | 18 | 98 |

*Edge: 3 self-employed; 1 full-time storyteller; 3 retired; 1 sick; all listed as *other*. 2 students employed part-time, listed as *students*.

*Camden: 1 unemployed, specified *campaigner*, listed as *unemployed*. 1 unemployed part-time student, listed as *student*. 1 other, specified *occasionally self-employed*, listed as *other*. 1 self-employed, listed as *other*.

*Trip: 2 self-employed, listed as *other*. 1 retired, listed as *other*. 1 with no box ticked, but specified *childminder/youthworker*, listed as *employed*. 1 part-time employed, part-time student, listed as *employed*.

Employed @ £10,000 p/a or under: 3/19 (three-worker, part-time community worker)

*Wharf: 4 part-time employed, part-time student, listed as *employed*. 1 part-time student, unemployed, listed as *unemployed*. 1 retired, listed as *other*.

2.1.4

Question 8: If you are employed, or unemployed with vocational experience or training, what is your job/ profession/trade?

Total: 67 (68.4% of all responses)

Edge: 23 (85.2% of all responses for club)

Civil service lawyer (before retirement); lecturer; teacher; freelance researcher/supply teacher; steel industry; electronics engineer (2); telecommunications network administration; sales administrator; marketing assistant; financial advisor; agronomist; farm manager; hedge-layer/stone waller; van driver and ambulance officer; SRN/RMN; care assistant; waitress (2, 1 part-time while studying); storyteller (3, 1 also an actor, 1 also a broadcaster, 1 was a draughtsperson/graphic artist/engineer); "last job - first century Celtic soothsayer;" N/R (4)

Camden: 9 (69.2% of all responses for club)

Psychodynamic counsellor/Drama therapist/trainee psychotherapist/author; counsellor/trainer; librarian; library assistant; computer programmer; sales - furniture and furnishings; secretary (2, 1 also receptionist); film-making; being creative; N/R (4)

Trip: 22 (55% of all responses for club)

Solicitor; research; community development worker; community care worker; social services manager; social work field; estate worker/tree surgeon/gardener/woodturner; practical conservation work/training incl. woodland crafts, hedgelaying, drystone walling; agriculturalist; flood defence operative; teacher (3, incl. 1 actor/storyteller/drama teacher); trainee primary school teacher; RMN psychiatric nurse; computer programmer; administrator in voluntary sector; marketing; account executive in sales; clerical (2), British Telecom; checkout operator; N/R (18, but 1 identified elsewhere as *childminder/youthworker*).

Wharf: 13 (72.2% of all responses for club)

Handy man; 2 lecturers (1 part-time, 1 art school); teaching; therapist; nurse; advice worker; social work; legal; local government officer; director (printing and ed. supplies); credit controller; clerk; N/R (5)

2.1.5 Question 9: What is your current annual income before tax (approximate figure if preferred)?

| £ × 1,000 | Edge | Camden | Trip | Wharf | Total |
|-----------------|------|--------|------|-------|---------------------------|
| 5 or below | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 10 |
| up to/incl. 10 | 2 | . | 9* | 4 | 15 |
| up to/incl. 15 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 13 |
| up to/incl. 20 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 13 |
| up to/incl. 25 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 6 |
| up to/incl. 30 | . | . | . | . | . |
| up to/incl. 35 | 1 | . | . | . | 1 |
| ... | . | . | . | . | . |
| up to/incl. 75 | 1 | . | . | . | 1 |
| total responded | 14 | 8 | 24 | 13 | 59 |
| % of club total | 51.9 | 61.5 | 60 | 72.2 | 60.2 (% of all responses) |
| ? | 2 | . | . | . | 2 |
| N/A | 2 | . | 2 | 1 | 5 |
| N/R | 9 | 5 | 14 | 4 | 32 |
| Total | 27 | 13 | 40 | 18 | 98 |

*Trip: 1 response *10 £800 a year*, listed as £8,000

2.2 Ethnicity, sex and age

2.2.1 Tales at the Edge

2.2.1.1 Age and sex of participants

Note Figures in the main body of tables (given in 9-point type) represent the number of participants of a given gender present at the start. Late arrivals are given as additions, and early departures as subtractions, in parentheses. These basic figures are then totalled up in the peripheral sections as normal (in 12-point bold type).

2.2.1.1.1 Age and sex of participants: impressionistic survey made during event observation
(cf. section 2, event observation sheets 1, 3, 10, 13)

| Age group | Event 1 12th Feb | | Event 3 11th Mar | | Event 10 15th Apr | | Event 13 13th May | | Age group totals | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------------|---------|---------------------|---------|----------------------|-------|----------------------|---------|------------------|----|-----|----|----|---------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M+F | | | |
| 0-16 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1 | 1 | = 1.3% |
| 16-20 | . | 2(-1) | . | 2(+1-2) | . | 3 | . | 1(-1) | . | . | 9 | 9 | 9 | = 11.5% |
| 20-30 | . | . | 1 | (+1-1) | (+1) | 1 | . | . | . | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | = 5.1% |
| 30-40 | 4(+2-1) | 1 | 2(+2-3) | 2(+1-3) | 1(+2) | 1 | 1(+3-1) | . | 17 | 5 | 22 | 22 | 22 | = 28.2% |
| 40-50 | 2(-2) | 1(+1-2) | 5(-3) | 1(+1) | 4(+3) | 2(+2) | 3(+2-2) | 2(+1-1) | 19 | 11 | 30 | 30 | 30 | = 38.5% |
| 50-60 | 1 | 1 | (+1-1) | (+1-1) | 2 | 2 | . | . | 4 | 4 | 8 | 8 | 8 | = 10.3% |
| 60+ | . | . | 1(-1) | . | . | . | . | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 4 | = 5.1% |

Totals by event

Overall total

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|----|----|----|--------|
| M/F | 9 | 6 | 12 | 10 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 5 | 45 | 33 | 78 | = 100% |
| M+F | 15 | 22 | 22 | 25 | 25 | 16 | 16 | | | | | |

| | |
|---|-------|
| <i>Monthly average turnout</i> | 19.5 |
| <i>Standard deviation</i> | 4 |
| <i>Proportion of total person-attendances (78) by men</i> | 57.7% |
| <i>by women</i> | 42.3% |

2.2.1.1.2 Age and sex of participants: questionnaire returns
(cf. questions 1 - 2)

| Age group | (Event 1) | Event 3 11th Mar | | Event 10 15th Apr | | Event 13 13th May | | Undated returns | | Age group totals | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------|---------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|--------------------|-----|------------------|-------|-------|----------------------|--------|---------|--------|---------|
| | | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M+F | | | | | |
| 0-20 | . | . | 3 | . | 2 | . | . | . | . | . | 5 | 5 | 5 | =18.5% | (18.5%) | | |
| 21-25 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1 | 1 | 1 | =3.7% | (3.7%) | |
| 26-30 | . | . | 1 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1 | 1 | 1 | =3.7% | (3.7%) | |
| 31-35 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1 | 1 | 1 | =14.8% | (18.5%) |
| 36-40 | . | . | 1 | . | 1 | . | . | . | . | . | 3 | 1 | 4 | =29.6% | (33.3%) | | |
| 41-45 | . | . | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | . | . | 5 | 3 | .8 | =3.7% | (14.8%) | | |
| 46-50 | . | . | 1 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1 | . | 1 | =7.4% | (7.4%) | | |
| 51-55 | . | . | . | . | 1 | 1 | . | . | . | . | 1 | 1 | 2 | =7.4% | (7.4%) | | |
| 56-60 | . | . | 1 | 1 | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1 | 1 | 2 | =7.4% | (7.4%) | | |
| 61-65 | . | . | 2 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 2 | . | 2 | =7.4% | (7.4%) | | |
| 66-70 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | |
| 71+ | . | . | 1 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1 | . | 1 | =3.7% | (3.7%) | | |
| Totals by event | | | | | | | | | | | | | Overall total | | | | |
| M/F | . | . | 10 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | . | 14 | 13 | 27 | =100% | | | |
| M+F | . | . | 17 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 14 | 13 | 27 | =100% | | | |
| Proportion of observed turnout returning questionnaires | | | 17/22 | 7/25 | 2/16 | (-) | 2/16 | 12.5% | (-) | (-) | 27/63 | 42.9% | | | | | |
| | | | 77.3% | 28% | 12.5% | (-) | 12.5% | (-) | (-) | | 42.9% | | | | | | |

(see event totals above,
table 2.1.1.1)

| <i>Proportion of total (27) returns</i> | <i>male:</i> | <i>52.0%</i> |
|---|----------------|--------------|
| | <i>female:</i> | <i>48.1%</i> |

2.2.1.2 Ethnicity of participants

2.2.1.2.1 Ethnicity of participants: impressionistic survey during event observation (cf. section 3, event observation sheets 1, 3, 10, 13)

| <i>Event no.</i> | <i>Date</i> | <i>Impressionistic survey</i> |
|------------------|-------------|--|
| 1 | Feb | All white, mixed English (incl. standard and Shropshire) and Welsh accents |
| 3 | Mar | Same |
| 10 | Apr | Same |
| 13 | May | Same, with one visiting professional storyteller (white M, 40s) from New Zealand |

2.2.1.2.2 Ethnicity of participants: questionnaire returns
(cf. question 3)

| <i>Ethnic group</i> | <i>Event 3 11th Mar</i> | <i>Event 10 15th Apr</i> | <i>Event 13 13th May</i> | <i>Undated returns</i> | <i>Ethnic group totals</i> |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>AC</i> | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>As</i> | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Wh</i> | 15* | 7 | 2* | 1* | 25 |
| <i>Oth</i> | 1* | . | . | . | 1 |
| <i>N/R</i> | 1 | . | . | . | 1 |
| <i>Event totals</i> | 17 | 7 | 2 | 1 | <i>Overall total</i> 27 |

- *Event 3:
1 respondent (listed as *white*) ticked *white* and amended to *English*.
1 respondent (listed as *other*) ticked *other* and specified *Jewish*.
- Event 13:
1 respondent (listed as *white*) ticked *other* and specified *NZ Pakeha (white)*.
Undated:
1 respondent (listed as *white*) ticked *other* and specified *English*.

2.2.2 The Camden Ceilidh

2.2.2.1 Age and sex of participants

2.2.2.1.1 Age and sex of participants: impressionistic survey made during event observation
(cf. section 2, event observation sheets 2, 5, 8, 12, 15)

| Age group | Event 2 19th Feb | | Event 5 18th Mar | | Event 8 1st Apr | | Event 12 29th Apr | | Event 15 20th May | | Age group totals | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------------|-------|---------------------|---------|--------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|----------------------|---------|------------------|----|-----|---------|---|--------|---|---|---|---|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M+F | | | | | | | |
| 0-16 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 16-20 | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1 | 3 | . | . | . | . | 1 | 3 | 4 | = 4.6% | | | | |
| 20-30 | 1 | 1 | 2 | (+1) | 4(+1) | 3(+2) | 2 | 4(+1) | 1(+2) | 4(+6-2) | 13 | 18 | 31 | = 35.6% | | | | | | |
| 30-40 | (+2) | 3(+2) | 2 | 2(+1-1) | 2(+1) | 1(+1) | 1(+1) | (+1) | 1(+2) | . | 12 | 11 | 23 | = 26.4% | | | | | | |
| 40-50 | . | 1 | 1(+1) | 2(+2) | . | 4(-3) | 1 | 1(+3) | . | 1(+1) | 3 | 15 | 18 | = 20.7% | | | | | | |
| 50-60 | . | . | . | . | 2 | 1 | 2(+1) | . | . | 1 | 1 | 8 | 9 | = 10.3% | | | | | | |
| 60+ | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | (+1) | . | 2 | 2 | = 2.3% | | | | | | |

Totals by event

Overall total

| M/F | 3 | 7 | 6 | 10 | 9 | 14 | 6 | 16 | 6 | 10 | 30 | 57 | 87 | = 100% |
|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|--------|
| M+F | 10 | 16 | 10 | 23 | 14 | 22 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 87 | 87 | 87 | |

Monthly average turnout

Standard deviation

17.4

4.1

Proportion of total person-attendances (87) by men

by women

34.5%

65.5%

2.2.2.1.2 Age and sex of participants: questionnaire returns
(cf. questions 1 - 2)

| Age group | Event 2 19th Feb | | Event 5 18th Mar | | Event 8 1st Apr | | Age group totals | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|------|---------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-----|---------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M+F | |
| 0-20 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 21-25 | . | . | . | . | . | 2 | . | 2 | 2 | = 15.4% |
| 26-30 | . | . | . | . | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | = 23.1% |
| 31-35 | . | . | 1 | . | . | . | 1 | . | 1 | = 7.7% |
| 36-40 | . | . | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 5 | = 38.5% |
| 41-45 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 46-50 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 51-55 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 56-60 | . | . | 1 | . | . | . | . | 1 | 1 | = 7.7% |
| 61-65 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 66-70 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 71+ | . | . | . | . | . | 1 | . | 1 | 1 | = 7.7% |
| Totals by event | | | | | | | Overall total | | | |
| M/F | . | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 9 | 13 | = 100% |
| M+F | 1 | 3 | 3 | 9 | 7 | 4 | 9 | 13 | | |
| Proportion of observed | 1/10 | 3/16 | 9/23 | 13/49 | 10% | 18.8% | 39.1% | 26.5% | | |

turnout
returning questionnaires
(see above, table 2.2.1.1)

| <i>Proportion of total (13) returns</i> | <i>male</i> | <i>30.8%</i> |
|---|---------------|--------------|
| | <i>female</i> | <i>70.2%</i> |

2.2.2.2 Ethnicity of participants

2.2.2.2.1 Ethnicity of participants: impressionistic survey during event observation
 (cf. section 3, event observation sheets 2, 5, 8, 12, 15)

| <i>Event no.</i> | <i>Date</i> | <i>Impressionistic survey</i> |
|------------------|-------------|--|
| 2 | Feb | All white, accents predominantly standard English |
| 5 | Mar | All white, large proportion (at least half) of Irish accents, with one Scots |
| 8 | Apr 1 | Predominantly white, standard English |
| 12 | Apr 29 | Predominantly white, standard English |
| 15 | May | Predominantly white, standard English |

2.2.2.2.2 Ethnicity of participants: questionnaire returns
(cf. question 3)

| <i>Ethnic group</i> | <i>Event 2 19th Feb</i> | <i>Event 5 18th Mar</i> | <i>Event 8 1st Apr</i> | <i>Undated returns</i> | <i>Ethnic group totals</i> |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>AC</i> | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>As</i> | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Wh</i> | 1 | 3* | 7 | . | 11 |
| <i>Oth</i> | . | . | 2* | . | 2 |
| <i>N/R</i> | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Event totals</i> | 1 | 3 | 9 | . | <i>Overall total</i> 13 |

* Event 5: 1 respondent (listed as *white*) ticked *white* and specified *Anglo-Irish*.

Event 8: 1 respondent (listed as *other*) ticked *other* and specified *French-Portuguese-English*.

1 respondent (listed as *other*) ticked *other* and specified *mixed Asian English*.

2.2.3 Tall Tales at the Trip

2.2.3.1 Age and sex of participants

2.2.3.1.1 Age and sex of participants: impressionistic survey made during event observation
(cf. section 2, event observation sheets 4, 6, 9, 14)

| Age group | Event 4 13th Mar | | Event 6 19th Mar | | Event 9 9th Apr | | Event 14 14th May | | Age group totals | | M+F | | | |
|-----------|---------------------|--------|---------------------|---|--------------------|--------|----------------------|-------|------------------|----|-----|----|-----|---------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | | | | |
| 0-16 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | | |
| 16-20 | . | . | 1 | . | 8 | . | 1 | . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 12 | 15 | = 7.6% |
| 20-30 | 11(-3) | 13(+1) | 7 | 7 | 7 | 20(+2) | 11 | 21 | 14 | 14 | 59 | 48 | 107 | = 52.5% |
| 30-40 | 5 | 8 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3(-2) | 1(+2) | 7(+1) | 12 | 12 | 21 | 33 | = 16.7% |
| 40-50 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 8 | 5 | 7 | 15 | 19 | 19 | 34 | = 17.2% |
| 50-60 | 1 | 2 | . | . | . | 2 | 1(-1) | 2 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 9 | = 4.5% |
| 60+ | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | |

Totals by event

Overall total

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|
| M/F | 23 | 26 | 13 | 19 | 28 | 25 | 32 | 32 | 94 | 104 | 198 |
| M+F | 49 | 32 | 53 | 64 | | | | | | | |

Monthly average turnout

49.5

Standard deviation

9

Proportion of total person-attendances (198)

| | |
|----------|-------|
| by men | 47.5% |
| by women | 52.5% |

2.2.3.1.2 Age and sex of participants: questionnaire returns
(cf. questions 1 - 2)

| Age group | Event 4 13th Mar | | Event 9 9th Apr | | Undated returns | | Age group totals | | | = % | | |
|-----------|---------------------|---|--------------------|---|-----------------|---|------------------|---|-----|-----|---------|---------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M+F | | | |
| 0-20 | . | 2 | . | 3 | . | . | . | . | 5 | 5 | = 12.5% | (12.5%) |
| 21-25 | 2 | 4 | . | 4 | . | . | 2 | 2 | 8 | 10 | = 25% | |
| 26-30 | 2 | 1 | 1 | . | . | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 5 | = 12.5% | (37.5%) |
| 31-35 | 3 | 4 | . | . | . | . | 3 | 4 | 7 | 7 | = 17.5% | |
| 36-40 | 1 | 3 | . | . | . | . | 1 | 3 | 4 | 4 | = 10% | (27.5%) |
| 41-45 | 1 | . | . | . | . | . | 1 | . | 1 | 1 | = 2.5% | |
| 46-50 | . | 1 | 1 | . | . | . | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | = 5% | (7.5%) |
| 51-55 | 2 | 1 | . | 1 | . | . | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | = 10% | |
| 56-60 | . | . | . | . | . | 1 | . | 1 | 1 | 1 | = 2.5% | (12.5%) |
| 61-65 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | | |
| 66-70 | . | . | . | 1 | . | . | . | 1 | 1 | 1 | = 2.5% | (2.5%) |
| 71+ | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | | |

Totals by event

| | M/F | M+F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M+F |
|--|-----|-----|----|---|---|---|----|----|-----|
| | 11 | 16 | 2 | 9 | . | 2 | 13 | 27 | 40 |
| | 27 | | 11 | | 2 | | | | |

Overall total

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|
| Proportion of 27/49 observed | 55.1% | 11/53 | 20.8% | 40/102 | 39.2% |
|------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|

2.2.3.2.2 Ethnicity of participants: questionnaire returns
(cf. question 3)

| <i>Ethnic group</i> | <i>Event 4 13th Mar</i> | <i>Event 9 9th Apr</i> | <i>Undated returns</i> | <i>Ethnic group totals</i> |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>AC</i> | . | . | . | . |
| <i>As</i> | 1 | 1 | . | 2 |
| <i>Wh</i> | 26* | 10 | 2 | 38 |
| <i>Oth</i> | . | . | . | . |
| <i>N/R</i> | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Event totals</i> | 27 | 11 | 2 | <i>Overall total</i> 40 |

* Event 4: 1 respondent (listed as *white*) ticked *white* and specified *Latin American*.
1 respondent (listed as *white*) ticked *other* and specified *Irish*.

