A theory of Narrative Structure
based on a study of Lithuanian folk tales

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The main result. the tone at the beginning and at the end of a narrative determines its topic.

I. INTRODUCTION In this first half we describe our method of analyzing a narrative. We claim that in a complete narrative there is always present a source of tension. Given a story, this source maintains a constant tone of voice at the beginning, and a constant, but different tone at the end.

II. NARRATIVE THEORIES We review existing theories. They do not satisfy our goal, which is to know why we come to feel a story is complete and what meaning we take from a story to arrive at this feeling.

III. UNITS OF NARRATIVE Narrative units are determined by noting the creation and relaxation of tension.

IV. VOICES Different characters may speak with the same psychological voice, but again, a single character may speak in a variety of voices. A hierarchy of voices can be constructed, with each voice addressing a need from Maslow's hierarchy of needs.

V. TONES OF VOICE Assuming that tone of voice of the source of tension is constant at the beginning and end of a story, given a sample of narratives from the same culture, it is possible to develop a catalog of ways the tones can be expressed. We provide such a catalog for the analysis of Lithuanian folk tales. These are listed under the four voices 3 Forcing, 4 Commanding, 5 Explaining, 6 Caring.

VI. A STORY IN FULL The story "Ragana and Jonukas" is analyzed. A translation appears as an appendix. The analysis illustrates hypotheses concerning the beginning, the climax, and the end of the story, as well as story type.

VII. STORY STRUCTURE We present conclusions about the structure of a story. This prepares the way for more rigorous testing of our hypotheses, and various applications. It also leads us to the second half of our paper, which discusses the seven topics for narratives.

APPENDIX A translation into English of the Lithuanian folk tale "Ragana and Jonukas", and a graph summarizing our analysis of the tale.

In the second part of this paper (yet to be written) we claim that there are 7 kinds of topics for a story, and they are determined by the tones of voice which the source of tension expresses at the beginning and at the end.

INTRODUCTION

As we listen to a folk tale, there are times when we have the sensation that a formula is at work. We sense that there are very few ways in which the story may proceed if the problems it presents are to be resolved. My purpose in this paper is to present a nonsubjective method for determining and analyzing the formula at work in any given narrative.

The value of this method is that it analyzes a subject's experience of a text rather than the text itself. Therefore the method applies to subjects who as listeners may experience the same story differently. For these reasons, the method also makes it possible to speak of a norm for the experience of a given story with respect to the culture from which it has arisen.

The method which is the subject of this paper is based on three principles. The first of these principles is that a story can not maintain our interest unless it creates tension. There must be a continuous process of creating tension and then relaxing it so that it may be created again. This makes it possible to partition a subject's experience into atomic segments in which the subject asserts that tension is created and then relaxed.

We may consider an example from the story "Egle, Queen of the Snakes", in which Egle and her sisters go bathing in a pond. Tension is created when upon her return Egle finds a snake in her shirt. It is relaxed when Egle's sister siezes a stick to drive the snake away. We think of these two events as comprising an atomic segment within the narrative.

The second principle behind our method is that whenever we interpret a character as creating tension, we attribute a tone of voice to that character. Although the situations vary incredibly, the tone of voice can always be identified with one of four types: the character creating tension may be perceived as forcing, commanding, explaining, or caring.

We will try to illustrate each tone of voice by way of example. The story "Orphan Helen and Johnny Lamb" takes place in summer. The sun is beating down on Johnny. He becomes thirsty and wants to drink, but there is no river near by. The sun is forcing Johnny to drink, just as it might force someone to take their coat off. In the story "Witch and Johnny", the witch heats up the oven and tells her daughter, "I am going to invite the guests. Sweep out the oven, bake Johnny, and having put him in the bowls, place them on the table." The witch is commanding her daughter. A cuckoo bird does some explaining in the story "Mildute". The cuckoo bird cuckoos from a tree as the king's carriage passes by in the forest: "Cuckoo, lord king, cuckoo, what do you carry ? cuckoo, not your lady, cuckoo, a fairy witch! cuckoo, just take a look, cuckoo, the carriage is full, cuckoo, of black blood!" As for caring, this term is meant to encompass questioning, providing help, setting conditions, devising plans. For example, in the story "Warrior Prince" the prince inquires, Dear guests, what would you do

to children who defile their parents and drive them from their home ?"

We will provide guidelines by which in most any situation we can identify the tone of voice expressed by the character creating tension. These guidelines are the result of an analysis of eighty Lithuanian folk tales. They were shaped by the observation that throughout the beginning of a story the many characters that create tension all share the same tone of voice. Likewise, it was observed that the characters creating tension at the end of a story never express this tone of voice, but have a different tone of voice common to themselves. On the one hand, these observations allow us to continuosly refine our guidelines as we consider more folk tales. On the other hand, they also make it possible to classify folk tales with respect to the tones of voice which dominate at the beginning and at the end. However, we will not be able to arrive at any conclusions by our method unless we can show, as we claim, that we can identify and distinguish forcing, commanding, explaining, and caring in a consistent manner and without confusion.

Again, the central observation of this paper is that creators of tension maintain a common tone of voice at the beginning of a story, and similarly they maintain a common but different tone of voice at the end of that same story. We argue that if the same tone of voice dominates in the beginning and in the end of a narrative, then typically either the narrative leaves us feeling that not everything has been resolved and we have heard just the beginning of a story, or there is no coherent way of relating the beginning and the end, perhaps because the narrative is very long. Alternatively, if the narrative reflects a change in the tone of voice from the beginning to the end, then it will in general be possible to impose a satisfying understanding of the narrative as a story even if the narrative is pure nonsense!

Our third principle is that if two stories start with the same tone of voice and end with the same but different tone of voice, then they have the same theme. For example, the story "Mildute" begins with all types of commanding: the stepmother commands Mildute to weave a bundle of flax by evening. It ends with explaining: the cuckoo bird tells the king he has taken the wrong daughter. The theme of this story is that the king recognizes that Mildute is the good daughter whereas the other daughters are bad. Any story which starts with commanding and ends with explaining will share the same theme: the good is recognized from among all of the bad. We think of such a story as being a birth story, or more correctly, a baptism story in which a child is identified as being good, and not of the bad. We show that there are seven themes in all and that each theme may be related to an anthropologically significant transformation or rite of passage.

This leads us to the practical consequences of our method. If we know the tone of voice set at the beginning of a story, then we are assured of the ways in which the story may proceed, if it is to conclude at all. In as much as we think of our own lives as having story form, this allows us

to make observations and predictions about the story we think ourselves to be living and how it may resolve. We may make better sense of other peoples' lives, especially when they involve different themes than the one which we find ourselves presently most concerned with. Finally, we can note the exact effect that conflating different tones of voice has on restricting the themes possible within our lives.

NARRATIVE THEORIES

We are interested in folk tales not for their own sake, but with the hope that their study will reveal how narratives work. In starting out we considered several existing theories and rejected them as not addressing our purposes.

Folklorists use the Aarne-Thompson type index to catalog stories. This type index was developed in the beginning of the century and groups together stories according to motifs. For example, this index would group together stories in which a swan-woman becomes a queen. Variants of a story can be compared so as to determine the relative age of the motifs present within a story. Attempts are made to reconstruct an 'original variant'.

It is important to note that there are far fewer motifs than one might think there could be. Perhaps new motifs have difficulty in gaining acceptance. It is enticing to study those motifs that have survived. Motifs are central to the symbolism of a story. Those who want to find a meaning 'behind' a story can do so by explaining the symbols present within it. In the case of myths this may be the most telling approach because the myth may primarily serve to showcase various symbols with regard to, say, the coming of spring.

However, the study of symbols found within a story is simply that — a study of symbols. Regardless of how rich the symbols are, they of themselves do not account for the process by which our emotions unfold as a story maintains our attention and draws us in. For most folk tales it seems that very little knowledge of the culture is needed for the tale to be entertaining or even gripping. Furthermore, folk tales can become more interesting upon repeated hearing. In comparison, systems of symbols are dry and dull.

The method that we will arrive at will show that stories with completely different symbols and motifs may have the same theme and even more, they may have essentially the same structure. In such an event they have the same narrative impact. Conversely, we will see that stories with the same motif may have different themes. For example, one story tells how a swan-woman eventually accepts her calling of being the mother to her child. Another story tells how the husband of a swan-woman is accepted by her father into their family. The theme of the

first story is the acceptance of a calling, and the theme of the second story is of a coming together.