2.2.4 Tales at the Wharf

2.2.4.1 Age and sex of participants

2.2.4.1.1 Age and sex of participants: impressionistic survey made during event observation (cf. section 2, event observation sheets 7, 11, 16, 17)

| Age group | Event 7 29th Mar | | Event 11 26th Apr | | Event 16 31st May | | Event 17 28th Jun | | Age group totals | | M+F | |
|-----------|---------------------|---------|----------------------|---------|----------------------|-------|----------------------|---------|------------------|----|-----|---------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | | |
| 0-16 | 2 | 1(+3-3) | 1(+2-3) | 5(-5) | (+5) | (+4) | (+1) | 3(+1) | 11 | 17 | 28 | = 24.3% |
| 16-20 | (+1) | (+3) | . | . | (+1) | . | . | . | 2 | 3 | 5 | = 4.3% |
| 20-30 | (+2) | (+2) | 1(+1) | 4(+2) | 1 | 1(+1) | 2 | . | 7 | 10 | 17 | = 14.8% |
| 30-40 | 4 | 7(+1-1) | 4(+1-1) | 6(+2-1) | 1(+4) | (+6) | 2(-1) | 4(+3-1) | 16 | 29 | 45 | = 39.1% |
| 40-50 | 2 | 5 | 1(+1) | 3(+1) | 1 | . | 2 | 2 | 7 | 11 | 18 | = 15.7% |
| 50-60 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| 60+ | 1 | 1 | . | . | . | . | . | . | 1 | 1 | 2 | = 1.7% |

*Totals by event**Overall total*

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|--------|
| M/F | 12 | 23 | 12 | 23 | 13 | 12 | 7 | 13 | 44 | 71 | 115 | = 100% |
| M+F | 35 | 35 | 35 | 25 | 25 | 20 | 20 | | | | | |

Monthly average turnout

28.8

standard deviation

6.3

Proportion of total person-attendances (115)

| | |
|-----------------|-------|
| <i>by men</i> | 38.3% |
| <i>by women</i> | 61.7% |

2.2.4.1.2 Age and sex of participants: questionnaire returns
(cf. questions 1 - 2)

| Age group | Event 7 29th Mar | | Event 11 26th Apr | | Undated returns | | Age group totals | | | M+F | | |
|-----------|---------------------|----|----------------------|---|--------------------|---|---------------------|---|-----|-----|---------|---------|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M+F | | | |
| 0-20 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | |
| 21-25 | 1 | . | . | . | . | . | 1 | . | 1 | 1 | = 5.6% | |
| 26-30 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | | (5.6%) |
| 31-35 | 1 | . | . | 1 | 1 | . | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 | = 16.7% | |
| 36-40 | 1 | 1 | 1 | . | . | . | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 | = 16.7% | (33.4%) |
| 41-45 | 1 | 3 | . | 2 | . | . | 1 | 5 | 6 | 6 | = 33.3% | |
| 46-50 | . | 1 | . | . | . | . | . | 1 | 1 | 1 | = 5.6% | (38.9%) |
| 51-55 | . | . | . | 1 | . | . | . | 1 | 1 | 1 | = 5.6% | |
| 56-60 | . | 1* | . | . | . | . | . | 1 | 1 | 1 | = 5.6% | (11.2%) |
| 61-65 | 1 | 1 | . | . | . | . | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | = 11.1% | |
| 66-70 | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | | (11.1%) |
| 71+ | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | | |

Totals by event

| M/F | 5 | 7 | 1 | 4 | 1 | . | 7 | 11 | 18 | = 100% |
|-----|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|--------|
| M+F | 12 | 5 | 5 | 1 | 1 | | 7 | 11 | 18 | |

Overall total

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Proportion of observed | 12/35 | 5/35 | 34.3% | 14.3% | 18/70 | 25.7% |
|------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|

*turnout
returning questionnaires*

Proportion of total (18) returns *male 38.9%*
female 61.1%

*Event 7: 1 respondent, who did not indicate gender but gave the name *Maggie*, was listed as female.

2.2.4.2 Ethnicity of participants

2.2.4.2.1 Ethnicity of participants: impressionistic survey during event observation
(cf. section 3, event observation sheets 7, 11, 16, 17)

| <i>Event no.</i> | <i>Date</i> | <i>Impressionistic survey</i> |
|------------------|-------------|---|
| 7 | Mar | All white and apparently British |
| 11 | Apr | One black (M, 20s-30s); otherwise all white and apparently British |
| 16 | May | A black family (M, 30s, and two children). One Palestinian (M, 40s). Otherwise all white and apparently British |
| 17 | Jun | All white and apparently British |

2.2.4.2.2 Ethnicity of participants: questionnaire returns
(cf. question 3)

| <i>Ethnic group</i> | <i>Event 7 29th Mar</i> | <i>Event 11 26th Apr</i> | <i>Undated returns</i> | <i>Ethnic group totals</i> |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>AC</i> | . | . | . | . |
| <i>As</i> | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Wh</i> | 10 | 5 | 1 | 16 |
| <i>Oth</i> | 1* | | | 1 |
| <i>N/R</i> | 1 | | | 1 |
| <i>Event totals</i> | 12 | 5 | 1 | <i>Overall total</i> 18 |

* Event 7: 1 respondent (listed as *other*) ticked *other* and did not specify further.

3. The internal structure of participant groups

3.1 How often, if at all, do you tell stories at organised storytelling events?
(cf. question 20)

| Club | Edge | Camden | Trip | Wharf | Category total |
|-------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Never | 7 (25.9%) | 6 (46.1%) | 34 (85%) | 10 (55.6%) | 57 (58.2%) |
| Have done once or twice | 6 (22.2%) | 1 (7.7%) | | 5 (27.8%) | 12 (12.2%) |
| A few times a year | 3 (11.1%) | | 3 (7.5%) | 1 (5.6%) | 7 (7.1%) |
| At least once a month | 9 (33.3%) | 4 (30.7%) | 2 (5%) | 2 (11.1%) | 17 (17.3%) |
| At least once a week | 1 (3.7%) | | | | 1 (1.0%) |
| Other (please specify) | 1 (3.7%) | 2 (15.4%) | | | 3 (3.0%) |
| N/R | | | 1 (2.5%) | | 1 (1.0%) |
| Club total | $\overline{27}$ (100%) | $\overline{13}$ (100%) | $\overline{40}$ (100%) | $\overline{18}$ (100%) | $\overline{98}$ (100%) |

3.2 How often, if at all, do you get engaged in advance and/or paid to tell stories, as a featured storyteller?
(cf. question 21)

| Club | Edge | Camden | Trip | Wharf | Category total |
|---|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Never | 17 (63.0%) | 8 (61.5%) | 35 (87.5%) | 15 (83.3%) | 75 (76.5%) |
| Have been once or twice | 5 (18.5%) | 1 (7.7%) | 3 (7.5%) | 1 (5.6%) | 10 (10.2%) |
| A few times a year | 1 (3.7%) | 3 (23.1%) | . | 1 (5.6%) | 5 (5.1%) |
| At least once a month | 2 (7.4%) | . | . | . | 2 (2.0%) |
| At least once a week | . | 1 (7.7%) | . | . | 1 (1.0%) |
| Am a full-time professional storyteller | 1 (3.7%) | . | 2 (5%) | . | 3 (3.0%) |
| Other (please specify) | 1 (3.7%) | . | . | 1 (5.6%) | 2 (2.0%) |
| Club total | <u>27</u> (100%) | <u>13</u> (100%) | <u>40</u> (100%) | <u>18</u> (100%) | <u>98</u> (100%) |

3.3 In what capacity did you attend this event?
(cf. question 24)

| Club | Edge | Camden | Trip | Wharf | Category total |
|------------------------------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|----------------|
| as organiser/promoter | 3 (11.1%) | 2 (15.3%) | . | . | 5 (5.1%) |
| as featured guest teller | 11 (40.7%) | 3 (23.1%) | 1 (2.5%) | 1 (5.6%) | 16 (16.3%) |
| as non-featured floor teller | 13 (48.1%) | 8 (61.6%) | 39 (97.5%) | 17 (94.4%) | 77 (78.6%) |
| as audience member | <u>27</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>40</u> | <u>18</u> | <u>98</u> |

3.4 Proportions of genders claiming monthly or more frequent as opposed to sporadic or first-time attendance (cf. question 19)

| | |
|--------|--|
| Edge | 12/27 (44.4% of total returns for the club) |
| Men: | 8/14 (57.1% of all male respondents at the club) |
| Women: | 4/13 (30.8% of all female respondents at the club) |
| Trip | 14/40 (35% of total returns for the club) |
| Men: | 5/13 (38.5% of all male respondents at the club) |
| Women: | 9/27 (33.3% of all female respondents at the club) |
| Wharf | 6/18 (33.3% of total returns for the club) |
| Men: | 3/7 (42.9% of all male respondents at the club) |
| Women: | 3/11 (27.3% of all female respondents at the club) |
| Camden | 7/13 (53.8% of total returns for the club) |
| Men: | 4/4 (100% of all male respondents at the club) |
| Women: | 3/9 (33.3% of all female respondents at the club) |
| Total: | 39/98 (39.8% of all returns) |
| Men | 20 (51.3% of all monthly attenders, 59.6% of all male respondents) |
| Women | 19 (48.7% of all monthly attenders, 31.2% of all female respondents) |

Appendix 7

Genre, type and origin of recorded narratives

Genre, type and origin are given for all stories in the archive. Plot summaries are given for all stories in the four events analysed fully in Chapter 6. Plot summaries for all stories in the archive have been prepared and are available on application to the author, via NACECT, University of Sheffield.

Table of contents

1. Genre typology of narrative repertoire items in the sample
 - 1.1 Folktale genres and types
 - 1.2 Legendary genres and types
 - 1.3 Other items
2. Geographical areas of origin
3. Event-by-event synopsis of performed repertoire items

1. Genre typology of narrative repertoire items in the sample

Figures represent item numbers according to the synopsis below. Figures in brackets indicate either (i) genre attributions on general generic similarity without a definite numbered tale-type, or (ii) assignments of area of origin by inference, where these were not stated by the teller. Figures in square brackets by a certain genre or category, as in I. ANIMAL TALES [4 (17)], indicates the total quantity of repertoire items assigned a specific tale-type within that category, followed in round brackets by the quantity of items without a specific tale-type but assigned to that category on general generic similarity.

- 1.1 Folktale genres and types
(seq. Aarne/Thompson 1964 (1928); Baughman 1966)

Total folktale genres and types [33 (92)]

I. ANIMAL TALES [4 (17)]

| | |
|---|--|
| Wild Animals [1 (10)] | (50), (128), (129), (153), 178, (182), (210), (220), (228), (250) |
| Wild Animals and Domestic Animals [2 (5)] | 17, 24, (197), (199), (236) |
| Domestic Animals [1 (2)] | 63, (212) |

II. ORDINARY FOLK-TALES [16 (35)]

A. Tales of Magic [12 (24)]

Supernatural Adversaries

The Ogre (Giant, Dragon, Devil, Cobold, etc.) is Defeated (14), 157

Supernatural or Enchanted Husband (Wife) or Other Relatives

Wife

(92)
(117), (123),
(138), 176, (214)
(5), 38

Husband

Supernatural Tasks

Questions

183

Supernatural Helpers

Animals as Helpers

172, (241)

The Grateful Dead

207

51

Supernatural Objects

*The Magic Object is Stolen from the Hero
but he Forces its Return*

(158), (161)

100, 122, 188

Supernatural Power or Knowledge

41, 242

Other Tales of the Supernatural

(62), (91)

B. Religious Tales [2 (3)]

Truth Comes to Light

170, 251

God Repays and Punishes

(224)

C. Novelle (Romantic Tales) [2 (7)]

The Princess' Hand is Won

(135), (165), (231)

Robbers and Murderers

(93), (164)

Other Romantic Tales

56

116

D. Tales of the Stupid Ogre [(1)]

A Man Sells his Soul to the Devil

(211)

III. JOKES AND ANECDOTES [11 (37)]

Numskull Stories [3 (5)]

49, 97, (102), 177,
(215)

Stories About Married Couples [2(6)]

The Foolish Man and his Wife

(90), 99, (159),
(161), (201), (239)
167

Stories About a Woman (Girl) [(2)]

(134), (186)

Stories About a Man (Boy) [6 (20)]

The Clever Man

(162)
(46), 96, (119),
(150), (152), (203)

Lucky Accidents

8, 45

The Stupid Man

40, (143), (179),
(213)

Jokes About Parsons and Religious Orders

(54)

Jokes About the Confessional

127

The Parson is Betrayed

174

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>Anecdotes About Other Groups of People</i> | (133), (190), (191), (198) |
| Tales of Lying [(4)] | (52), (132), (147), (164) |
| IV. FORMULA TALES [2] | 148 |
| Cumulative Tales | |
| <i>Chains Based on Numbers or Objects</i> | 125 |
| V. UNCLASSIFIED TALES [(1)] | (59) |
| 1.2 Legendary Genres and Types (Christiansen 1958) | |
| Total legendary genres and types [12 (41)] | |
| ML The Black Book of Magic. The Experts | 83 |
| ML Witches and Witchcraft | (23), (44), (67), (68), (69), (75), (205) |
| ML Legends of the Human Soul, of Ghosts and Revenants | (16), (71), (73), (80), 84 |
| ML Spirits of Rivers, Lakes and the Sea | (5), 176, (248) |
| ML Trolls and Giants | (41), (52), (61), (82) |
| ML The Fairies | 4, 63, 118, (202), 236, 243 |
| ML Domestic Spirits Nisse, Hauge-tusse, Tusse, Gobonden | (65) |
| ML Local legends of Places, Events and Persons | 1, (9), 45, (57), (58), (59), (77), (78), (135), (181), (241), (249) |
| Legends of War and Warriors | 43, 47 |
| 1.3 Other items | |
| Total other items | (52) |
| <i>Unclassified folktale-like stories (18)</i> | |
| Unclassified myth | 139, 156, 171 |
| Unclassified British (incl. English) legendary history | 15, 37, 169 |
| Unclassified Irish legendary/epic history/romance | 55, 60, 129 |
| Unclassified novelle-like story | 155, 217, 232 |
| Unclassified non-European folktales | 2, 11, 12 226, 227, 230 |

Unclassified factual stories (12)

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Unclassified documentary history | 72, 142, 193 |
| Unclassified personal reminiscence | 6, 19, 101, 131, 163, 229, 233, 234 |
| Dite-like anecdotal fact | 20 |

Literary stories (11)

| | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| Literary animal tale | 25 |
| Literary fairy tale | 88, 89, 94, 95, 204, 216, 237, 252 |
| Literary novelle | 86 |
| Oral retelling of literary short story | 126 |

Original stories (11)

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Original legend-like story | 7 |
| Other original story | 185, 187, 189, (200), (206), (208), 244, 245, 246, 247 |

2. Geographical areas of origin

| | |
|---|---|
| Britain (67) | |
| England (58) | 6, 7, 9, 14, 19, 20, (23), 25, 37, (40), 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 75, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 84, 86, 92, 101, 118, 131, 132, 133, 134, 142, 143, 147, 163, 179, 185, 186, (187), 189, 190, 191, 198, 200, (203), 212, 229, 233, 236, 240, 249 |
| Scotland (5) | 8, 54, 176, 202, 213 |
| Wales (4) | 123, 167, 169, 205 |
| Ireland (25) | 4, (5), 49, 52, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 88, (93), 94, 95, 119, 201, 214, 216, 219, 239, 248, 251 |
| Europe (13) | (23), 38, 99, 157, 158, 159, 160, 170, 171, 174, 178, 204, 252 |
| Africa (8) | 2, 17, 90, 128, 138, 177, 210, 220 |
| Australia and New Zealand (native) (3) | 175, 181, (182) |
| Australia and New Zealand (settler) (1) | 193 |
| Central Asia, Eurasia and Russia (11) | 13, 51, 91, 100, 122, 126, 172, 207, 226, 227, 241 |
| China, Japan and East Asia (4) | 11, 12, 16, (117) |
| India (3) | 173, 183, 242 |
| Inuit (1) | 243 |
| The Middle East, Arabia and Asia Minor (8) | 24, 97, 102, 127, 135, 152, 215, 235 |
| North America (native) (4) | (50), 129, 228, 230 |
| North America (settler) (3) | 1, (89), (136) |
| Unstated, effectively beyond inference (29) | 96, 116, 125, 139, 148, 150, 153, 155, 156, 161, 162, 164, 165, 188, 197, 199, 206, 208, 211, 217, 224, 231, 232, 237, 244, 245, 246, 247, 250 |

3. Event-by-event synopsis of performed repertoire items

Note: Numbers prefaced EO/ (Event Observation) refers both to the event number as given in the text, and to the event observation sheet number for that event. Numbers prefaced AE/ (Analysis - Event) are tape numbers. See Chapter 3 and Appendix 8. Descriptions of event formats (floor only, guest/floor) are given in the terms explicated in Chapter 6.

EO/1 Tales at the Edge 12-2-96

Floor only, hosted by Mike Rust

AE/1a

- 1 Alan Walters (Grimaldi and the Wheelbarrow)

Source: "I was just reading this book the other day." USA?
 Genre: (ML Local legends of places, events and persons)
 Type: cf. 110 *Belling the Cat*

- 2 Richard Walker (The Seasons of Benin)

Source: Ralph Mamou, Benin, west Africa.
 Genre: Mythic and aetiological in resonance, folktale-ish in structure.
 Type:

- 3 Simon Heywood To Heaven and Back

- 4 Tony Addison (Connla and the Fairy Woman)

Source: "I only saw that today: I thought, 'I must do that.'" cf. Joseph Jacobs, *Celtic Fairy Tales* (Jacobs, 1994 (1892 - 4)). Irish.
 Genre: ML The Fairies (Fabulate legend or folktale)
 Type: ML 5095 *Fairy Woman pursues a man*

- 5 Judith Baresel (The Sea-Earl's Son)

Source: Unstated. Irish.
 Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-tales: A. Tales of Magic: Supernatural or Enchanted Husband (Wife) or Other Relatives: Husband. ML Spirits of Rivers, Lakes and the Sea)
 Type: cf. 301 *The Three Stolen Princesses* (B); ML 5095 *Fairy Woman pursues a man*, ML 6000 *Tricking the Fairy Suitor*

AE/1b

6 Rex Turner The Saturday Matinée

Source: Memory. English.
 Genre: Memorata-type reminiscence, not adapted to folk narrative.
 Type:

7 Karl Liebscher (Old Joe and the Devil's Door)

Source: Unstated; almost certainly, in this form, an original piece by Karl. English.
 Genre: (ML The Fairies) (Original fiction, resembling fabulate legend)
 Type: It seems odd that there is nothing closer than cf. ML 5000 *Trolls resent a disturbance*, but this is as close as I can come.

8 Amy Douglas (Jack's Dream)

Source: "I'm going to tell you a Duncan (Williamson) story," almost certainly by word of mouth from Duncan. It sounds as if Duncan might have adapted a well-known and perhaps revivalistic book-tale along the lines of *The Pedlar of Swaffham*. Questioned informally in February 2000, Amy denied all knowledge of this story and was surprised to hear of the tape record of it, although she did find it possible that Duncan might have picked up stories in revivalistic circles. She said he would most likely appropriate it, then subsequently assume that it was an authentic Scottish folktale acquired in his pre-revival years, and tell it accordingly. It is therefore either a pre-revivalistic variant of the type, (perhaps more probably?) a post-revivalistic reappropriation by Duncan, or something between the two. *The Pedlar of Swaffham* itself is recorded from several antiquarian ms., print and oral sources from the 17th century and after. See Briggs 1991 (1970-1), B, II-298ff., 364
 Genre: III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Lucky Accidents.
 Type: 1645 *The Treasure at Home* (B). cf. ML8010 *Hidden Treasures*.