For our purposes a very useful book to read was the Morphology of the Folktale by Vladimir Propp. This book was part of the Russian formalist movement of the 1920's. Propp shows that if we abstract away from the symbolism of a fairy tale, then we observe that there are roles such as hero, villian, victim, donor, and others which in terms of their functions are stable across all fairy tales. Propp defines function as "an act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action". In this way he breaks up a fairy tale into a series of events such as "XII. The hero is tested, interrogated, attacked, etc., which prepares the way for his receiving either a magical agent or helper." He seems to be successful in ordering these functions or events in a very strict way so that taken all together they create a master fairy tale. The conclusion of his book is that the narrative of a fairy tale in general includes only a portion of these functions but that their order tends to be maintained.

Propp's work is attractive because he seems to be faithful to the details of his material while at the same time his master fairy tale has the quality of a classic folk tale even though it is a purely functional statement. However, it turns out to be difficult to discuss typical Lithuanian folk tales within his framework. Here the central figure is often passive. There is rarely the drive that seems to move the stories Propp describes. Although many of the events in Lithuanian folk tales can be accounted for by the functions Propp describes, they seem to take on a foreign sense when understood within Propp's master tale. For example, in the story "Egle, Queen of Snakes", the snake tells Egle, "Promise that you'll marry me and then I will leave your shirt". If we apply Propp's model, then we take this to be an act of villainy. However, at the end of the story all of our sympathy is directed towards the snake. In Propp's master fairy tale it is the violation of an interdiction which sets the story into motion and gives it sense, for example, when the hero opens a chest that he was forbidden to open. Likewise, the climax of his tale occurs when the hero defeats the villian in direct combat. Notions of villainy, violation, and combat are not common in Lithuanian folk tales. Even if these tales can be embedded into Propp's master fairy tale, doing so deprives them of their meaning.

It is unfortunate that we were not able to read the stories Propp refers to in their entirety, as his source material was in Russian. However, we came to the conclusion that his master fairy tale as a whole represented a model for stories sharing the same theme, a theme of adventure and perhaps coming in to adulthood. Perhaps stories with this theme prevail among Russian fairy tales, but we would try to establish a method for analyzing folk tales which was more general. Propp had noted that, for example, his model did not apply to animal tales. We would try to pay attention, just as Propp does, to the way single events relate to the

entire course of action. However, we would not place characters into roles, but rather look for the nature of voices within us which might relate to given characters.

Propp's work did not reach the West until the second half of this century. Anthropologists such as Claude Levi-Strauss noted the binary aspects of the structure of the master fairy tale. Certainly, many of Propp's functions can be paired. For every departure "X. The hero leaves home" it is not surprising to find a return "XXIII. The hero, unrecognized, arrives home or in another country." In the 1960's the semiotician Algirdas Greimas worked to show that the master fairy tale could be best explained in terms of its underlying symmetries. We have an insufficient knowledge of his theory, but perhaps enough to get across the spirit of the work being done within his school of thought.

Greimas does without the linear ordering in Propp's model. He stresses the semiotic square as the essential structural unit within a story. Its purpose in a story is to mediate contracts between characters. The semiotic square is an extension of a binary pair S and $\underline{S}$ into a square of four possibilities S, $\underline{S}$, ¬S, ¬$\underline{S}$. These four are related by negation, implication, and contradiction in the same way as are the four corners of Aristotle's logical square. The characters of the story are thought of as actants which come in pairs: subject and object, sender and receiver, opponent and helper. These actants are related by contracts which are mediated by the semiotic square. Contracts can describe, for example, the testing of a hero. Such a test or contract recurs throughout the master fairy tale. There the hero is first tested by his helper, after which he receives a magical agent. Then he is tested by his opponent in direct combat. Finally, he is tested upon his return by his sender so as to prove whether or not he is an impostor. In Du Sens, Greimas studies variants of the Lithuanian folk tale "Hero Without Fear" and shows the effects of changing an actant within such contracts.

Binary oppositions are useful in showing how families of symbols balance opposing forces. The concept of a contract would further seem to be useful in providing a structural explanation of why, upon hearing a good story, we feel it is complete. However, this is not the case. Greimas' extensive study of "Hero Without Fear" is restricted to its initial episode. This episode is complete with regards to the contracts he describes. However, it does not stand by itself as a story. This is not a matter of loose ends. The episode serves to establish an outlook, but does not change it. Without this change we feel that nothing has happened. We do not find in Greimas' theory the means to describe the relation between the structure of the story and the feelings that we have upon hearing the story.

We are interested in the structure of folk tales in as much as it allows us to understand why we come to feel a story is complete and what meaning we have taken from the story so as to arrive at this feeling. We reject Propp's theory because embedding folk tales into his master fairy

tale changes their very meaning. We reject Greimas' theory not because it changes their meaning, but because it does not provide the means for us to speak of their meaning. We need structural relations that might explain our feelings as we are drawn into a story, directed through it, and delivered its meaning. Therefore we turn to describe what must be necessary for a story to affect us the way it does.