AE/2a

9 Mike Rust (The Isle of Dogs)

Source: Mike heard this from an old man in the pub when he was in the Shropshire morris side the Iron Men. The source teller was from the Canterbury or City of Westminster morris men.
 Genre: (ML Local Legends of Places, Events and Persons)
 Type: cf. 960A *The Cranes of Ibycus*. (B)

EO/2 The Camden Ceilidh 19-2-96**Guest/floor: hosted by Bernard Kelly, guest Jenny Pearson**

AE/3a

- 10 Bernard Kelly (poem)
- 11 Bernard Kelly (How Cat Failed to win a Place in the Chinese Zodiac)

Source: Unstated. Chinese.
 Genre: Myth, with aetiological and animal-tale characteristics.
 Type:

- 12 Helen Griffith (The Story of Mei Ling)

Source: Unstated. Chinese?
 Genre: Folktale-like story with legendary conclusion.
 Type: cf. 777 *The Wandering Jew*. (B)

- 13 Simon Heywood To Heaven and Back

- 14 Richard Neville The Three Ivans

Source: Unstated. Russian?
 Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-tales: A. Tales of Magic: Supernatural Adversaries:
 The Ogre (Giant, Dragon, Devil, Cobold, etc.) is Defeated)
 Type: cf 300 *The Dragon Slayer*; 301 *The Three Stolen Princesses* (I – II).
 (B)

AE/3b

- 15 Helen Griffith (The Fight at Finnsburg)

Source: Unstated, but probably Kevin Crossley-Holland.
 Genre: Old English legendary history (mss. 11th century).
 Type:

- 16 Bernard Kelly (The Dream of Chung Chu)

Source: Unstated: Chinese?
 Genre: (ML Legends of the Human Soul, of Ghosts and Revenants)
 Type: Fictional, but cf. ML 4000 *The Soul of a Sleeping Person Wanders on
 its own* (*The Guntram Legend*)

- 17 Jenny Pearson (The Boat of Manioc Root)
- Source: African.
 Genre: I. Animal Tales: Wild Animals and Domestic Animals (with aetiological conclusion).
 Type: 122B *The Rat Persuades the Cat to Wash her Face before Eating*. cf. 135 *The Mouse Makes a Boat of a Bread-Crust*.
- AE/4a
- 18 Jenny Pearson (Rats) (no real narrative content)
- 19 Jenny Pearson (Jenny's Mother and the Rats of Brazil)
- Source: Memory. English.
 Genre: Memorata-type reminiscence.
 Type:
- 20 Jenny Pearson (Attenborough hates Rats)
- Source: Unstated. English.
 Genre: Dite-like anecdotal fact.
 Type:
- 21 Jenny Pearson Break of Day in the Trenches (poem)
- 22 Jenny Pearson The Quartermaster's Stores (song)
- 23 Jenny Pearson The Pied Piper of Hamelin
- Source: Unstated. Certainly Browning; Medieval German legend/English.
 Genre: (ML Witches and Witchcraft (literary fiction))
 Type: cf. 570 *The Rabbit-Herd*, 570B *The Sheep and the Magic Flute*. (B) ML 3060 *Banning the snakes*
- 24 Jenny Pearson (The Pious Cat)
- Source: Arabic.
 Genre: I. Animal Tales: Wild Animals and Domestic Animals. (Legend?)
 Type: 122B *The Rat Persuades the Cat to Wash her Face before Eating*. cf. 122A *The Wolf (Fox) Seeks Breakfast*.
- 25 Jenny Pearson The Piper at the Gates of Dawn
- Source: Unstated; certainly Kenneth Grahame, *The Wind in the Willows*
 Genre: Literary fiction, resembling I. Animal Tales: Wild Animals, underlain by classical myth.
 Type:

EO/3 Tales at the Edge 11-4-96**Floor only, hosted by Mike Rust**

- AE/5a (33 Moving Stories The Moon Dog (*accidentally rec.'d over items in italics*))
 26 Mike Rust (*Oil Rig Builders*)
 27 - ? - Lord Franklin
 28 "Worcester" Jerry (*The Building of the Round Table*)
 29 Simon Heywood *A Young Man He Lies in his Grave* (song)
 30 Karl Liebscher (*Cocky Cockroach and the Ramfeezled Wall*)
 31 Rex Turner (The Camping Trip) (=>
 AE/5b Interval
 32 Mike Rust (The Singing Television)
 AE/6a (33 (Moving Stories The Moon Dog (*actually performed here*))
 Interval
 34 Allan Walters (From the Cake to the Stake)
 35 Wilson Boardman (Keeping the Egg)
 36 "Worcester" Jerry Tysoe (The Invention of Bungy-Jumping)

EO/4 Tall Tales at the Trip, 12-3-96**Guest/floor: hosted by Roy Dyson, guest Hugh Lupton**

AE/7a

- 37 Roy Dyson Robin Hood and the Pedlar (*cante-fable*)

Source: Unstated. (Broadside ballad?)
 Genre: Set in the fabulate legend cycle of the English midlands.
 Type: A well-known trope in Robin Hood legend-lore, but no type found.

- 38 Lindsey Millard East of the Sun and West of the Moon

Source: Unstated. Ultimately, certainly Darsent and Asbjørnsen
 Genre: II. Ordinary Folk-tales: A. Tales of Magic: Supernatural or Enchanted Husband (Wife) or Other Relatives: Husband.
 Type: 425 *The Search for the Lost Husband*. (B)

- 39 Simon Heywood (Gregor Armstrong the Shoemaker of Selkirk)

AE/7b

- 40 Hugh Lupton (Jack Ostler and the Hare)

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: III. Jokes and Anecdotes: The Stupid Man.
 Type: 1681* *The Foolish Man Builds Aircastles*.

- 41 Hugh Lupton Tom Hickathrift
- Source: Unstated.
 Genre: II. Ordinary Folk-tales: A. Tales of Magic: Supernatural Power or Knowledge (ML Trolls and Giants)
 Type: 650A *Strong John*
- 42 Hugh Lupton The Crockery Ware (song)
- 43 Hugh Lupton The Grey Goose Feather
- Source: Unstated; almost certainly W.H. Barrett, *More Tales from the Fens*. Reprinted as "Methwold Severals" in Briggs 1991 (1970-1), B II-96ff.
 Genre: ML Legends about Wars and Warriors
 Type: (seq. Briggs) ML 8000 *The Wars of Former Times*.
- 44 Hugh Lupton The Dead Moon
- Source: Unstated. Certainly (at least ultimately) Mrs. Balfour, *Folk-Lore II*. Reprinted in Briggs 1991 (1970-1), A 206.
 Genre: (ML Witches and Witchcraft)
 Type: Only one analogue from India.
- AE/8a
- 45 Hugh Lupton The Pedlar of Swaffham
- Source: Unstated, but a folktale-like fabulate legend well-known from several antiquarian ms., print and oral sources from the 17th century and after. See Briggs 1991 (1970-1), B, II-298ff., 364, 385-6
 Genre: III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Lucky Accidents. ML Local Legends of Places, Events and Persons
 Type: 1645 *The Treasure at Home*. (B) cf. ML 8010 *Hidden Treasures*.
- 46 Hugh Lupton (Jack Ostler and the Gamekeeper)
- Source: Unstated.
 Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Stories About a Man (Boy): The Clever Man)
 Type: cf. 21 *Eating his own entrails*; 1653E *The Entrails Dropped from the Tree*.
- 47 Hugh Lupton The Death of King Edmund
- Source: Unstated; sagas?
 Genre: ML Local Legends of Places, Events and Persons: Legends about Wars and Warriors
 Type: ML 8000 *The Wars of Former Times*

48 Hugh Lupton (Old Horse) (song)

EO/5 The Camden Ceilidh 18-3-96

Guest/floor: hosted by Jenny Pearson, guest Ultan Ely O'Carrol

AE/9a

49 Jenny Pearson (The First Mirror in Ireland)

Source: Unstated, but similarities of phraseology make it almost certainly the *Penguin Book of Irish Folktales*.

Genre: III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Numskull Stories

Type: 1336A *Man does not recognise his own reflection in the water (mirror)*
(B)

50 Helen Griffith (Rabbit Crossing the Swamp)

Source: Unstated; Native American?

Genre: (I. Animal Tales: Wild Animals (with aetiological conclusion))

Type:

51 Richard Neville (Boroneshka)

Source: Russian.

Genre: II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: A. Tales of Magic: Supernatural Helpers: The Grateful Dead

Type: 511 *One-Eye, Two-Eyes, Three-Eyes*; 511A *The Little Red Ox*. cf. 400 *The Swan Maid* (B)

52 Bernard Kelly (The Black Pool of Knockfierna/The Horse's Last Drunk)

Source: Unstated; almost certainly Glassie 1985, 35ff., 109ff..

Genre: (ML Trolls and Giants (Memorate legend, on the turn into fabulate, followed by) III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Tales of Lying)

Type: cf. ML 5000 *Trolls resent a disturbance*

53 Simon Heywood (The Trout that Drowned)

54 Jenny Pearson (The Holy Horse)

Source: Unstated; from phraseology, almost certainly Duncan Williamson

Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Jokes about Parsons and Religious Orders)

Type:

- 55 -? - (F) (The Naming of Cú Chulainn)
- Source: Unstated; ultimately, certainly the *Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn* in the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (Kinsella 1969, Gantz 1981). Irish, 7th - 8th century (mss. from 12th century).
- Genre: Epic
- Type:
- AE/9b
- 56 Anne Lister (The Black Thief of Sloane)
- Source: Unstated. Irish folktale.
- Genre: II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: C. Novelle (Romantic Tales): Robbers and Murderers
- Type: 953 *The Old Robber Relates Three Adventures to Free his Sons*
- 57 Ultan Ely O'Carrol (St Patrick)
- Source: Unstated.
- Genre: (ML Local Legends of Places, Events and Persons)
- Type:
- 58 Ultan Ely O'Carrol (St Patrick and the Shamrock)
- Source: Unstated.
- Genre: (ML Local Legends of Places, Events and Persons)
- Type:
- 59 Ultan Ely O'Carrol The Curragh of Kildare
- Source: Unstated.
- Genre: (V. Unclassified Tales (ML Local Legends of Places, Events and Persons))
- Type: cf. 2400 *The ground is measured with a Horse's skin (ox-hide)* (B)
- 60 Ultan Ely O'Carrol The Children of Lir
- Source: Unstated; ultimately, the Irish romance *Oideadh Chlainne Lir (Tragic Story (or Aided, i.e., Violent Death) of the Children of Lir)* (ms. c. 1500).
- Genre: (Romance, loosely resembling II. Ordinary Folk-tales: A. Tales of Magic: Supernatural Adversaries)
- Type:

AE/10a

61 Ultan Ely O'Carrol The Name of the Shannon

Source: Unstated, but certainly Irish. Resembling a tale printed in Rolleston (1994 (n.d.), 129 ff.)

Genre: (ML Trolls and Giants)

Type: cf. distant analogue in ML 5000 *Trolls resent a disturbance*

62 Ultan Ely O'Carrol The Man Who Had No Story to Tell

Source: Unstated; probably Glassie 1985, 319ff (see item 63, below).

Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: A. Tales of Magic: Other Tales of the Supernatural)

Type: cf. 726 *The Dream Visit*.

63 Ultan Ely O'Carrol Cats are Queer Articles

Source: Glassie 1985, 180ff.. Ultan had a copy with him, heavily perused and annotated, for reference on the night (but not during performance).

Genre: I. Animal Tales: Wild Animals and Domestic Animals. ML The Fairies

Type: 113A *King of the Cats is Dead*. Cf. 1940 *The Extraordinary Names* (B). ML 6070B *The King of the Cats*

EO/6 Tall Tales at the Trip 19-3-96

Guest only, hosted by Roy Dyson, guests Michael and Wendy Dacre

AE/11a

64 Wendy Dacre (The Road Through the Woods) (Song)

65 Michael Dacre (The Haunting of Avis)

Poltergeist haunting of a Devon farmer's daughter.

Source: Ruth Tongue.

Genre: (ML Domestic Spirits Nisse, Haugetusse, Tusse, Gobonden)

Type:

66 Wendy Dacre The Green Meadows of Enchantment (Song)

67 Michael Dacre (Harriet's White Witchcraft)

A witch matchmaker.

Source: Ruth Tongue, *Somerset Folklore*. Briggs, *Dictionary*, 2 - 668.

Genre: (ML Witches and Witchcraft)

Type:

68 Michael Dacre (Harriet's Grey Witchcraft)

Another witch matchmaking, of an unmarried pregnant girl and her lover.

Source: Ruth Tongue, as above.

Genre: (ML Witches and Witchcraft)

Type:

69 Michael Dacre (Harriet's Black Witchcraft)

A brutal farmer confronts a witch and is hag-ridden.

Source: Ruth Tongue, as above.

Genre: (ML Witches and Witchcraft)

Type:

70 Wendy Dacre The Bream Lament (Song)

71 Michael Dacre (The Silk Top Hat)

A jinx haunting related to the movement of a dead undertaker's hat, found walled into his former home. With the hat replaced, the haunting ceases.

Source: Ruth Tongue

Genre: (ML Legends of the Human Soul, of Ghosts and Revenants)

Type: cf. 4020 *The Unforgiven Dead*

AE/11b

72 Michael Dacre (The Battle of Sedgemoor)

A brief account of the Monmouth rebellion.

Source: Unstated.

Genre: History.

Type:

73 Michael Dacre ("Come Over and Fight!")

A memorate of a Sedgemoor ghost, calling "Come over and fight" to a passing farmer, as the Monmouth rebels did to the soldiers as they were bombarded from a safe distance.

Source: Ruth Tongue, *Somerset Folklore*, 101. Quoted as "The Bussex Rhine, and King's Sedgemoor" in Briggs 1991 (1970-1), B, I-423.

Genre: (ML Legends of the Human Soul, of Ghosts and Revenants)

Type:

74 Wendy Dacre (When the Mist is All About) (Song)

75 Michael Dacre Marshall's Elm

The witchcraft revenge of a hanged rebel's father: he makes an effigy of Judge Jeffries of an ox's heart, and torments the judge until the latter's death.

Source: Unstated. Ruth Tongue. Briggs and Tongue, *The Folktales of England*. Reprinted in Briggs 1991 (1970-1), B II-94, as "Marshall's Elm." Tongue ascribed it to a Glastonbury farmer c. 1940.

Genre: (ML Witches and Witchcraft)

Type:

76 Wendy Dacre By the Banks of Green Withies (Song)

77 Michael Dacre (Kirk's Lambs and the fleet-footed boy)

A boy is forced to race for the sport of the soldiers, and then killed anyway.

Source: Unstated; Ruth Tongue?

Genre: (ML Local Legends of Places, People and Events)

Type:

78 Michael Dacre (Swain's Leaps)

A man escapes from the soldiers by prodigious leaps while wearing leg-irons.

Source: Unstated: Ruth Tongue?

Genre: (ML Local Legends of Places, People and Events)

Type:

79 Wendy Dacre (Song)

AE/12a

80 Michael Dacre The Cossington Tree

In the modern age, a woman sees the ghost of a hanged man on an empty tree. A policeman reassures and explains.

Source: Unstated: Ruth Tongue?
 Genre: (ML Legends of the Human Soul, of Ghosts and Revenants)
 Type:

81 Wendy Dacre (My Lady Hath a Sable Coach) (Song)

82 Michael Dacre (Dewer)

Introduction to Dewer, the (Odinic?) devil of Dartmoor.

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: (ML Trolls and Giants)
 Type:

83 Michael Dacre (Cabell in life)

The devil takes Dewer's soul while the latter is out hunting.

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: ML The Black Book of Magic. The Experts
 Type: ML 3025 *Carried off by the Devil or by Evil Spirits*

84 Michael Dacre (Cabell in death)

The evil numen at Cabell's tomb.

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: ML Legends of the Human Soul, of Ghosts and Revenants
 Type: ML 4020 *The Unforgiven Dead*

85 Wendy Dacre (Some Say the Devil's Dead) (Song)

86 Michael Dacre Jan Bodicott's Big Black Dog

The fable of the liar whose lies rebound on him. To dissuade thieves, he spreads the rumour that he has obtained a guard dog. The credulous neighbours believe him, but accuse his dog of various misdemeanours. In the end he has to shoot the dog.

Source: Unstated. Literary children's story by Natalie Savage Carlson (Corrin, 1979).
 Genre: (Short story, adapted to resemble ML Local Legends of Places, Events and Persons)
 Type:

AE/12b

87 Wendy Dacre (I Took My Dame To Lambing Feast) (Song)

EO/7 Tales from the Wharf 29-3-96

Guest/floor: hosted by Alan Sparkes, guest Lindsey Millard

AE/13a

88 Lindsey Millard The Happy Prince

Source: Oscar Wilde, literary.
 Genre: Literary fairy tale.
 Type:

89 Lindsey Millard The Tear

Source: Dan Keding.
 Genre: Literary (anti-)fairy tale?
 Type:

90 Lindsey Millard (Tongue Meat)

Source: Swahili, North Africa.
 Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Stories About Married Couples)
 Type:

AE/13b

91 Andrew MacPherson The Spell that Never Fails

Source: Russian
 Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: A. Tales of Magic: Other Tales of the Supernatural)
 Type:

92 Amara (?) Two Feuding Fairies' Prophecies

Source: Unstated. Possibly an Amara original.
 Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-tales: A. Tales of Magic: Supernatural or Enchanted Husband (Wife) or Other Relatives)
 Type:

93 Amy Douglas (The King Calls Jack a Liar)

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: II. Ordinary Folk-tales: C. Novelle (Romantic Tales): The Princess's Hand is Won
 Type: 852 *The Hero Forces the Princess to say, "That is a lie."* (variant)

AE/14a

94 Lindsey Millard The Star Child

Source: Oscar Wilde.
 Genre: Literary fairy tale.
 Type:

95 Lindsey Millard The Nightingale and the Rose

Source: Oscar Wilde.
 Genre: Literary fairy tale.
 Type:

EO/8 The Camden Ceilidh "Feast of Fools" 1-4-96

Guest/floor: hosted by Bernard Kelly, guest Roberto Lagnado

AE/15a

96 Bernard Kelly The Melon King

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Stories about a Man (Boy): The Clever Man.
 Type: 1534A *The Innocent Man chosen to fit the Stake (Noose).*

97 Helen Griffith The Death of the Mullah Nasruddin

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Numskull Stories.
 Type: 1313A *The Man Takes Seriously the Prediction of Death.* 1313C *Dead Man Speaks Up.* cf. 1240 *Man Sitting on Branch of Tree Cuts it off.* (B)

- 98 Simon Heywood (Donald Angus and Cousin Rory)
- 99 Jenny Pearson Dona-Rosita and the Bird that Talked
- Source: Spanish, via Ruth Sawyer and Magaret Leona.
 Genre: III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Stories about Married Couples
 Type: 1352A *Seventy Tales of a Parrot Prevent a Wife's Adultery*

- 100 Richard Neville Ivan and the Magic Shirt
- Source: Russian.
 Genre: II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: A. Tales of Magic: Magic Objects: The Magic Object is Stolen from the Hero but he Forces its Return
 Type: 590A *The Treacherous Wife*. cf. 475 *The Man as Heater of Hell's Kettle*.

AE/15b

- 101 - ? - F (How my Parents Met)
- Source: Memory – family story.
 Genre: Memoriate-like reminiscence.
 Type:
- 102 Bernard Kelly Mulla Nasruddin and the Tigers
- Source: Unstated.
 Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Numskull stories)
 Type:

(no recording)

- 103 Roberto Lagnado (*Greek Shepherds*)
- 104 Roberto Lagnado (*The Birth of Athena*)
- 105 Roberto Lagnado (*The Birth of Dionysus*)
- 106 Roberto Lagnado (*Apollo, Marsius and the Cursed Flute*)
- 107 Roberto Lagnado (*Artemis and Endymion*)
- 108 Roberto Lagnado (*Hermaphrodites*)
- 109 Roberto Lagnado (*The Birth of Aphrodite*)
- 110 Roberto Lagnado (*The Downfall of Cronos*)
- 111 Roberto Lagnado (*Aphrodite and Hephaistos*)

- 112 Roberto Lagnado (*The Ghost of Catherine Howard*)
 113 Roberto Lagnado (*The Man at the Gate*)
 114 Roberto Lagnado (*The Mist on the Stair*)
 115 Roberto Lagnado (*Howichi and the Ghosts of the Clan Haiki*)

EO/9 Tall Tales at the Trip, 9-4-96

Guest/floor: host Roy Dyson, guests Paul Jackson, Richard Neville (Wild Boys)

AE/16a

- 116 Roy Dyson (Half a Blanket)

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: C. Novelle (Romantic Tales): Other Romantic Tales
 Type: 980A *The Half-Carpet*.

- 117 Martin Carter (Yohi and the Crane)

Source: Unstated. Seems Japanese.
 Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: A A. Tales of Magic: Supernatural or Enchanted Husband (Wife) or Other Relatives: Wife)
 Type: cf. 400 *The Man on a Quest for his lost wife*; 400**The Swan Wife*. (B)

- 118 Jill Jobson (Nettle Broth)

Source: Unstated
 Genre: ML The Fairies
 Type: cf. 503 *The Gifts of the Small People*; ML 5085 *The Changeling*; ML 6020 *The Grateful Fairy Mother*

- 119 Terry Jobson (Huddon and Duddon and Donald O'Leary)

Source: The west coast of Ireland.
 Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Stories about a Man (Boy): The Clever Man)
 Type: cf. 1539 *Cleverness and Gullibility*. (B)

AE/16b

- 120 Richard Neville (I've Been a Black Devil) (song)

121 The Wild Boys (Gravediggers) (frame story)

Source: Probably original.
 Genre:
 Type:

122 Richard Neville Ivan and the Magic Shirt

Source: Russian.
 Genre: II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: A. Tales of Magic: Magic Objects: The Magic Object is Stolen from the Hero but he Forces its Return
 Type: 590A *The Treacherous Wife*

123 Paul Jackson (Llyn y Fan Fach)

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-tales: A. Tales of Magic: Supernatural or Enchanted Husband (Wife) or Other Relatives: Wife)
 Type: cf. 400 *The Man on a Quest for his lost wife*

AE/17a

124 Paul Jackson (I Dig All Day, I Dig Em Deep) (song)

125 Paul Jackson A Big Lie About Eating

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: IV. Formula Tales: Cumulative Tales: Chains Based on Numbers or Objects
 Type: 2014 *Chains involving contradictions or extremes* (B)

126 Richard Neville The Queen of Spades

Source: Pushkin, *The Queen of Spades*
 Genre: Literary short story.
 Type:

127 Paul Jackson (Mulla Nasreddin and the Bread)

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Jokes about Parsons and Religious Orders: Jokes about the Confessional
 Type: 1804B *Payment with the Clink of Money.*

EO/10 **Tales at the Edge, 15-4-96**

Floor only, hosted by Richard Walker

AE/18a

128 Richard Walker (Hare Drinks the Boiling Water)

Source: Ralph Mamou, Benin
Genre: (I. Animal Tales: Wild Animals)
Type: cf. 221 *The Election of Bird-King*.

129 Sandra Wye (Coyote and the Grass)

Source: Unstated. Algonquin, Native American.
Genre: (I. Animal Tales: Wild Animals)
Type: cf. 1453**** *Puella pedens*.

130 Simon Heywood (Lomax and the Waulkers)

131 Richard Walker ("A Bit More Pillock")

Source: Memory/conversation
Genre: Memorata-like reminiscence
Type:

132 Lucy - ? - (Excuse for lateness)

Source: Unstated. Probably original.
Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Tales of Lying)
Type:

133 Rex Turner (A Titter Ran Round the Court)

Source: Unstated.
Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Anecdotes about Other Groups of People)
Type: cf. 1865 *Jokes about Foreigners*.

134 Jean Turner (The Ex-Tom Cat and the Third Wish)

Source: Unstated.
Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Stories about a Woman (Girl))
Type:

135 Judith Baresel (The Vizier at Rock Bottom)

Source: Unstated.

Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: C. Novelle (Romantic Tales). ML Local Legends of Places, Events and Persons)

Type: cf. 945 *Luck and Intelligence*. 946D *Fortune and Coincidence*. ML 7050 *Ring Thrown into the Water and Recovered in a Fish*

136 Tony Addison (Erica Levine) (Song)

AE/18b

137 Genevieve Tudor The Bonny Black Hare (Song)

138 Richard Walker (The Frog Queen)

Source: Ralph Mamou, Benin, west Africa

Genre: II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: A. Tales of Magic: Supernatural or Enchanted Husband (Wife) or Other Relatives: Wife

Type: 402 *The Mouse (Cat, Frog, etc.) as Bride*

139 Sandra Wye (Howai)

Source: Unstated.

Genre: Myth?

Type:

AE/19a

140 Simon Heywood ("Show them your cross")

141 Simon Heywood ("It's your fault we came to live in Manchester")

142 Mike Rust (The Scharnhorst)

Source: Unstated.

Genre: Factual history.

Type:

143 Wilson Boardman (One ear up here, the other down here)

Source: Unstated; certainly Wilson's own mainstream oral narrative milieu

Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: The Stupid Man)

Type:

144 Lucy - ? - (Death) (Poem)

145 Lucy - ? - (The Swan) (Poem)

146 Lynne Rust, Gen Tudor O Sinner Man (Song)

147 Karl Liebscher (Old Joe and the Chocolate Wall)

Source: Probably an original story by Karl, although Mike asserts that Karl attends an annual gathering of dry-stone wallers, and that storytelling may go on there.

Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Tales of Lying)

Type: cf. 1930 *Schlaraffenland*; 1932 *Church Built of Cheese*. (B)

AE/19b

148 - ? - M (Bad Luck, Good Luck)

Source: Unstated.

Genre: IV. Formula Tales

Type: 2014 *Chains of contradictions and extremes*

149 Judith Baresel (Lord Lundy) (Poem)

150 Tony Addison (The Crooked Suit)

Source: Unstated. Robin Williamson?

Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Stories about a Man (Boy): The Clever Man)

Type: cf. 1574 - stories of tailor as a trickster

151 - ? - F (A Civilised Man ...) (Poem)

EO/11 Tales from the Wharf, 26-4-96

Guest/floor: hosted by Alan Sparkes, guest Jacek Laskowski

AE/20a

152 Jacek Laskowski (The Tailor of Baghdad)

Source: Arabian Nights.

Genre: Jokes and Anecdote: Stories about a Man (Boy): The Clever Man

Type: 1537 *The Corpse Killed Five Times*. (B)

153 Jacek Laskowski (The Old Cat and the Young Cat)

Source: Unstated.

Genre: I. Animal Tales: Wild Animals

Type: 51*** *Fox as umpire to divide cheese*. cf. 926D *The Judge Appropriates the Object of Dispute*. (B)

AE/20b

154 Simon Heywood (Donald Angus and the Still)

155 Paul Degnan The Withered Trees

Source: Unstated. Original or literary (psychotherapeutic) parable?
 Genre: (Resembles II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: C. Novelle (Romantic Tales))
 Type:

156 Amara - ? - (Catching the Sun)

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: Myth.
 Type:

157 Jacek Laskowski (Godfather Death)

Source: Unstated
 Genre: II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: A. Tales of Magic: Supernatural Adversaries:
 The Ogre (Giant, Dragon, Devil, Cobold, etc.) is Defeated
 Type: 332 *Godfather Death*. (B)

AE/21a

158 Jacek Laskowski (The Flower on the Fern)

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-tales: A. Tales of Magic: Supernatural Objects)
 Type:

159 Jacek Laskowski (Salt in the Soup)

Source: Unstated. told as a family story.
 Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Stories about Married Couples)
 Type: cf. 1328A *Salt in the soup*; 1351 *The Silence Wager*. (B)

160 Jacek Laskowski (Grandfather's Death)

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: Dite?
 Type:

161 Jacek Laskowski (The Ass and the Tablecloth)

- Source: Unstated. Apparently the tale mediated by Arthur Ransome from Russian tradition, *The Stolen Turnips, the Magic Tablecloth, the Sneezing Goat and the Wooden Whistle*, Ransome 1974 (1916), 119 - 139.
- Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: A. Tales of Magic: Magic Objects. Also a flavour of III Jokes and Anecdotes: Stories about Married Couples)
- Type: cf. 563 *The Table, the Ass and the Stick*. (B)

162 Jacek Laskowski (The Khazi in the River)

- Source: Unstated.
- Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Stories about a Man (Boy))
- Type:

EO/12 The Camden Ceilidh, 29-4-96

Floor only, hosted by Jenny Pearson

AE/22a

163 Jenny Pearson (A Journalist's Nightmare)

Personal recollection of a difficult interview.

- Source: Memory.
- Genre: Memorate-like reminiscence.
- Type:

164 Jenny Pearson (Jack and the Beekeeper)

Jack wins a light for the fire from the beekeeper with a combination of a story and the lying wager.

- Source: Unstated.
- Genre: III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Tales of Lying (II. Ordinary Folk-tales: C. Novelle (Romantic Tales))
- Type: 1920H *Buying Fire by Storytelling*. cf. 852 *The Hero forces the princess to say, "That is a lie."* (B)

165 Helen Griffith (Jack and the Boiled Seed)

A king chooses his successor by giving out seeds and seeing what is grown. Jack cannot grow anything, but returns to account for himself. He is chosen: the king has poisoned all seeds, and commends Jack's honesty and courage.

Source: Unstated.

Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: C. Novelle (Romantic Tales))

Type:

166 Violet Philpott (Calypso Cat) (poem)

167 - ? - F (Farmer Dafydd) (Husband and Wife exchange work)

She can do his job: he reduces the home to chaos.

Source: Unstated; Welsh.

Genre: III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Stories about Married Couples: The Foolish Man and his Wife

Type: 1408 *The man who does his wife's work*. cf. 1210 *The Cow is taken to the roof to graze*.

168 Simon Heywood (When Rome Fell Like a Writen Oak) (Poem)

169 Helen Griffith (Merlin of the Forest)

Merlin inadvertently reveals his sister's adultery to her husband. Therefore, to discredit his prophetic power, she brings him the same page-boy three times differently disguised, and asks him to prophesy the boy's death; each time he gives a different prophecy. But the boy falls down a gorge, catching his foot in a branch just above the river's surface, and so the manner of his death fulfils all three prophecies: falling, hanging and drowning.

Source: Unstated. Ultimately, Welsh/North British historical legend, preserved in a number of medieval mss.

Genre: Legend.

Type:

170 - ? - F (Antigone)

Antigone buries her brother at the instigation of an angel-like old man, who gives her a magic flower and the advice, "Blest are the pure in heart". Despite Polynices' burial, the curse remains. Antigone is betrayed by Ismene, and put to death, and Creon's son Haemon, Antigone's betrothed, marries Ismene. He meets the same angel-like figure, who gives him a flute and the same advice. Of its own volition, the flute plays a song accusing Ismene, which the narrator sings, apparently artlessly, raising a chuckle from the audience. Discovered, Ismene stabs herself. The curse is lifted.

Source: Unstated; Greek myth, with some additions
 Genre: II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: B. Religious Tales: Truth Comes to Light
 (Historical legend, with some Religious tale/*Märchen*-like additions.)
 Type: cf. 780 *The Singing Bone*. (B)

AE/22b

171 - ? - F (Atalanta and Melanion)

A virgin huntress princess will marry only those who can outrun her. The suitor strews her path with magic golden apples, slowing her down and winning. The lovers are eventually overcome with mutual passion at Aphrodite's shrine. In revenge for the sacrilege she turns them into lions to draw her chariot.

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: Myth/legend
 Type:

172 Richard Neville (The Two Ivans)

A prince and a peasant woo the Amazon-like princess. The peasant performs the tasks: lifting her gun, and stringing and shooting her bow; he inadvertently shoots off the hands of a runner. The prince and princess marry. She learns his weakness. She sends the prince out as a shepherd, and cuts the legs off the peasant, and abandons him in the forest. He meets the maimed runner. They form a partnership, and live in the forest, with an abducted priest's daughter as housekeeper. But the priest's daughter is cursed by a dragon, which drinks her blood nightly. They subdue the dragon; cowed, it shows them the water of life, which restores their maimed limbs. They then slay the dragon, and return the girl to her father. She marries the runner, and the peasant finds the prince. They exchange clothes. The peasant subdues the princess, and, as her "husband," extracts pledges of docility from her.

Source: Unstated. Russian.
 Genre: II. Ordinary Folk-Tales, A. Tales of Magic: Supernatural Helpers
 Type: 519 *The Strong Woman as Bride (Brunhilde)*

173 - ? - F

Kali and Time

In the time before death, the earth quickly becomes overcrowded, and the people cry out in protest, waking the goddess Kali. Kali and her servant Time ride forth, and distribute the presents; the people unwrap them: death, decay, and the eventual fecundity that results.

Source: Unstated. India.
 Genre: Myth.
 Type: cf. 332 *Godfather Death?* (B)

174 - ? - M

(The One-Legged Crane)

A cook is roasting a crane for the duke. He gives a leg to his lover. The one-legged crane is served. The cook is summoned and suggests that cranes are naturally one-legged. The duke demands proof. The cook points out cranes with one leg tucked up under their body. The duke cries out, and the cranes fly off, showing both legs. The cook says, "What a pity you didn't shout like that last night!"

Source: Unstated: Italian(?)
 Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Jokes about Parsons and Religious Orders: The Parson is Betrayed)
 Type: cf. 1741 *The Priest's Guest and the Eaten Chickens*

AE/23a

175 Bernard Kelly (A Maori Creation Myth)

Plotless series of images.

Source: Maori
 Genre: Myth
 Type:

176 Violet Philpott (Jack and the Sea Witch)

The folktale about the man who tries to catch a mermaid. He catches a mer-hag, and has to get rid of her.

Source: Unstated, but certainly Duncan Williamson.
 Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: A. Tales of Magic: Supernatural or Enchanted Husband (Wife) or Other Relatives: Wife. ML Spirits of Rivers, Lakes and the Sea)
 Type: cf. 425B *The Disenchanted Husband: the Witch's tasks* (B) ML 4060 *The Mermaid's Message*

177 - ? - F ("Talking Brought Me Here")

The talkative man finds a skull, and asks how it came here. "Talking brought me here," the skull replies. He tells the king, who offers him honour if he speaks the truth, and death if he lies. The skull will not speak, and the man is beheaded. The skull asks of the head, "What brought you here?" "Talking brought me here," it replies.

Source: African.
 Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Numskull Stories)
 Type: cf. 1341A *The Fool and the Robbers*

178 - ? - F The Bird, the Mouse and the Sausage

The Grimm's tale.

Source: Unstated, but ultimately certainly Grimm.
 Genre: I. Animal Tales: Wild Animals
 Type: 85 *The Mouse, the Bird and the Sausage*

EO/13 Tales at the Edge, 13-5-96

Floor only, hosted by Mike Rust

AE/24a

179 Mike Rust ("The Antiques Roadshow" in Ludlow)

An old countryman brings an object, long-neglected in his attic, to the television experts for identification and valuation. They decline to value it, but identify it as his hot water tank.

Source: Memory/local conversation in recent weeks
 Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Stories about a Man (Boy): The Stupid Man)
 Type:

180 Simon Heywood Jack and his Golden Snuffbox

181 Gordon Hall (The Legend of Tutaikuri)

One Maori high chief visits another. Many dogs are slaughtered for the feast, and the river runs red with their offal. Hence the name *Tutaikuri*, "Dog offal/droppings."

Source: Maori, North Island, New Zealand
 Genre: (ML Local Legends of Places, Events and Persons)
 Type:

182 Gordon Hall The Tutaikuri and the Eel

A proud eel is hailed by a floating *tutaikuri*. Ashamed, he flees, but to no avail. He swims into an eel-trap, and is followed. The *tutaikuri* consoles him: "Tomorrow, you will look like me."

Source: Unstated; Maori
 Genre: (I. Animal Tales: Wild Animals)
 Type:

183 Judith Baresel (The White Hind and the Boy with Seven Mothers)

A king with seven barren wives receives grapes from a fakir; each wife eats one, and conceives. They dream and warn him not to hunt to the north. He disregards them, and hunts a magical white hind to the north. He follows the hind into a hut, and finds an old woman and her daughter, clearly the hind in human form. He proposes to her; she demands a necklace of the eyes of queens. He obeys her, and exiles the maimed queens. She accepts. The queens, famished, eat their children as they are born, but the seventh saves her portion. Her son is born and she buys his life with the seven saved pieces. He begs and hunts food for the queens. (i) He shoots pigeons, is seen by the hind-queen. She recognises him, and offers to return their eyes. She sends him to her mother with a Uriah letter (potsherd). He comes to a city where the queen will marry only the son of seven mothers. They are betrothed, and she reads the letter and substitutes a favourable message. He goes to the hind-mother who gives him all the eyes but one; he returns, and his own mother goes short. (ii) The hind-queen sees him again, offers him a magic cow, and once again is frustrated by the boy's bride. The hind-mother sends him for the cow to the king of the devils, with advice, and he returns with the cow. (iii) It all happens a third time with the million-fold rice; he is told not to look back, but does so, and is turned into dust. The hind-mother resuscitates him. He returns. The boy and the queen are married. The king acknowledges the boy, visits him, and meets the queens. They ask for justice. The hind-queen is arrested, but turns to the hind, kills the king, and escapes.

Source: India.
 Genre: II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: A. Tales of Magic: Supernatural Tasks: Questions
 Type: 462 *The Outcast Queens and the Ogress Queen*

184 Tony Addison (Famous Flower of Serving Men) (song)

185 Karl Liebscher (Jesus in the Café)

Christ spends a disconsolate meal break in a greasy spoon café.

Source: A Karl original? Or based on another, unknown source?
 Genre: Original short story.
 Type:

186 Kevin Moir-Evans (Auntie Esmé's Stammer)

She sings, "La la la, the house is on fire!"

Source: A former work colleague
 Genre: (Memorate (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Stories about a Woman (Girl)))
 Type: cf. 1457* *Man with Stammer goes matchmaking?*

187 Pam Moir-Evans (The Red Silk Shirt)

A poor wife buys a red silk shirt. It flies from the washing line into the sky and turns into a red dragon, and disperses through the universe.

Source: Unstated. Probably a Pam original?
 Genre: Original short story?
 Type: cf. 844 *The Luck-Bringing Shirt?* (B)

188 Roy Dyson (The Dancing Heron)

A poor student paints a heron on the wall of an inn. Once a day, at a signal, it comes alive and dances. The inn becomes famous. A merchant demands a second dance. The heron dances, but the student reappears, and leads the heron away.

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: A. Tales of Magic; supernatural objects: The Magic Object is Stolen from the Hero but he Forces its Return)
 Type:

189 Worcester Jerry Tysoe (Sir Yves' Dilemma)

In pitched battle, a knight kills his elder brother. Should he own up, or claim the estate?

Source: Certainly a Jerry original, a parody of the Arthurian cycle.
 Genre:
 Type:

190 Wilson Boardman ("Are You Red Adair?")

A man with a cleft palate accosts the firefighting hero; it is not immediately apparent that he thinks he is talking to Fred Astaire.

Source: Unstated. Certainly informal joke tradition.
 Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Anecdotes about Other Groups of People)
 Type:

191 - ? - (M) ("I Want to Get Weighed")

His sister suggests this to her boyfriend. He takes her to the weighbridge. Later, she complains that she has had a "wousy" evening.

Source: Unstated.

Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Anecdotes about Other Groups of People)

Type:

AE/25a

192 Simon Heywood (The Bishop of Worcester)

193 Gordon Hall (The Flags of Aotearoa)

The true story of a protest against South African rugby tourists.

Source: History.

Genre: Memoriate?

Type:

194 Judith Baresel (The House of the Rising Sun) (song)

195 Tony Addison ("Give Me a Ride to Heaven") (song)

196 Worcester Jerry Tysoe (Hallelujah, I'm a Bum) (song)

197 Roy Dyson (The Cat, the Rat and the Drum)

The cat plays a drum, and goes hunting the rat. The rat pushes the drum down the cat's throat. Outcome: the cat's purr.

Source: Unstated

Genre: (I. Animal Tales: Wild Animals and Domestic Animals (aetiological))

Type: cf. 111 *The cat and mouse converse*

198 Wilson Boardman (Paddy Adair and the Shropshire Oil Rush)

Red's Irish cousin drives straight into the flames, and his men beat it out with their coats. Their heroism results from their inability to find the handbrake.

Source: Unstated

Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Anecdotes about Other Groups of People)

Type:

EO/14 Tall Tales at the Trip 14-5-96**Floor only, hosted by Roy Dyson**

AE/26a

199 Roy Dyson (The Cat, the Rat and the Drum)

Source: Unstated
 Genre: (I. Animal Tales: Wild Animals and Domestic Animals (aetiological))
 Type: cf. 111 *The cat and mouse converse*.

200 Mike - ? - The Bird and the Gun

Source: Memory/original story.
 Genre: Memory/original story. Described as "animal story"
 Type:

201 Gary Breinholt (The Birth of the Harp)

Source: Unstated. Irish?
 Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Stories About Married Couples)
 Type:

202 Kevin - ? - (Thomas the Rhymer)

Source: Unstated. Phraseoloical echoes of the ballad.
 Genre: (ML The Fairies)
 Type: cf. ML 5095 *The Fairy Woman pursues a man*

203 Jill Jobson (Tom Hackerback)

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Stories about a Man (Boy): The Clever Man.
 Type: 1540 *The Student from Paradise (Paris)*. (B)

AE/26b

204 Susan Broadrick (The Conceited Darning Needle)

Source: Unstated. Hans Christian Andersen.
 Genre: Literary fairy tale.
 Type:

205 Gill - ? - (The Wedding at Stanton Drew)

Source: Unstated. Reprinted in Briggs 1991 (1970-1), B I-95ff. as "The Evil Wedding," and again II-201, as "The Fiddler and the Maids."
 Genre: (ML Witches and Witchcraft)
 Type: cf. ML 3070 *The Demon Dancer*

206 Norbert - ? - (The Little Day)

Source: Original?
 Genre:
 Type:

207 Joy Pitt (The Firebird)

Source: Unstated. Apparently taken from a performance by Hugh Lupton, which itself seems to be drawn from "The Fire-Bird, the Horse of Power and the Princess Vasilissa" in *Old Peter's Russian Tales* by Hugh's relative Arthur Ransome (1974 (1916)), itself taken from Ransome's fieldwork in prerevolutionary Russia.
 Genre: II. Ordinary Folk-tales: A. Tales of Magic: Supernatural Helpers: Animals as Helpers.
 Type: 531 *Ferdinand the True and Ferdinand the False*. cf. 550 *The Search for the Golden Bird*.

AE/27a

208 Alex - ? - M (The Dream of the Snake)

Source: Unstated
 Genre: Original recitation
 Type:

209 Simon Heywood (Jack and his Golden Snuffbox)

EO/15 The Camden Ceilidh, 20-5-96**Floor only, hosted by Bernard Kelly**

AE/28a

210 Bernard Kelly (The Cat and the Zebra)

Source: Unstated; African?
 Genre: (I. Animal Tales: Wild Animals)
 Type: cf. 111 *The cat and mouse converse*.

211 Helen Griffith (The Devil Fairy Godmother)

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: D. Tales of the Stupid Ogre: A Man Sells his Soul to the Devil)
 Type: cf. 1173 *The Devil is to fulfil three wishes*

212 Violet Philpott (Roger the Carthorse)

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: (I. Animal Tales: Domestic Animals)
 Type:

213 Jenny Pearson (Deaf Angus' Lost Cow)

Source: Unstated, but certainly Duncan Williamson.
 Genre: III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Stories about a Man (Boy): The Stupid Man.
 Type: 1698 *Deaf Persons and their foolish answers.* (B)

214 Richard Neville The Mumbling Bumbling Beggarly Brotherhood

Source: Unstated, but apparently an adaptation of the first part of a very long tale, *The Leeching of Kayn's Leg*, in Joseph Jacobs' 1894 *More Celtic Fairy-Tales* (Jacobs 1994 (1892 - 4), 169 - 193).
 Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-tales: A. Tales of Magic. Supernatural or Enchanted Husband (Wife) or Other Relatives: Wife)
 Type: cf. 400 *The Man on a Quest for his lost wife*

215 Jenny Pearson (Mulla Nasreddin and the One Right Note)

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Numskull Stories)
 Type:

216 - ? - F (The Giant's Garden)

Source: Oscar Wilde
 Genre: Literary fairy tale.
 Type:

AE/28b

217 Violet Philpott (Bewitched Cattle)

Source: Unstated. Sounds like original/literary?
 Genre: Literary (resembling II. Ordinary Folk-tales: C. Novelle (Romantic Tales))
 Type:

218 Jenny Pearson (The Shearing's Not for You) (Song)

219 Richard Neville Midir and Étain

Source: Unstated, though certainly (ultimately) *Tochmarc Étaíne*, the Irish mythological cycle story (ms., *The Yellow Book of Lecan*, c. 1390, but the tale is probably 8th or 9th century)

Genre: Romance

Type:

AE/29a

220 - ? - F (Grandfather Mantis and the Eland)

Source: Africa.

Genre: I. Animal Tales: Wild Animals (Myth)

Type:

221 Simon Heywood (East of the Sun and West of the Moon)

222 - ? - M (Kubla Khan) (poem)

223 - ? - F (+ M) (Crazy Man Michael) (song)

AE/29b

224 Bernard Kelly (Heart's Desire)

Source: Unstated.

Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: B. Religious Tales: God Repays and Punishes)
cf. 750A *The Wishes*; 1173A *The Devil is to fulfil three wishes?*

EO/16 **Tales at the Wharf, 31 - 5 - 96**

Floor only, hosted by Alan Sparkes

AE/30a

225 Simon Heywood (Jack and his Golden Snuffbox)

226 Chris - ? - F The Cuckoo

Source: Siberia.

Genre: Myth/aetiological legend

Type:

227 Chris - ? - F How Happiness Came

Source: Siberia.
 Genre: Myth/aetiological legend
 Type:

AE/30b

228 Andrew Macpherson (Coyote and the Crows)

Source: Native American; heard in the Wharf club "well over a year ago now"
 Genre: (I. Animal Tales: Wild Animals (myth/aetiological))
 Type:

229 Rachel Loise (The Birth of Rachel Loise)

Source: Memory.
 Genre: Memorata-like reminiscence
 Type:

230 Rachel Loise (Glooskap and the Baby)

Source: Algonquin Native American. Reprinted in Spence 1994 (n.d.), 145-6.
 Genre: Myth/aetiological
 Type:

231 Louis - ? - M (child) (The Cattle Thief)

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: C. Novelle (Romantic Tales))
 Type:

232 Alan Sparkes (Catherine Buckley)

Source: An Alan original, set in Wales.
 Genre: (Original, resembling II. Ordinary Folk-Tales: C. Novelle (Romantic Tales))
 Type:

AE/31a

233 Jill - ? - (Jess and Nick's Flowers)

Source: Memory
 Genre: Memorata-like reminiscence.
 Type:

234 Simon Heywood (MacCodrum of the Seals)

235 Selim - ? - M (Joseph and Khalim)

Source: Palestine. Memory, asserts truth of story.

Genre: Memorate.

Type:

236 Andrew Macpherson (The King of the Cats)

Source: Unstated.

Genre: I. Animal Tales: Wild Animals and Domestic Animals. ML The Fairies

Type: 113A *King of the Cats is Dead*. Cf. 1940 *The Extraordinary Names*.

(B) ML 6070B *The King of the Cats*

EO/17 Tales from the Wharf, 28-6-96

Guest/floor, hosted by Alan Sparkes, guests the Cave Tellers (i.e., clubswap with Tales from the Trip)

AE/32a

237 Susan Broadrick (How the Rose Got its Pink)

A rosebud blushes under the sun's frank stare.

Source: Unstated. Literary origin?

Genre:

Type:

238 - ? - F (Poem) (not recorded - permission withheld)

239 Gary Breinholt (The First Harp)

A quarreling couple each decides to leave. Both go alone to the beach, hear a melodious sound, and find the wind humming in the carcass of a whale (sinews stretched over bone). Each sleeps, lulled by the sound. They wake together. He makes a harp in imitation of the whale.

Source: Unstated. Irish?

Genre: (III. Jokes and Anecdotes: Stories About Married Couples)

Type:

240 Roy Dyson The Wonderful Wood

The cante-fable. A sentient forest rescues a girl from would-be ravishers.

Source: Unstated. Possibly Taffy Thomas, who performs this story.

Genre: (II. Ordinary Folk-tales: A. Tales of Magic: Magic Helpers)

Type:

241 Amara - ? - (The Lama and the Roatal)

There is a plague. A lama suggests fetching the roatal, a wonderful fish, from afar. A high lama, possibly a Boddhisatva, suggests going to the nearest river. The lama dies and becomes a roatal; he is caught. The fish is cut up and distributed, and cures thousands. The high lama becomes more roatals, until the plague ceases. He assumes his human form.

Source: Tibet.
 Genre: (ML Local Legends of Places, Events and Persons)
 Type: cf. ML 7080ff. *Legends concerning the Great Plague*

242 Paul Degnan (The Three Suitors)

She dies before she can choose one. The first mourns and prays; the second comforts the parents; the third leaves the town. He learns how to restore life, and heals the woman. She has now to choose. The second was like a son; the third like a humanitarian; the first like a lover.

Source: India.
 Genre: II. Ordinary Folk-tales: A. Tales of Magic: Supernatural Power or Knowledge
 Type: 653B *The Suitors Restore the Maiden to life*

243 Chris - ? - ("She did something of which her father disapproved")

She is hurled into the sea, and haunts it. She is hooked by a fisherman, and "pursues" him (is dragged in his line), into his home. He pities her, and tends the corpse. He sleeps and dreams, and weeps sleeping. She drinks his tears, eats his heart, and sings, and her flesh reforms. They wake as husband and wife.

Source: Unstated. Inuit.
 Genre: ML The Fairies
 Type: ML 5090 *Married to a fairy woman*

244 Rachel Loise (The Retreat of the Spirits)

Spirits live everywhere; farming, logging and hunting disturbs them; towns and roads arise. The spirits retreat into the wild, and become rocks, trees, and creatures, where people can still sense them.

Source: Unstated.
 Genre:
 Type:

245 Rachel Loise (The Blue Butterfly)

A butterfly catcher catches a butterfly; it escapes from the killing jar, dances and dies. His collection comes to life, breaks through the glass, and smothers the collector.

Source: Unstated. Seems original or literary.

Genre:

Type:

AE/32b

246 - ? - M The Last Order of the Grey Supercomputer Company

A Tibetan monastery order a large computer, the output to be fed through to the monks' cells. The monks are cramming television, radio and so forth; the idea is to speed up the rate of experience.

Source: "A short story I read." Perhaps Arthur C. Clarke's short story *The Nine Billion Names of God*, in which the monks use the computer to generate all the possible names of God within a few hours. They believe this to be the purpose of the universe, which will end of completion of their task. The computer salesman install the computer and leave quickly, to escape the monks' disappointment when the world fails to end. As they ride down the mountain, they look up and see the stars going out.

Genre: Literary short story.

Type:

247 Andrew Macpherson (The Dreaming City)

A man spends his lunchbreaks exploring his home town. He notices an alleyway he did not recognise; he does not recognise his home train. He meets a disconcerting stranger and gets off the train, but realises he is lost. He wanders for a day that lasts for weeks. He meets an old man, who thinks the city itself is dreaming, and escapes by recognising something and heading for it. He meets a girl, recognises a door, heads for it, and escapes. He moves to Mull.

Source: Unstated. Original/literary short story.

Genre:

Type:

248 Gary Breinholt (The Bron Anam)

A beachcomber finds a harp. He conceives the longing for music and asks his mother for the skill. His mother approaches the druid (devil). He makes the bargain: give me your body and I will take away the desire: give me your soul and I will give him the skill. She gives her soul. On her deathbed she screams at a vision of hell: the *brón anám*, "soul agony." The scream echoes in the boy's music by night.

Source: Irish.
 Genre: (ML Spirits of Rivers, Lakes and the Sea)
 Type: cf. ML 4090 *Watersprite Teaches Someone to Play*

249 Roy Dyson (The Three Green Ladies)

The farmer gives primroses to the three trees at midsummer. He dies. The youngest son continues the custom, and prospers. The others neglect it, and envy him. The eldest fells one tree; it falls on him and kills him. The second fells another; it kills him. The youngest inherits. He dies; the hill is abandoned.

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: (ML Local Legends of Places, Events, and Persons)
 Type:

250 Susan Broadrick (The Flea, the Grasshopper and the Jumping Jack)

Who can jump highest?

Source: Unstated.
 Genre: (I. Animal Tales: Wild Animals)
 Type:

AE/33a

251 Gary Breinholt ("Two Horse's Ears on Labraid Loingsech")

Only the king's barber knows the secret. He whispers it to the reeds; they tell it to the world.

Source: Irish.
 Genre: II. Ordinary Folk-tales: B. Religious Tales: Truth comes to Light
 Type: 782 *Midas and the ass' ears* (B)

252 Susan Broadrick (The Piggy Bank)

The toys play at being people; the piggy bank is smashed.

Source: Unstated. Sounds like a literary fairy tale. Andersen?
 Genre: Literary fairy tale?
 Type:

Appendix 8

Catalogue of the Sheffield Contemporary Storytelling Archive

The following catalogue is highly selective, listing only sources cited directly in the text. A full 63-page catalogue of all audiotape and documentary holdings in the Sheffield Contemporary Storytelling Archive has been prepared and is available on application to the author, via NACECT, University of Sheffield.

(a) Audiotapes

(i) Pilot study: Sidmouth and Whitby festivals, August-September 1994

| | | |
|----|-------------|--|
| 1 | 1 - 8 - 94 | Storytime, Volunteer Gardens, Sidmouth |
| 2 | 2 - 8 - 94 | Storytime, Volunteer Gardens, Sidmouth |
| 3 | 31 - 7 - 94 | Storyswap, Balfour, Sidmouth |
| 4 | 1 - 8 - 94 | chat following Storyswap, Balfour, Sidmouth |
| 5 | nd | chat following Eddie Lenihan's workshop, 5 - 8 - 94; interview with Taffy Thomas, Sidmouth |
| 6 | 5 - 8 - 94 | Storytime, Volunteer Gardens, Sidmouth |
| 7 | 5 - 8 - 94 | Storytelling workshop, Balfour, Sidmouth |
| 8 | 3 - 8 - 94 | Storyswap, Volunteer, Sidmouth |
| 9 | nd | Story session, (?)Rifle club, (?)23 - 8 - 94, Whitby |
| 10 | 1 - 8 - 94 | Storyswap and chat, Balfour, Sidmouth |
| 11 | nd | Short Stories, Whitby |
| 12 | 31 - 7 - 94 | Dance Tales Workshop, St Teresa's, Sidmouth |
| 13 | 1 - 8 - 94 | Dance Tales Workshop, St Teresa's, Sidmouth |
| 14 | 1 - 8 - 94 | Steps and Stories, Manor Pavilion, Sidmouth |

(ii) The main study

A. Descriptive/Historical (DH)

| | | |
|-------|-------------|--|
| DH/1 | 3 - 4 - 95 | Interview with Ben Haggarty |
| DH/2 | nd | Interview with Hugh Lupton 1 |
| DH/3 | nd | Interview with Hugh Lupton 2 |
| DH/4 | nd | Interview with Jenny Pearson 1 |
| DH/5 | nd | Interview with Jenny Pearson 2 |
| DH/6 | nd | Interview with Grace Hallworth 1 |
| DH/7 | nd | Interview with Grace Hallworth 2 |
| DH/8 | nd | Interview with Jennie Ingham |
| DH/9 | nd | Interview with Steve Dearden |
| DH/10 | nd | Interview with Bill Paton and Tony Bennett |
| DH/11 | nd | Interview with Susie Doncaster |
| DH/12 | 12 - 3 - 96 | Interview with David Ambrose 1 |
| DH/13 | 12 - 3 - 96 | Interview with David Ambrose 2 |

| | | |
|-------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| DH/14 | 29 - 4 - 96 | Interview with Mary Medicott 1 |
| DH/15 | 29 - 4 - 96 | Interview with Mary Medicott 2 |
| DH/16 | nd | Interview with Eileen Colwell 1 |
| DH/17 | nd | Interview with Eileen Colwell 2 |
| DH/18 | nd | Interview with Ashley Ramsden 1 |
| DH/19 | nd | Interview with Ashley Ramsden 2 |

B. Analytical - Events (AE)

| | | |
|-------|-------------|--|
| AE/1 | 12 - 2 - 96 | Tales at the Edge (event 1, tape 1) |
| AE/2 | 12 - 2 - 96 | Tales at the Edge (event 1, tape 2) |
| AE/3 | 19 - 2 - 96 | Camden Ceilidh (event 2, tape 1) |
| AE/4 | 19 - 2 - 96 | Camden Ceilidh (event 2, tape 2) |
| AE/5 | 11 - 3 - 96 | Tales at the Edge (event 3, tape 1) |
| AE/6 | 11 - 3 - 96 | Tales at the Edge (event 3, tape 2) |
| AE/7 | 12 - 3 - 96 | Tales at the Trip (event 4, tape 1) |
| AE/8 | 12 - 3 - 96 | Tales at the Trip (event 4, tape 2) |
| AE/9 | 18 - 3 - 96 | Camden Ceilidh (event 5, tape 1) |
| AE/10 | 18 - 3 - 96 | Camden Ceilidh (event 5, tape 2) |
| AE/11 | 19 - 3 - 96 | Tales at the Trip (event 6, tape 1) |
| AE/12 | 19 - 3 - 96 | Tales at the Trip (event 6, tape 2) |
| AE/13 | 29 - 3 - 96 | Tales from the Wharf (event 7, tape 1) |
| AE/14 | 29 - 3 - 96 | Tales from the Wharf (event 7, tape 2) |
| AE/15 | 1 - 4 - 96 | Camden Ceilidh (except Roberto Lagnado, permission withheld) (event 8) |
| AE/16 | 9 - 4 - 96 | Tales at the Trip (event 9, tape 1) |
| AE/17 | 9 - 4 - 96 | Tales at the Trip (event 9, tape 2) |
| AE/18 | 15 - 4 - 96 | Tales at the Edge (event 10, tape 1) |
| AE/19 | 15 - 4 - 96 | Tales at the Edge (event 10, tape 2) |
| AE/20 | 26 - 4 - 96 | Tales at the Wharf (event 11, tape 1) |
| AE/21 | 26 - 4 - 96 | Tales at the Wharf (event 11, tape 2) |
| AE/22 | 29 - 4 - 96 | Camden Ceilidh (event 12, tape 1) |
| AE/23 | 29 - 4 - 96 | Camden Ceilidh (event 12, tape 2) |
| AE/24 | 13 - 5 - 96 | Tales at the Edge (event 13, tape 1) |
| AE/25 | 13 - 5 - 96 | Tales at the Edge (event 13, tape 2) |
| AE/26 | 14 - 5 - 96 | Tales at the Trip (event 14, tape 1) |
| AE/27 | 14 - 5 - 96 | Tales at the Trip (event 14, tape 2) |
| AE/28 | 20 - 5 - 96 | Camden Ceilidh (event 15, tape 1) |
| AE/29 | 20 - 5 - 96 | Camden Ceilidh (event 15, tape 2) |
| AE/30 | 31 - 5 - 96 | Tales at the Wharf (event 16, tape 1) |
| AE/31 | 31 - 5 - 96 | Tales at the Wharf (event 16, tape 2) |
| AE/32 | 28 - 6 - 96 | Tales at the Wharf (event 17, tape 1) |
| AE/33 | 28 - 6 - 96 | Tales at the Wharf (event 17, tape 2) |

C. Analytical - Interviews (AI)

| | | |
|------|-------------|-------------|
| AI/1 | 15 - 3 - 96 | "Alison" 1 |
| AI/2 | 15 - 3 - 96 | "Alison" 2 |
| AI/3 | 15 - 3 - 96 | "Barbara" 1 |

| | | |
|-------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| AI/4 | 15 - 3 - 96 | "Barbara" 2 |
| AI/5 | 16 - 3 - 96 | "Chris" |
| AI/6 | 16 - 3 - 96 | "Diane" 1 |
| AI/7 | 16 - 3 - 96 | "Diane" 2 |
| AI/8 | 14 - 4 - 96 | "Eddie" 2 |
| AI/9 | 11 - 4 - 96 | "Eddie" 3, "Eddie's" daughter |
| AI/10 | 16 - 4 - 96 | "Fred" 2 |
| AI/11 | 16 - 4 - 96 | "Fred" 3 |
| AI/12 | 25 - 4 - 96 | "Graham" 1 |
| AI/13 | nd | "Graham" 2 |
| AI/14 | nd | "Harriet" and "Joe" 1 |
| AI/15 | nd | "Harriet" and "Joe" 2 |
| AI/16 | nd | "Harriet" and "Isabel" 1 |
| AI/17 | nd | "Isabel" 2 and "Joe" 1 |
| AI/18 | nd | "Joe" 2 |
| AI/19 | 28 - 4 - 96 | "Karl" 1 |
| AI/20 | 28 - 4 - 96 | "Karl" 2 |
| AI/21 | nd | "Linda" 1 |
| AI/22 | nd | "Linda" 2 |
| AI/23 | 10 - 6 - 96 | "Martin" |
| AI/24 | 11 - 6 - 96 | "Nina" |

Appendix 9

Sample event observation analysis

Comparable analyses of all 16 events were prepared during preliminary analysis and are available on application to the author, via NACECT, University of Sheffield.

Event 1

Tales at the Edge, Wenlock Edge Inn, Church Stretton, Shropshire, 12th February 1996, c. 8pm - 11pm.

SCSA/AE/1 sides a + b

SCSA/AE/2 side a

SCSA/AE/1

side a

CHAT

- 1 **HOST (& OTHERS): ADDRESS**
Mike Rust, Richard Walker (and others) event intro
- “We’ll give it a couple of minutes, we’ll get started, um, which way are we going round?” Some unified group consultation, dominated by Richard, still bantering: “Does anybody know what the rules are?” Mike, not bantering: “We’ll go this way round.” Richard, in mock surprise: “You’re starting?” Mike: “I’ll start myself”.

Informal start.

CHAT

- 1 **HOST: ADDRESS**
Mike Rust, Richard Walker (and others) clarify event info/org publicise other events event intro clarify event info/org publicise other events
- Slightly more focused chat, Mike and Richard dominating.
- “Well anyway, um ... while we’re just starting” Mike suggests “a club tour ... where we all get together and we go to a place, as a group.”
- “Right, anyway, we’d better get started” Mike undertakes to sort out Cape Clear trip details. Announces next meeting, (?) comments acerbically: “some of us will be drifting in later like we always do; course, we’d better go *this* way round, tonight, and as Alan is sat here on my right, he’s going to do the first one, and then we’ll go on round.”

By the end of Mike’s link, silence has fallen and unified focus is established.

- 2a **FLOOR: ADDRESS**
Alan Walters
story intro “Which is going to be a short one” unsure how long voice will last. Prefatory comment, source of story: book.
- 2b **FLOOR: STORY**
Alan Walters
(Grimaldi and the Wheelbarrow)
tell story “[Inaud, 1 syllable; Thing?] about, er, *Grimaldi* I think his name was”
- x **AUDIENCE: RESPONSE**
applaud story long pause, slow chuckle
- 3 **HOST: ADDRESS**
Mike Rust (and others)
clarify event info/org “[Phone rings again] (Mike:) That’s the guy from Glastonbury. [(Audience:) chuckle] So we’ll go on round.” Moving to the right along the window bench (Richard still wisecracking) past Alan, his daughter (?), Anna Rust (?), to Richard at the end.
- 4a **FLOOR: ADDRESS**
Richard Walker
story intro “Look, I’m going to take a story [inaud, 2 syllables]” different from what he normally tells. Source of story: unusually, a foreign story.
- 4b **FLOOR: STORY**
Richard Walker
(The Seasons of Benin)
tell story “Um, basically, it’s about [pause] a little girl”
- x **AUDIENCE: RESPONSE**
applaud story applause
- 4c **FLOOR: ADDRESS**
Richard Walker, Mike Rust (and others)
story outro
publicise other events “There’s a chance that Ralph might come over” Several inquire and Richard explains about Ralph Mamou. “in America [inaud] university ... “ Mike: Jay Overton, a US storyteller who was at *Festival at the Edge*, is returning.
- 5 **HOST: ADDRESS**
Mike Rust
clarify event info/org A pause, during which Mike negotiates round to Simon Heywood (me).
- 6a **FLOOR: ADDRESS**
Simon Heywood
story intro “I heard this one the other day for the second time, the first time I heard it” at Sidmouth festival. “And it’s a story of Delhi, the city of Delhi,”
- 6b **FLOOR: STORY**
Simon Heywood
(To Heaven and Back)
tell story “many years ago, there was a king” ... “And that was the last that anybody in Delhi ever saw of Karim the barber.
- x **AUDIENCE: RESPONSE**
applaud story laughter, applause, coughs

- 7 **HOST: ADDRESS**
Mike Rust
story outro
- 8a **FLOOR: ADDRESS**
Tony Addison
story intro
- 8b **FLOOR: STORY**
Tony Addison
(Connla and the Fairy Woman)
tell story (sing)
- 9 **HOST (& FLOOR): ADDRESS**
Mike Rust, Tony Addison
(and others)
story outro
- 10 **FLOOR: STORY**
Judith Baresel
(The Sea-Earl's Son)
tell story
- side b
- 10 **FLOOR: STORY**
Judith Baresel
(The Sea-Earl's Son)
tell story
- x **AUDIENCE: RESPONSE**
applaud story
- 11 **HOST: (BACKSTAGE) ADDRESS**
Mike Rust (Rex Turner)
clarify event info/org
- 12a **FLOOR: ADDRESS**
Rex Turner
story intro
- 12b **FLOOR: STORY**
Rex Turner
The Saturday Matinée
tell story
- x **AUDIENCE: RESPONSE**
applaud story
- “Yeah, nice one” Mike praises the *Volunteer* gardens at Sidmouth. Wordless crossover to Tony. “to listen to [inaud]”
- “Right! Well ... I’ve got a cold. Er, I’ve got a cold. I’ve also got a story of intercourse between the other world and this.”
- “Er, Conn, king of all Ireland, was out walking with his son Connla.” ... “and was never seen on this earth again. [Pause. (Audience:) applause]”
- “Smashing tory - story, Terry [(Audience:) laughter]” Mike, returning from the bar, ironically praises a story he has not heard. Others praise Tony. Tony: “I only saw it today, and I thought, I must do that.”
- “Up in the West of Ireland, [clears throat] there was a fisherman’s daughter, who was walking along the shore one day”
- “not one of those children or grandchildren will go near the sea.”
- applause
- Mike solicits stories verbally round the room, stopping at Rex.
- “Well mine isn’t, er from, years and years ago, mine, fifty years ago, and it’s an experience of life; the Saturday Matinée.”
- “Er ... in the early forties, the matinée was a picture show, held half past nine in the morning, at King’s Hall in Shrewsbury.” ...
- “Then, when you come back from that, you started off again then, to work out how you would get your three pence - if you were lucky, six pence - to [inaud: come back the following week].
- Mmm, chuckles, applause

- 13 **HOST: ADDRESS (STORY)**
Mike Rust
(Shrewsbury School Caps)
story outro
(tell story)
clarify event info/org
- “Talking to a [inaud: not so old bloke] from the [inaud] school in Shrewsbury, and it was the year in the seventies when they said they didn’t have to wear caps anymore, and it was a great thing! The uniforms stayed, but the caps were to be okay, they wouldn’t have to wear caps for the next year.” (Audience:) [laughter, coughs] (Mike:) Anyway, we’ll go on now.”
- 14a **FLOOR: ADDRESS**
Karl Liebscher
story intro
- 14b **FLOOR: STORY**
Karl Liebscher
(Old Joe and the Devil’s Door)
tell story
- x **AUDIENCE: RESPONSE**
applaud story
- 15 **HOST (& FLOOR): ADDRESS**
Mike Rust (Amy Douglas)
story outro
clarify event info/org
- “Right then. Um ... where are we?”
- “um, Albert Rawlinson was a farmer.” ...
“Ever since then he’s never had trouble with wicked stones.”
- Wry chuckles, applause, coughs
- “Smashing. (Audience:) [raucous laughter] (Mike:) No, I didn’t mean it like that!” Amy is going to do a story, but she needs the toilet, so there will be a beer break. “(Amy:) Thank you. (Mike:) Refresh your glasses. (Amy:) [chuckles] Yes please.”

Recording suspended during interval

- 16 **HOST (& PROMOTER): ADDRESS**
Richard Walker, Mike Rust
(Amy Douglas, Simon Heywood, Judith Baresel and others)
clarify event info/org
- “ - a little thing, that Kev Theaker phoned up to say sorry he couldn’t be here, he’s like to come and see us”
An extended info swap, which is also apparently structured as chat, but chat in which Richard, Mike, and, to a lesser extent, Judith, Amy and other club regulars take leading roles. Mike: “Right then, Amy, you’d better get on.”
- 17a **FLOOR: ADDRESS**
Amy Douglas
story intro
publicise other events
- 17b **FLOOR: STORY**
Amy Douglas
(Jack’s Dream)
tell story
- “Right! Okay, well, as I was going to say, Duncan’s going to be at Festival at the Edge” and Sidmouth, she was at Duncan’s last weekend, will tell a Duncan story, “just for a change. [pauses, clears throat]”
“Cos Jack - he was about middle-aged.”

SCSA/AE/2

side a

- 17b **FLOOR: STORY**
Amy Douglas
(Jack's Dream)
tell story
- “And the boy smiled, and his eyelids closed, and he went to sleep.”
- x **AUDIENCE: RESPONSE**
applaud story
- pause, applause
- x **INTERRUPTION**
- The tarot reading man leaves, saying his goodbyes. He waited till the story was over.
- 18a **HOST (FLOOR): STORY**
Mike Rust
(The Isle of Dogs)
- “Down on the side of the Thames there, to the East of the City of London, going back a long time in our history, going back into about thirteenth, fourteenth century, there was an old boy and he was sat there, well he wasn't too old, and he was sat there” ...
“And a load of Irishmen came over and blew the shit out of it on Friday [i.e. the Canary Wharf bombing, 9th February 1996]. Now I don't understand why these Irishmen, what they think, that by blowing things up in this country's going to change my mind about Ireland, cos what I think about Ireland is, there's too many Protestants, there's too many Catholics, and there ain't enough bloody Christians. But that's the story of the Isle of Dogs.”
- x **AUDIENCE: RESPONSE**
applaud story
- Chuckle. Pause. Applause
- 18b **HOST: ADDRESS**
Mike Rust
clarify event info/org
- “Right, so we've been round once, what's the time now? (Alan:) Time for me to go. [general laughter] (Mike:) Right, we're having a break, for five minutes by the look of it, then we'll go round again, to finish off the night!”

Recording suspended during interval

- 19 **HOST: ADDRESS**
Mike Rust (Richard Walker)
clarify event info/org
clarify research
- “Simon, do you have a story to tell us?”
Or prefer to “ask us questions about your project, or something.” Richard approves of this. Mike asks questions and jokes somewhat..

(20) **(RESEARCHER (&
OTHERS): ADDRESS)**
*Simon Heywood, Richard
Walker, Amy Douglas, and
others*

This then develops into me doing a general synopsis of the PhD. Mike asks what other clubs I'm doing, and remarks on the Norwich Crick-Crack Club being different. Richard likens it to Tullie House. Mike and Richard recommend Hugh as an authority. I talk about what happens to the information afterwards.

This incorporates a chat about Worcester Jerry, and other absent regulars, a general discussion of story-books and documentation and archiving, etc; Mike's discovery of an unread publication of 1888.

Richard announces he is about to leave.

Practicalities of my research.

Richard talks festival business with Amy and me.

People are saying their goodbyes and leaving.

Eventually it settles down to Richard, Mike, Amy, me, and a few others with unified focus re-established, on the topic of the other festival.

This occupies a vague area between link, in lieu of performance, and the collapse of the structured session format. Chat (I think, Amy and Anna Rust) has begun, and is remarked on by me.

Several people have now left, and the chat retains a unified focus for a while, which gradually disperses.

CHAT

Appendix 10

Sample interview transcript

Comparable transcripts of all 14 interviews were prepared during preliminary analysis and are available on application to the author, via NACECT, University of Sheffield.

ALISON

part-time administrator, mid-30s
Alison's home, morning, 15 - 3 - 96

SCSA/AI/1 side a

034 - 204 Introductory comments (transcript)
 Part 1 (summary)
 Part 2 (summary)

side b

Part 2 (summary)

SCSA/AI/2 side a

 Part 2 (summary)
 829 - end Part 3 (transcript):
 829 - 933 **introductory comments¹**
 933 - 1240 **1 - 1a - 1b**
 1240 - 1340 **2 (- 2a - 2b - 2c - 2ci - 2cii)**
 1340 - 1628 **3 - 3a - 3ai - 3aii - 3aiii - 3aiv**
 1628 - 1811 **5**
 6 (- 6a - 6b - 6c - 6d)
 1811 - 2311 **(4 -)**
 2311 - 3538 **7 - 7b - (7bi -) 7a - 7c**
 (8 - 8a - 8b)
 3538 - 3646 **9**
 3646 - 3805 **10 (- 10a)**
 3805 - 4500 **11 - 11a - 11b - 11b(i)**
 4500 - end **12 - 12a (- 12b - 12c - 12d - 12e - 12ei -**
 12eii - 12eii(1))

side b

006 - 024 Part 3 (transcript)
 024 - end Concluding comments (transcript)

¹ **Bold type** indicates that the relevant sections of the interview schedule (see Appendix 2) were covered in interview. *Italic type* indicates that these were omitted for the sake of a natural conversational flow.

SCSA/AI/1

side a

Introductory comments

- S So thi- this is, the, skeleton of the interview really there's quite a lot of it but
- A Gosh yeah
- S But, er we can get through it, reasonably quickly, I mean when I've done it before, er, it can usually s- I mean if you want to you can fill a, fill one of those tapes, a ninety-minute tape
- A Mm-hm
- S With it but, er, er, and what I'm, pro- what I'm going to do is, I'll just er, er fire off the questions at you, if I may, and, like I said before, I mean the major thing is, not to get, stressed about it cau- I mean it's, all I need is your answer to the question
- A Yes
- S And it doesn't matter if that's not a considered answer if you're talking off the top of your head
- A Yeah
- S In fact many ways it's probably better if you do talk off the top of your head
- A Yeah
- S Er, and, if you sort of if you say, if your, feeling is "What a stupid question why did you ask me that?" then, that's that's what I want to hear, you know, um, I'm not trying to get, definite, information, er, on, on storytellers and storytelling but, what I need to do to keep, to make sure that I can compare one interview with another, er, is to ask everybody the same questions
- A Sure
- S Er whatever the answers are, you know, is fine. So, er, anything you want to say is okay really, a- although some of the questions might sound a bit
- A (laugh)
- S A bit weird or intense, and some of them will probably sound, slightly irrelevant but
- A Right
- S Possibly, anyway
- A Okay
- S But just just just relax and
- A Yeah, take it as it comes
- S And er, take it as it comes, exactly. Oh, sorry, that was me, falling off the sofa
- A (laugh)
-

Part 1 - Personal storytelling history and outlook (summary)

- 2.25 *How did you first hear about storytelling, in the sense of events organised specifically for storytelling, for adults?
How did you end up at your first event?
What, if anything, attracted you to it? If you didn't like it, what changed your mind?*
Heard of by word of mouth, publicity, leaflets
when - nearly a year before
Found it "enchanting": ordinary people telling, range of styles, from less to more experienced, made Alison think she could do it; better than seeing a guest teller
- 5.00 *How, if at all, did you follow this attraction up?*
Continued to attend club, decided to go to {named festival} - publicity/leaflets
really enjoyed it: different tellers, inspiring, different styles, but equally relevant.
- 7.00 *When, if at all, did you start to tell stories?*
Heard Dan Keding - this was the moment Alison was inspired, and told Dan's story as her first story; Alison and husband practised and told at the club in August after returning, knew they could back out, until asked by {club organiser}, so it was the crunch. Husband struggled, Alison didn't.
- 8.20 *What attracted you to the idea of telling, as well as listening?
How did you approach telling at first?*
Doesn't know what attracted; (hesitates)
"wanting to be involved in the magic;"
a shared egging each other on;
Husband had always praised Alison's being articulate and eloquent, was never fazed by the idea of addressing groups;
so knew she could, so why not?
Dan Keding's idea that you have to pass on stories - up to a point.
Not an ego thing - not to express herself, or find her boundaries.
{club organiser}'s delighted reaction to her; increased confidence, self-awareness; and that of others;
the experience of listening to good storytelling;
the plot of The Tear, the Dan Keding story that she heard and told as her first story.
- 14.30 *Where did you get your first stories from?
Other tellers? Their formal performances or informal chatting?
Non-revival storytellers' jokes, anecdotes, personal experiences?
Books? - Literature, folktale collections?
Elsewhere?
How did you remember and learn them at first?
(What role did writing play early on in your collecting and learning?)
(see below)
Did you ask or need advice on how to learn at first, or did you work out your own methods and improvise them solo?
Where did you get your first ideas about how to tell stories well from?*

Did you consciously adopt styles and ideas from other tellers?

Did you simply get the feel of the whole thing, and try and react to that?

Did you attend workshops or classes, and adopt the ideas suggested in them?

Who did you tell them to at first? When did you tell them?

(In what ways have your methods of acquiring, learning and remembering stories changed since then?)

Did you work out these changes for yourself?

Did you learn from someone else?) (see below)

Heard it at the festival; bought and listened to Dan's tape, once; was going through it in her mind; get the gist, and then fill it out again; originally mirrored Dan's telling closely, maybe wouldn't now; not experiment too much, as new, but only heard story twice, and made up what couldn't remember;

had a friend who came round and they told the stories as far as they had taken them, and fed back.

Also tell to self cycling in and out of work; describes process of working on specifics of story; doesn't push herself; useful cycle ride, misses it when it isn't there.

- 17.30 Later stories from Oscar Wilde. Only told five; three have been Oscar Wilde. Describes Wilde - written for adults, available to all audiences, work on many levels; "higher" levels are optional; extremely moving; 'The Happy Prince'; tells briefly. Feedback; people were really moved. Can't prepare to move people; don't know how people are going to respond; the story relates to their own histories, their own stories; in Wilde, people bring their own stuff to it; in this moment of engagement the tale really is told; audience need to do their bit. Interesting; like the theatre, shared.

- 22.20 *What role did writing play early on in your collecting and learning?*
Preparing The Selfish Giant, only knew it from a TV cartoon years ago; and needed the details; visiting a friend, noticed her copy of the book; read the story, returned home, and jotted down the story in note form in a restaurant next day; writing cemented details in the mind. Only done this once.

Another story, followed the words of the original quite closely; seemed wrong to disturb the words of the original; spent time getting it, not verbatim, but close.

Three different stories, and different ways of preparing them; depends on the story.

- 25.40 *(Seem to have worked out own standards and methods.)*

Agrees; has no training, except a workshop run by the club organiser - describes.

(Did you take on any of {club organiser}'s methods?)

More a case of sharing ideas and have {club organiser} asking questions; but he pointed her away from sticking too closely to fixed texts because it ties you to words rather than pictures; approves wholeheartedly; memorising is a security thing, but if you forget your words,

you can't ad lib, you're torn, this kills it; if you stick to one or the other, you're okay, but if you're stuck between.

29.20 *(Repertoire acquisition: Started with a story never seen written, goes on to very literary stories, now perhaps finding a way between the two?)*

Still very inexperienced.

Doesn't look for material; prepares ad hoc for upcoming events, often reluctantly, because feels it will be expected; reactive;

because haven't decided how far she wants to become involved yet.

The Nightingale and the Rose - felt she had to do it; sometimes don't get that clarity; reactive (reiterates).

Indecision (reiterates).

So why doing it - not an ego thing. (reiterates).

Difficult to explain; wants to tell if its meaningful, don't want to tell a tale for the sake of telling a tale - yet, might change.

The last story - reactively found; read it through a couple of times and told it, learnt quickly, to see could she do it without thorough preparation; seemed to work okay; felt comfortable. Every time she has told she has learnt something; if you have an ability it will come through, but you can fine-tune it or leave it fairly ragged.

Part 2 - Personal storytelling knowledge (summary)

35.40 *How many stories would you say you could tell, roughly?*

In some form or another, about eight; five proven; although depends how you define a story - she takes it to mean other people's stories; if includes personal experiences, loads (laughs) but might no interest others. Always distances, so a story is something outside of me, rather than personal stuff.

Dan Keding was striking because he could use personal material.

(Would you tell one of these in the club?)

Might, but they involve other people! Someone she used to share a flat with would be ideal for a story character; a dilemma, because the humour was at his expense.

Might do but not yet - could come with maturity in the art.

Where did you get them from?

Other tellers - performance or chat?

Books - folktale books or literature?

Other non-revival people - jokes, anecdotes, personal experiences?

Elsewhere?

(Where are these eight stories from?)

Other people's tellings; Wilde; counselling, psychotherapy books - Eastern stories, retold to try to explain counselling. Could see these stories as being distant or inside.

Sources of these stories. A samurai story defining the difference between heaven and hell.

The listener has to work - reiterates.

side b

- 0.00 *(Connections to pre-revival)*
Her nephew, who loves being read to and still more told to. There is a difference, children know it, adults have to relearn it. Reading is lonely and personal, storytelling is group.
- 1.30 *How do you choose which stories to learn and tell?*
According to:
Emotional impact
Balance, it flows, has a conclusion; traditional tales don't quite end often.
Intellectual references; underlying themes; eg. re. The Happy Prince, the word 'swallow' comes from a Scandinavian word for consolation; the story that a swallow consoled Christ on the cross; redefines story with Prince as an analogue of Christ. Amazing to realise, but story was still amazing without it. Layers of an onion. Story meanings change from age to age and generation to generation; culturally specific. Story upholds a heritage.
- 5.30 *How do you remember them? Do you write them down?*
How do you practice them?
(How do you decide that they're ready to perform?) (see below)
What kinds of stories do you like to tell?
Why?
In what ways have your methods of acquiring, learning and remembering stories changed since then? (see below)
Allowing the story to have an emotional impact; might even cry on the bike. Not every story: East of the Sun and West of the Moon isn't emotionally charged; Oscar Wilde is, for her. Can often cry while she tells. Thinks this encourages others to involve themselves in the story as they hear it.
- 9.00 *How do you decide that they're ready to perform? (see below)*
Yes; can't define, just knows; knew she was ready to tell *East of the Sun* without knowing how she was going to do it; more emotional ones, she has to know how she's going to do it.
Finds it hard to remember stories easily without preparation.
- 11.00 *Do you simply tell anything you like, or do you think that your style is particularly suited to one type rather than another, and select your repertoire on that basis?*
Do you like certain types of story, or stories from particular cultures?
How, if at all, do you learn about stories and storytelling nowadays?
(see below)
Oscar Wilde-type story suits me. Good or bad to specialise early?
Alison less confident about trying humour. Not keen on ghost stories.
Club is a good format because people know you and forgive mistakes.
- 14.40 *Do you consciously observe other tellers for points of style - voices, mimicry, etc?*
Do you rely more on a generalised "feel" of it?

Do you talk with them about storytelling, or go to workshops and classes?

(pause) Dan Keding, yes, told his tale first; used similar inflections; reflects why?

Musical instruments; character portrayals, voices; useful, but not essential. Hasn't tried to take any on board.

Would take on ways of combining stories into a programme.

16.40 *Tea break*

17.10 *(The storytelling club format: recapitulates on tea-break conversation; the difference between telling to a few people informally and to a clubful.)*

Telling will never be the same twice.

Finds it much more difficult to do informally. Hard to practice on small groups; very intense. Club is more comfortable - once you've started.

(Upbringing - more comfortable with large crowds?)

21.30 *(Is it that the club is more planned, so there's more of an expectation that you should tell?)*

This creates permission for the teller on the grounds that other people wouldn't dare do it, so this permits mistakes, allows you not to be too egotistical or self-critical.

Club creates high expectations that can help or hinder the teller.

24.45 *How, if at all, do you learn about stories and storytelling nowadays? (see below)*

Doesn't want to get engulfed in storytelling - indecision (reiterates).

Contrasts attitudes: "Why don't you try something else?" rather than "That's what you do."

Need to retain personal integrity, rather than change to please audience.

27.15 *(Formality)*

Cultures and communities in which there is a known and dedicated storyteller interests her. Its primality

Seanchas and scealaoicht; lack of precedent for formality in English storytelling. The revival responds to a need for formality, but problematizes formal structures, and the interest lies in looking at how the revival resolves these problems.

34.10 *(Personal motivation)*

A friend at {named storytelling venue} who asked whether Alison had found her life's purpose, rashly assuming that she lacked and was seeking one.

35.10 *(Formality and status)*

High status is valued; formality gives more status; informality is devalued. <=> egotistical issues. Criticises formality fetishism; related to funding.

36.30 *(General discussion)*

Storytelling has mushroomed recently.

39.30 *(Ideology)*

The urge to get to your roots - fast disappearing with technology.

Wanting to connect with subconscious.

(Is this part of your motivation?)

Supposes so. Interested in other cultures, especially primal, tribal ones. Integration of physical, emotional and spiritual; our compartmentalisation; pristine aborigines otherwise, we don't have it. Grew up in the church; many people don't have a formal spiritual tradition, and hunger for it; the search is risky without a frame of reference. Alison seeks something that represents this in this culture. Not looking for a spiritual aspect to storytelling because she already has this sussed; the rootedness of spirituality in the folk culture. Sounds intellectual; her experience starts with feeling, and goes on to intellect afterwards.

SCSA/AI/2

side a

- 0.45 *Who do you tell stories to nowadays?*
Under what circumstances?
Are you ever booked and/or paid to tell stories?
How often?
What proportion of your telling is paid as opposed to unpaid?
Are you an amateur, semi-professional or professional storyteller?
 Tells at the club - the main audience.
 Practise with {husband} and {named club attender};
 tell to nephews - ad lib. An example: her nephews remember. A big influence. Children.
 Never been paid to tell stories; has been booked on the radio - Roy's publicity.
- 5.45 *Do you change the stories you tell and the way you tell them to take the occasion into account?*
In what ways? (not asked)
Is this a conscious choice, or instinct? (not asked)
 Haven't had enough experience to vary telling with the varying audience. Possible changes for future - hecklers.
- 7.00 *What part do you play, if any, in the organisation of storytelling events and the promotion of storytelling as an activity?*
How do you go about this? Where did you "learn promotion" from?
Did you learn from other storytelling promoters, or adapt skills learnt in other areas apart from storytelling? Which areas? (not asked)
How do you conceive of and structure events in the initial planning stages, before you start to actually organise them? (not asked)
Do you have a conscious approach to particular features of the evening, such as the room, the siting of audiences and tellers, format and running order? (not asked)
Which features, and what is your approach? (not asked)
To what extent do you rely on "feel" and "instinct" when conceiving of events you are planning? (not asked)
 Doesn't! Perhaps in the future as {club organiser} thinks of branching out, may become involved.
-

Part 3 - Formulation of core concepts about storytelling and their relation to the social reality of the storytelling scene (transcript)

S Bit three is er, we've been kind of skirting around bit three all the way through really because, er what bit three is about, is um, er, it's the final bit (laugh)

A (laugh)
S Is um, like the basic, ideas, if you like the in- the intellectual stuff you know the stuff that {Alison's husband's name} wouldn't, necessarily want to verbalise

A Mm
S Er, about storytelling, and what storytelling is for you. And what I've got here is um, just as a- as usual a list of questions and, I think in this bit maybe more than in the rest of it it's, it's um, there's no obligation to answer. It's

A Right
S I'm just going to er lob a load of tennis balls at you and you can hit them back any way you like really

A (laugh)
S It's just it's it's kind of a game

A Right
S If we play a game with it. So once so again er these er these might well be quite, they they I mean they might be totally, er they might make total sense or they might not. So

A Right
S Let's just er, let's kind of, look at it as a quiz. A mastermind. A pub quiz.

A (laugh)
S Or something. With no score. With nobody keeping a score (laugh)

A Right. Right. Okay

S Right

Section 1

I So um, here we go, er, question one, er what is storytelling for you?
S Well it's um, it's a very engaging, um, I hesitate before calling it
A entertainment although it is entertaining

S Mm
A But it it, it's more, i- i- it's more grounded than that, i- um (3s) yeah I I mean I, er, can't really expand on it it it's just an engaging form of of, er (3s) using the imagination, um, and sort of, lifting the heart, I think

S Yeah
A Er, I mean, I, I think, you know if you don't find something positive and, and uplifting then y-, you tend not to do it very much and, um, I think there's, there's always something very, enchanting about hearing stories, in whiche-, in whatever medium, you know so

- S Mm
- A You know people will always stop and, you know, somebody's telling a story over the garden fence, you know you want to know what it is you know (laugh). It's that sort of, pass-, you know, passes on information. You don't always know the merit of the information that's being passed on
- S Mm
- A You know
- S Right
- A But I think tha-
- S But you still -
- A Y- y- y- yeah, y- you still want, to have it, sort of thing, you know (laugh)! Yeah

1a

- S Yeah. Yeah. Right. So in what basic ways, if any, does storytelling stand apart from other ways of communicating? (Would you say?)
- A (Well) I think the um, th- the sort of the contact with, the audience, um
- S Mm
- A and a-, as I say I mean the word, engagement, as, I use that a lot, in connection with storytelling because I do think it's, it takes, two different processes you know there's a teller
- S Mm
- A but there's also the audience, and, y- you know you can tell in isolation but, er what's the point of that, you know
- S Yeah
- A Um, and so it's i- it's the engagement of teller and, and and told if you like, and together, it's the creation of of the experience of of, a story

1b

- S Right, er do you actually, think about storytelling in general terms, by and large or do you just do it? I mean
- A Um, w- w- well when you say, "think about storytelling" (what do you mean)?
- S W- well in a sense d- I mean in the sense in which we've been talking about it which is
- A Mm
- S You know as, as you said before a relatively, sort of intellectual
- A Yeah, yeah
- S Sense, (er, d-)
- A I think, I think, when I first started doing it I, I just did it
- S Yeah
- A Sort of, because it, it, it something, that had grabbed me and, you know I felt quite excited about it and I do, do still feel, quite excited about it
- S Mm

- A Um, but I'm also aware that, um, you know I, I can, sort of place it quite clearly in a, sort of, cultural context an intellectual context a philosoph- philosophical context
- S Mm
- A You know all those sorts of things because that's the kind of person that I am, um, and so and I quite enjoy, you know sort of, taking that sort of view on it
- S Yeah
- A Um, but I and I don't think it detracts from just a-, enjoying, er, and sometimes being terrified by, you know, the experience of getting up, and the challenge of getting up and, telling a story
- S Right
- A Um, you know and being moved by a story and all those, sort of really, positive things as well

Section 2

2

- S Mm. Yeah, so, question four, what ought storytelling, to achieve?
- A (3s) Er. Well I think
- S If anything, (in brackets)
- A If anything. If anything. Um, well I think it should achieve, this, connection, teller and and, and audience
- S Yeah
- A Er, and and, the transmission of, of a story
- S Mm
- A I mean, you know obviously if you've got a story to tell you want somebody to hear it. And, you know if, if you're bursting with a tale and nobody's going to listen to you then that's very frustrating, you know depending on the nature of your tale, it becomes more or less important that it is heard. Um, and so, you know the whole point of, of telling the story is to tell the story
- S Mm
- A But because it requires, two different parties then y- y- you know you have to, you have to have that connection formed
- S Mm. Right

Section 3

3

- S Er, do you think there's, there are ethics, to storytelling, would you say?
- A I don't think so. I mean I think you, could, probably intellectualise about, perhaps there ought to be but I don't really think that there are.
No

3a (i - iv)

- S Right. Mm. Do you think that a st- that a storyteller has, has responsibilities, I mean there's, I've got three sort of, f- no I've got four categories here which you might
- A Mm
- S Want to react to, I mean some, or all or none of them, er the storyteller's responsibility to, him or her self, for a start, um, and to the listener, number two. Number three is to the story. And number four is to, the source of the story, er the person or the culture or
- A Mm
- S Wherever it is that the story comes from
- A Mm, Mm, Well I think to, to an extent all of those
- S Yeah
- A But, not to th-, n- not, to the extent by which if you couldn't observe, one or other of them, that you wouldn't tell the story. I mean I think
- S Yeah
- A You know if you've got a story to tell then, telling it is, is the important thing
- S Mm
- A Now, I mean you might tell it, very much better one time than you do another time, um, you might sometimes, forget to, you know reference your source
- S Mm
- A Or, say something about that, um, you might persist in telling a tale when, the audience aren't really that keen in it, on it, you know
- S Yeah
- A Um, but those things are all relative aren't they? So I think it's, you know, all of them to some extent are im-, important, i- if you're-, if you've got, a sort of, um, formal approach to storytelling but obviously I mean informally, um, it it doesn't really matter does it, I mean, if you're
- S Mm
- A If you're in a pub or something and you're just telling a story that you might have heard somebody else tell you don't always say that, "Well actually this is Fred Bloggs' story from down the road," you pass it off as your own don't you (laugh)! You know
- S (laugh) Yeah, you never give the source of your jokes do you (laugh)?
Yeah
- A You know, that's that's right so I mean, you know I think it depends on the context as much as anything I mean I
- S Yeah
- A Generally I, I do acknowledge the source of my stories
- S Mm
- A And, I, I think that that's quite important but
- S Yeah
- A On the other hand you can't alw- you don't always know what the source is
- S Yeah

- A In which case, I'd say, "I don't know what" (laugh) you know it's like
- S Yeah
- A "This is, just traditional," you know, *er*, (which is a) very loose term
- S Yeah
- A Um
- S So it's like if you know acknowledge and if you don't then it doesn't really matter
- A Yeah, yeah
- S So
- A Um. Now whether if I'd written a story of my own, and told it, whether I would, then actually say "Oh actually I wrote this," you know, I don't know I I I um, and
- S Yeah
- A Er, you know that, that responsibility to myself, to actually say "Well actually I did this you know, I'm telling it as well" (laugh), you know I don't think I'd do that somehow, which is perhaps, false modesty or, you know,
- S Mm-hm
- A I don't want to be *er*, judged on, by two counts you know (laugh)
- S Mm
- A But, um, yeah. Does that answer your question?

Sections 5, 6

5, 6

- S So. Yeah, yeah that's fine. Do you think there's any sort of o-, overriding, musts and must nots? I mean is there anything that a storyteller has to do, and, or anything that a storyteller, cannot do?
- A I think, um, that it's important for the storyteller to be themselves, um, as far as as possible and and that can, sometimes be much more difficult than it sounds, when you're in this sort of fairly, rarefied atmosphere, of standing up in front of, a crowd of people
- S Mm
- A In a slightly formal setting, um, you know there's nerves and all sorts of things come into it, you know so i- it can sometimes be more difficult just to be completely, yourself, i- in a relaxed form. But I think it, the moment you try to contrive to be something different, you're storing up a load of problems
- S Mm
- A Um, y- you know so I, I, I would say that that, I mean, I think you can sometimes get away with it but, I would say as a rule of thumb it's probably best just to, be yourself. I think in terms of what you mustn't do, I mean obviously I think it's, it's important that y- that, well if you're telling a story, y-people need to be able to hear it, *er*
- S Mm
- A You know so, um, the clarity with which you, you, tell the tale, *er*, y- you know that you're not mumbling or you're too quiet or, those sorts

of things so I mean using your voice, well, is important. Um, otherwise, it, it kind of defeats the object of um, trying to tell a story, if in fact

S Mm

A People can't hear what you're saying. So, sort of basic things like that but o-, um, otherwise, y- you know there are so many different stories and, y- you know there's, I don't think there's a sort of right or wrong way, really, to say them

Section 4

4a

S Yeah. Do you think, um, it's possible, er for stories to be owned, er by, individuals or by groups or by a culture, or do you think, there, there's a sense in which all stories are kind of common property (2 syl ind)?

A Um, I think it is possible, for stories to be owned, and I, I, I, I think you know you s- you see that in the differing, styles that, that come from various parts of the world

S Mm

A You know so, I'm quite interested in, the Icelandic sagas, for instance

S Mm

A And that is very firmly located, in the Scandinavian Icelandic region. I mean you couldn't, I mean you could transpose it, you know sort of replace, characters' names perhaps with, with er, African names

S Mm

A But it would be, difficult, in some ways, you know to sort of, talk about a, a sort of, er, world of giants who live in an ice, world, into something that would be meaningful for Africans that have never seen ice

S Mm

A Um, now it's possible, to do that, but you, you actually change something quite fundamental about the story, and what that me- what those, elements of the story mean for people that have, have grown up, within that culture, and

S Mm

A The heritage of that culture. So, I think, you know, stories, are owned by different people different cultures, um and sometimes different individuals you know if you're telling a personal story, that you've, developed, for, presentation if you like, then it's much more difficult for somebody else to, come in and, and, pass that story off, as their own

S Mm

A You know so in that sense I think, you know, you can own your own story, um, and perhaps groups, er I mean I think perhaps it's more difficult for, for groups to own stories, I think cultures own stories

S Mm

A And individuals can own stories but groups, you know well who decides, what the story belongs to and why does it belong to a group? And, er I mean may- maybe that's easier in terms of, perhaps a regional locality

S Mm

- A So when it's tied to a geographical place, and a cultur- you know, cultural context but, I mean if it was just say, a storytelling group, that sets up and says "Right, these are our stories," you know, um
- S (laugh) Yeah
- A Y- I don't, I don't, quite see how that, that could work
- S Yeah
- A But I I, I do, sort of understand, the, the cultural significance of, of certain stories belonging, and I think it's important they do belong
- S Mm
- A Because, you know at the end of the day, they are the proponents with which cultures are passed on
- S Mm
- A You know the essential elements of, of cultural, and all those things are passed on
- S Yeah
- A I mean not just in stories but obviously all the other, folk, er, folk things as well but, yeah, and and that's, that's what's interesting about storytelling as well is that you can, you know if you say well this is an Icelandic story,
- S Mm
- A You know it gives you an insight into what, that culture is about, and what's important for it and, you know why those people, are, how they are
- S Yeah
- A You know and why we are, how we are, so, yes, I mean I think it's, essential really that that you recognise that stories belong in a certain place
- S Mm
- A And that you can transpose some of them, but they will lose something
- S Mm
- A In that exercise, and that, what's the point of doing that, actually?
- S Yeah, yeah
- A You know (laugh)
- S I mean one of the things that, that can cause a lot of smoke in, er storytelling circles, or certainly you know, discussion of storytelling circles
- A Mm
- S Is the idea of, of it being, wrong to tell, a certain story because it belongs to a certain community
- A Oh right, yes, now
- S I mean abs-, er, everything that you said is, very relevant
- A Mm
- S Er, but it, kind of goes on to this idea
- A Mm. Yeah
- S And I was just wondering if
- A Mm
- S If you had any sort of reaction to or against or, to it. The idea of that
- A I don't, no I find it a bit of a, a sort of, strange reaction that people would be quite as precious as that

- S Mm
- A Because, I think um, well certainly for myself, I enjoy learning about other cultures
- S Mm
- A And, I don't think in, and I I and I enjoy, sort of encouraging other people to know about other cultures
- S Mm
- A And i- and if one, way of doing that is to tell a story which is, rather typical of that culture then I think that that's, perfectly okay, but I don't think I'd ever say "Well I tell that story better than, you know this er, aboriginal storyteller that, that is er
- S Mm, yeah
- A Y- y- you know told the same stories that that that grandfather after grandfather has told"
- S Mm
- A I mean I'd never sort of put myself, perhaps above, a story but, a storyteller from that culture but, I don't think it's invalid to to tell, stories from other cultures

Section 7

7

- S Right. Yeah. Yeah what er, in that, d-, have you got any feelings, again these are, these are the sort of, the tennis balls coming again, er about how, how you, could or ought to approach, stories from a different culture I mean you've already talked about the Icelandic thing and how it's difficult to separate that from its context
- A Mm, mm
- S Do you think there's a way in which, like the the the best or the appropriate way to, take stories from a different culture
- A Um
- S And tell them
- A I think, I think what you need to do, she says not actually having done it, um, but I think you need to give lots of information
- S Mm
- A Befo-, you know, preparatory to, actually telling the tale
- S Mm
- A So that, the tale when you tell it is, you know, er, completely, faithful, to, to what it is
- S Right yeah
- A But that you give, sufficient information about, the context of the tale, sort of, all the, any of the key things in the story that, will need, putting in context or need explaining
- S Yeah
- A That those are somehow dealt with before you start the tale, so that you give the hearer, sufficient information to be able to make sense of the tale, and to have, a more accurate, picture, of what's going on
- S Mm

- A Cause otherwise if you just suddenly launched in, which, to a tale which is full of, foreign-sounding, names and you don't know what they're referring to or what they are
- S Yeah
- A You can't imagine, you know "What are they talking about?" so, you know for instance if I was telling a story of, Balder,
- S Yeah
- A Er, and Valhalla you know you've got to explain what Valhalla is and you've got to,
- S Yeah
- A Sort of say well, you know this is the world view, you know the view of the universe of, of the people of that time you know the, the the giants lived here and the gods lived here and the men lived here and, they all had different worlds and they all, had different names for things. And, you know you've got to, you've got to give that context, and then you can tell the tale
- S Yeah
- A Without having to interfere with the tale, cause there's nothing worse than sort of, um, starting telling a tale and then having to stop to explain something
- S (laugh) Yeah
- A You know, a- a- a- and then, you know it's just, you know, wouldn't be very good I don't kn- I mean I wouldn't enjoy
- S Yeah
- A Listening to a story on that basis so I'd
- S Yeah
- A Prefer to have all the information I needed, up front, but I think having said that it's, it'd be quite difficult, perhaps sometimes to know exactly what information it is you need to give
- S Mm
- A How much is necessary, how little, can you get away with giving, without, being detrimental to the story or, completely confusing everybody
- S Mm
- A Before you even get to the story so that by the time you, tell it they've, switched off anyway
- S Mm
- A Um, so I think it's, having s-, you know it is, more difficult than, perhaps it sounds but I think that's the way that you, I would do w- it, deal with it
- 7b
- S Would you say, so, er, would you say then, that it was, possible to (2s) to faithfully retell, a story from another culture, in this culture
- A Um, I think, so
- S Mm yeah

- A Um, I th- I think so I mean I've, I you know I've I've heard, I forget his name now but I've, was it {storyteller's first name}, {first name} somebody, who told
- S {storyteller's surname}
- A {Surname} yes
- S Yeah
- A Telling tales from, Wales and, and, you know, places like that
- S Yeah
- A But, in a in a way that, seemed to me was very faithful to, to what that culture was, and that those partic- that particular style of, storytelling
- S Yeah
- A Um, with sufficient, explanatory, you know, sort of statements in between times to sort of give you a flavour and a and, and an understanding, and I suppose at the end of the day it depends on, each individual how, well, up they might be on particular subject
- S Yeah
- A You know as to, you know whether you can
- S Mm
- A Make it work for you, um, but I I thi- I think it's, you know y- w- I well you can either just be, you know, completely faithful, um, and if, something is, is confusing well it's confusing and people don't make sense of it
- S Mm
- A You can be faithful in that sense, or you can be faithful, to a tale, even if that means that you might have to sort of, um (3s) change, things, paraphrase things in your own cultural idiom
- S Mm. Yeah
- A Er, in order to, get the tale over
- S Yeah
- A but I still think i- it's, it remains faithful to what the story is
- 7a
- S Yeah, is there a sense then, that, that what you have in a s- like the the the heart of a story in a sense or is there is a heart in story
- A Mm
- S Which, transcends cultural boundaries, or boundaries of time
- A I I think, inasmuch that stories are about people,
- S Mm
- A And, its, storytelling is something that all people do,
- S Mm
- A And I I believe that, all people tell stories, and, it's very important to tell stories, and, so in that sense it's a, what er what, the essential elements are, are what, people's experiences are
- S Mm, mm
- A Now what they may be different obviously, depending on, the cultural, environment
- S Mm

- A There may be different responses to the same event depending on, cultural environment but essentially it's, it's to do with, human experience,
- S Mm
- A And the way that that is, sort of, dealt with, and recorded, and made sense of
- S Mm
- A Um, and tho-, I think that's the essential thing, how do people make sense, of, of the world
- S Yeah
- A And they tell it you know they make sense of it in stories in myths, um, you know the creation stories of the Bible you know, people's, early attempts to make sense of how the world came to be you know and e- every culture has that
- S Yeah
- A You know so, you know i-, I think the essential element of storytelling, I mean it sounds, far removed from a sort of quick joke, in the pub, but is, you know it's it's that sort of constant human, yearning, to, to understand i- i- you know humanity, and and and, understand the world, that we're in and
- S Mm
- A You know, what's what's the purpose of it all and, you know
- S Mm
- A A- and to acknowledge and celebrate humanity in all its, you know different guises, you know warts and all
- S Yeah
- A You know, so, Gregor Armstrong, you know mean old baldy you know
- S (laugh) Yeah
- A But it's like, well "Let's," you know "Let's make him the hero of a story" you know
- S Yeah
- A You d- you don't have to be the sort of b- b- beautiful, princess, and, handsome prince to be the hero of a story you know
- S Right yeah
- A And that and that's what it's about it's like, everybody's got a story, everybody can be the hero of a story, cause everybody is the hero of a story in their own lives so, um
- 7c
- S Mm, yeah. Just er [adjusts microphone] perhaps though, er, this is er, I mean I put this in the list, the way that I've just realised now it sounds a bit like an attempt to catch you out which it isn't (laugh) but um
- A (laugh)
- S Supposing in a story, um, supposing you came across a story which had, po- like, dodgy elements in it, er by which I mean
- A Ah right
- S Possibly things like racism or sexism or something like that
- A Yes, yes

- S But, maybe you still feel that in spite of that, it's, it might conceivably be worth telling
- A Right
- S Er
- A Right
- S Or maybe you wouldn't feel that I mean how would you deal with, with a story which had
- A Right, well (laugh)
- S Elements that you really couldn't get on with (laugh)?
- A Yeah, I mean, for instance the um the *East of the Sun, West of the Moon*
- S Yeah
- A There was a slightly dubious element, about the w- the washing of the shirt and, let's see what a good woman is about, you know
- S Yeah yeah
- A Now I mean, I wouldn't necessarily say that, you know, women have got to be able to wash you know that that that would be a dodgy, sort of, er assertion to make in this day and age, and I wouldn't make it
- S Yeah
- A But in the context of the particular tale, that was permissible
- S Mm
- A Now, if it was a case of, something which was out and out racist I think I would feel differently about that. Um, because, I think, that, th- sort of, the the gender issue, whilst you can get very, sort of, heavy about it, if you want to
- S Yeah
- A I think it's easier to sort of laugh it off. I mean, not ma-, not dismissing it and making, light of it but, it's somehow easier to sort of see it, as a, well I find it, easier to see it as a, as something that you can just laugh at, whilst still, accepting the, you know the, the serious issues, about it, I think with race, it's, different, and, although some of the, those, statements still apply that, sometimes you can just, laugh at the differences between races and the things that seem funny
- S Mm
- A But, I think history has show, too much, you know that, a sort of, non-appreciation of other people's culture, and race, and cultural norms, leads to an awful lot of, um, tragedy
- S Mm
- A And, I wouldn't, particularly want to be, involved in in sort of, supporting negative stereotypes
- S Mm
- A Or, creating a space in which other people, could create negative stereotypes
- S Right yeah
- A So I I would be very very much more, careful about, telling stories that, suggested that
- S Yeah
- A And I probably wouldn't tell them
- S Yeah, would you, yeah you wouldn't tell them I mean er

- A Mm
- S One thing that, that I have seen done i- is, is people will, tell the story but take the elements out I mean the obvious example that I can think of is, is um
- A Oh right, yeah
- S One of Grimm's fairy tales, called *The Jew Amongst Thorns*, and, it, i- it, the the Jew is, is a moneylender and he's a complete villain and he is, humiliated
- A Right
- S Um by being made to dance in a thorn bush, by magical means, and I've heard that story told as the moneylender among thorns because you can still have
- A Right
- S The the the mean figure like the Gregor Armstrong figure
- A Yes
- S But you can remove his Jewishness and, get rid of that
- A Yes yes
- S That aspect of it
- A Yes
- S And
- A Yeah
- S And the and the other way that, I mean, with with *East of the Sun and West of the Moon* as far as I recall you sort of went straight through with this whole thing about washing the shirt and you didn't
- A Mm, dwell on it (laugh), yeah
- S Didn't try yeah, didn't dwell on it but neither did you, sort of, mitigate it or apologise for it or try and defuse it in any sense you just
- A Yeah
- S Told it and, and let it stand
- A Yeah
- S Er
- A Yeah
- S And er
- A Yeah
- S I'm just wondering if, if you would change a story, to, defuse dodgy elements in it
- A Mm
- S Or, or if you just not bother to tell it
- A Well, I mean I think it depends, the extent to which it's dodgy really
- S Yeah
- A You know, I mean obviously, you know if if you can change something substantially without, kind of, interfering too much with the story and what what the real meaning of that is
- S Mm
- A Um, and make it work, then I think, that's a good thing to do but if it, if, you really can't, and there are too many elements of the story which hinge on th-, on a certain, understanding of, of a racial characteristic perhaps
- S Mm

- A Then I think, you're on, sort of, much more, dodgy ground (with that)
- S Yeah
- A And, I, I just think, you know, it wouldn't be worth, offending, I mean I think I'd probably be offended if I tried, to, you know, (laugh) tell a tale like that, so, I mean i-, it just seems to me that caution is perhaps the better part of, of valour in that sense
- S Right yeah, mm
- A Um, but by the same token you know when I think, though, you know like Shakespeare's play *Merchant of Venice* again about a, mean Jew, you kn- moneylender, whatever
- S Mm
- A And a- er, and all of the, the, sort of, the, the cultural, aspects, and under- understandings and, intolerances or tolerance of the day, you know sort of, you can understand that play, but you can't always assume, that people a-, are, have got the same, level of, awareness knowledge, er blah di blah
- S Mm
- A These day- you know, y- you don't know what people know you don't know what, they, what attitudes or opinions they have, of something
- S Mm
- A And I could just say "Well, um, the tale is the tale. And um, it stands or falls, and everybody makes up their own mind, and have no, hold no responsibility for the fact of what I'm saying"
- S Mm
- A But I think, actually, okay the tale, will exist, wherever it exists but I'm telling it
- S Yeah
- A So therefore I've got to assume some, responsibility for what it is I'm saying
- S Yeah
- A Um, so there- -fore if I thought something was very, inflammatory I think I'll, think twice about, using it really

Section 9

9

- S Right yeah. Yeah okay, right this is a good one. Is er
- A (laugh)
- S Is storytelling new?
- A No, no, definitely not, I mean I think it's probably one of the oldest forms of, of, cultural, communicati-, oldest form of communication really
- S Right
- A I mean stories in one, sense or another, I mean if you go right back to er, you know sort of primitive, man, you know well, how do you communicate where the, you know where, the hunting grounds are or something you know I mean you can use pictures or you can use gestures

- S Mm
- A Bu- i- i- i- in whatever you're doing you're sort of creating in the mind of another, a very, definite picture, of what's going on and then, you know sitting around campfires in the early days and, you know sort of telling the stories, generation to generation of, well who the ancestors were and, you know how the world came into being and, what the stork did and, you know (laugh) and all this sort of thing it's all
- S Yeah
- A You know that, that is you know I mean, history and and writing is relatively new. But storytelling isn't
- S Mm
- A You know that's ancient

Section 10

10

- S Right. Do you think that storytelling needs to be taught?
- A (3s) Well, that's an interesting one I mean, informally it doesn't because people do it naturally
- S Mm
- A But perhaps in a f-, sort of formal, context b-, maybe, maybe it does need to be, not taught exactly but, u- um, people need to be encouraged
- S Mm
- A Um, and, enabled, you know because, people have a lot of fears, don't they about either, talking to a group of people, or, standing up, you know or, remembering something, and, um, and those are just, things that people get over, um, and perhaps some people need to have some, elements of, well how do you remember a story you know how could you, sort of, work on a story, and that sort of instruction, but I don't think it needs to be, taught like as a, a module on a
- S Mm
- A A course or something, um
- S Mm
- A Because it's more experiential than that and y- y- you know you you learn it as you do it, rather than, theorise about it, I mean you can theorise about it after you do it
- S Yeah
- A It's that way round whereas sometimes
- S Right yeah
- A In other things, you have to, learn the theory and then do the, the practice like in medicine so
- S Yeah
- A But in storytelling it's very much an, experience, much like art is or any of those sorts of things, so, yeah.

Section 11

11

S Mm, right. Er, is it okay, for a storyteller to want to be a superstar (3s) would you say?

A I mean I guess it is, I guess it is I mean, er, obviously there are people that are, sort of, on the circuit

S Mm

A Who are very, very well known and very good, at what they do

S Mm

A And, I don't see that there's anything particularly wrong with that, as long as the-, as that, a- as long as that doesn't, sort of blinker everybody, to sort of disregard, all the other levels that sort of come underneath that

S Yeah

A Because um, y- you know i- i- it's this sort of sense of, specialising everything, so that if you're a storyteller you've got to be brilliant, you know, whereas really, you're a storyteller because you tell a story

S Mm

A And, um, you tell it how you tell it, and, it doesn't invalidate it, or you, if if you're not sort of being paid, three hundred pounds er, for telling a tale

11a

S Right, yeah. Do you think that, (clears throat), do you think that an ego, that a person's ego, can affect the way they tell stories?

A Oh yeah, yeah, yeah I think so

S (Have you ever s- do you), yeah

A I mean I I think, sometimes, the teller's own ego, could get in the way of, of the tale

S Yeah

A And um, i- i-, I mean, yeah I'm going back to Oscar Wilde but, you know to me it seemed, i- important to allow Oscar Wilde's voice to come through

S Yeah

A In the tale, it, w- wasn't important for me to paraphrase Oscar Wilde

S Right, right

A So that it was me, coming through

S Mm

A You know, and I was, I was quite clear about that

S Yeah

A So, but I could see a sense in which, "Oh well, this is really Oscar Wilde but I don't want anybody to know that"

S Right

A Yeah, er, and I'd change all the words, I wouldn't acknowledge the source, and, I'd sort of, be rather grandiose and say, "Well, this is a tale", you know, "I'm going to tell you now"

- S Yeah
- A You know, blah-di-blah, and it could all be ego stuff and I think that that would be detriment- I mean, I mean it, it might not be detrimental i- to the hearers, but I think, overall it('d), perhaps be, a bit detrimental, um, ultimately because the, the the true essence of the story is some- is being blocked in little, avenues
- S Yeah
- A Once the ego becomes too big
- S Yeah
- A In the exercise
- S Mm
- A So er
- S Yeah
- A You know and perhaps, you know the perhaps perhaps the ego is is more concerned with, getting a laugh out of people
- S Right yeah
- A Um, and making them laugh, you know and so, then, they work very hard, to pack in a load of puns, or jokes, so that people will laugh you know
- S Mm
- A Um, and that seems to me a-, a bit distorting, really that that people are going to, take, whatever they take from the story and it's, not for, the teller, to determine, how they, receive it
- S Mm, yeah
- A You know, it's for them
- S Right
- A To do that

11b

- S Right, mm. Do you think um, just to dwell on the ego thing a bit more, do you th-, um, do you think that eg-, egoism, egotistic issues, can have an affect on, the storytelling scene generally, or
- A I don't know cause I I I mean I I'm not that, sort of involved in it, generally but I mean I im- I imagine, just by extension, i- it could have quite profound, effects
- S Mm
- A You know i- if you get, sort of well-known, professional, storytellers, who are very vocal about, this sort of style or that sort of style
- S Mm
- A And then you get these sorts of intellectual arguments about, the relative merits of, of that tradition or that tradition and, "We think this ought to happen" or, (you know) and (then) you get these splits and schisms and it it becomes a whole theology almost of, of what it should be and
- S Mm
- A What we're talking about is people gathering together in a group and having a good time, imaginatively, telling tales
- S Mm

- A And, i-, sometimes peop-, you know if if people want to try and make it, more than that and give themselves the, a status within, the whole, thing of, storytelling, then, they've got a vested interest in, peddling a particular line
- S Yeah
- A Y- you know because, they're either going to get controversial and therefore, you know (laugh), they're always, you know, being reported about or, you know, this argument's been put forward and then somebody has a contra-argument
- S Yeah
- A You know what I mean and it's sort of um, you know I could see that that, that could and probably does go on
- S Mm
- A At that sort of, level, but it's not the level, that most people would, really be involved at
- S Yeah
- A Or would want to be in- -volved at
- S Mm
- A I mean you can sort of, perhaps take on board some of the intellectual, themes, but, really is it that important? You know (laugh)
- S Yeah (laugh)
- A At the end of the day

11bi

- S Yeah right, do you think that, um these effects, I mean supposing like, ego-fuelled controversies like that, do occur I mean do you think there's anything positive that could come out of them or do you think it would, it's, just, basically, a waste of time
- A No I think I think, it's always positive, when, there are, er, those, sorts of, debates going on because it does make people think
- S Mm
- A More, about, "Well hang on what is this all about?" you know "What is storytelling and what is it for me?"
- S Mm
- A "What is it in general?" you know "What-" "Why is it important?" you know "Why are people getting so, het up about it, actually?" you know and it does, does cause people ch- to, to think more, er, and perhaps to recognise what the importance is for themselves and just to be clear about that
- S Mm
- A Um, so I think those sorts of things always are, sort of beneficial, they can be destructive as well but, um, beneficial in that it it it furthers the the sort of understanding, of, what this thing is and, where it's come from
- S Mm
- A You know and why it's important to, to perpetuate it in some way
- S Mm

- A And obviously, the perpetuation of it is where people are going to have different opin- opinions
- S Yeah
- A But who is to say, what is the right way of, perpetuating a, a storytelling, culture
- S Right yeah, mm
- A You know. Otherwise you get into a sort of rather (laugh), you know sort of almost fascist "Well, this is the right way to say"
- S Yeah
- A You know and, you know If you deviate from that then, you know, then you're scapegoated and there's all sorts of horrendous things, sort of start getting loaded on to that tradition
- S Mm
- A Um, and it you know and, I d- I don't see any reason why it wouldn't happen in storytelling the same way as it's happened in religion and, in every, you know, in every faction of religion you're, you're al- you're always going to get the split off groups that decide
- S Mm
- A To take a different interpretation of things and then get the weight of the rest of, the orthodoxy, you know sort of, pushing them out and, and marginalising them and actually making them even more sort of er, weird and way out, in the minds of the populace than they actually are you know so I mean
- S Yeah
- A I don't see that that, that couldn't happen in storytelling. It depe- it depends on the egos involved

Section 12

12

- S Mm, right. Okay we're sort of, g- g- getting towards the end now but there's, one, one final sort of, th- thing that I'd like to, put by you, er, and it's, um, if you could just consider, for a moment if you like, what your idea of a perfect storytelling scene would be
- A (3s) Well, the the first image that came to mind was candles (laugh) actually (laugh)
- S Right (laugh)
- A And I think, thinking about it, um, maybe that's something to do, with evoking, you know, the primitive, sitting round the campfire
- S Mm
- A Sort of, scenario, um, I mean there is something quite special and, and enchanting anyway about candlelight
- S Mm
- A And, s- I know some clubs do, use candles and things and it's nice it gives a nice, atmosphere, it takes that, the um, the harsh focus, off everything
- S Mm

- A It creates a sort of atmosphere whereby people are, it's more conducive to people, being able to imagine there's not so many distractions, about, you know, well, you know, what, that's a nice lamp or, you know whatever,
- S Mm
- A Um, it it y- you know the sort of darkness with glimmers of light, you know it does change things, um
- S Yeah
- A You know and i-, a- a- and whether its a sort of, you know, primitive thing that everybody gets, kind of triggered by
- S (laugh) Yeah
- A (laugh) I I don't know, but er it just seems to me that that would be the, the the perfect scene, you know, is in sort of subdued lighting with, candles or a fire, um, and very sort of relaxed atmosphere

12a

- S Right. Right, excellent. Is there anything in the um, I mean you've been, you've, you've go- been going to the {named storytelling club} now regularly for a
- A Uh-huh
- S For about a year and you've been to {named storytelling festival} as well I don't know if you've been to any other, sort of, big storytelling events
- A No, haven't been to any others
- S Right
- A Did know about them but didn't get to any
- S Yeah
- A Yeah
- S Yeah, I mean maybe this, this won't be, too relevant to you then but is there anything about, about the storytelling scene in general or what o-, what of it you've seen anyway, that you're not happy with, specifically?
- A Um, can't, say that I'm, there's anything that I'm, I'm sort of not happy with um, haven't really considered, happiness as it were (laugh) you know
- S (laugh)
- A With it um, no I, I mean I don't think so I mean I I would perhaps, you know if I if I, thought that everybody had to get really really, into it and, dedicate their whole lives to it, and to be a sort of er, legit member of the storytelling movement you'd have to be, you know renounce all

side b

- S Right
- A Yeah I can't I can't think at the moment that er, there's anything, that I've, I've thought about, that I, I don't, approve of or like or, feel comfortable with

Concluding remarks

S That's about it actually {Alison}

A Oh right

S I don't know if you want to sort of say, what, you know, er, a-, a- add anything to the effect of what you thought about, the interview or, how it grabbed you

A I, I act- I I found it, um, fascinating, actually, just an opportunity to, to think more and

S Mm

A And to sort of explore, some of, er, you know, the the issues and just the thoughts that I've had you know

S Mm

A Cause er, you know it is quite interesting just to sort of s- er dredge out of um you know your sort of your past, you know things that you've acquired along the way which have all been, relevant to storytelling

S Yeah

A But, um, they've, they've sort of come together in the fact that I am now telling tales. And um, to see where some of those, milestones have been, in various different ways, and

S Mm

A You know, and