UNITS OF NARRATIVE

We will be working with a text, but will always keep in mind our experience of it. We want to record how a story directs our feelings. As we do this, we must take care that our approach not be subjective. Therefore our first concern is to break up the text into narrative units. If these units are well defined, then we will always be able to refer to the element of the course of action that we are analyzing. A unit should consist of that amount of the text which commands our feeling as the story is being told. As we listen to a story we may drift, but a good story rarely loses us, so that we always are being affected by what it is telling us at the moment. This is to say that our experience of a story is linear, and its units should be linearly ordered.

As we listen to a good story, any portion of it should be capable of keeping our attention as that portion is being told. We claim that the most immediate way for a story to heighten our interest is the creation of tension. This is the way by which the course of action is extended. From one character there emmanates a new action directed towards another character. We sense that the first character is a source of tension, and the second character is a focus of tension. We feel that this new action disturbs the balance of the previous situation and we expect a response. This expectation is reflected in our heightened interest.

We will be presenting examples from stories in the collection Lietuviskos Pasakos. These stories were first collected and published by Jonas Basanavicius at the turn of the century. The volume of stories from which we work was further edited for children by Jonas Stukas. We will not be concerned with problems of authenticity, as these will not have a bearing on the validity of our method, which we claim to be valid with respect to narratives in general. Throughout this paper we rely on examples from various stories. However, we will refer especially to one story, "Witch and Johnny", which we have translated in full and which we append to this paper along with an extensive commentary.

In this story we have marked the narrative units as we understand them with respect to the story as we experience it. We sense that tension is created, for example, when we hear that "The stepmother did not love Johnny and beat him often." The stepmother is the source of tension, and

Johnny is the focus of tension. Once this tension is established, it is then relaxed. "The old man grew sorry for his child, so he seated him on a board and set him out to float around on a lake." A third party, the old man, intercedes. The child is defended from his stepmother, the source of tension, and thereby the tension is relaxed, albeit momentarily. The creation of tension and its relaxation together form a narrative unit, or an atomic segment within the narrative.

Next, tension is created anew. "Having brought food, he would call him, 'Johnny, Johnny, come to shore, come to shore – I brought cheese, butter, sweet milk!'" There is nothing malevolent here: the father calls his son to come to shore. What we do have here is a new action which extends the previous course of action, which emmanates from one character, the father, and is directed towards another character, Johnny. Tension does not come from malevolence, but from the initiation of an action from one character which is directed towards another character. We can tell that it is tension because we await a response to the previous action. "Upon being called, Johnny would come to shore, take the meal from his father, and go back out to the lake." Here the third party which intercedes to relax the tension is Johnny himself. We can tell that the tension has been relaxed because we feel that the narrative now allows characters to initiate new and unrestricted actions.

In general, tension is created by a source of tension, and is directed towards a focus of tension. These two party's need not be characters in the traditional sense, but may be animals or things. A snake may be the source of tension, and a shirt may be its focus. Tension is relaxed by a third party, which either supports the source of tension, or defends the focus of tension. The third party must come down on the side of one or the other. The creation and relaxation of tension are thought of together as a narrative unit.

It often happens that the third party is also the source of tension or the focus of tension. This is the case with the example above where Johnny is called by his father. On the one hand, Johnny is the focus of tension. On the other hand, he intercedes on behalf of his father by coming to shore. We claim that we attach different feelings to the Johnny to whom his father calls, and the Johnny who executes the coming to shore. A similar situation occurs in conversation. Thumb Child asks, "Who are you?" "I am Mountain Digger". Here Thumb Child is the source of tension with his question. Mountain Digger is the focus of tension, as a listener, but also intervenes on his own behalf as a speaker. In a novel it can occur that the same character is at the same time both the source and the focus of tension. Again, we may keep separate track of our feelings toward him as he appears in the two separate roles.

It is important to note that what constitutes tension depends on our experience of the story. The way we draw up the narrative units depends on our interpretation of a story. For example, consider the following excerpt from the story "Mildute":

"The fairy had a great hatred for her stepdaughter Mildute and kept sending her out to herd the cattle. One day, while Mildute was herding the cattle, her stepmother gave her a bunch of flax and told her, while herding the cattle, to spin the flax and weave it into cloth by evening. She drove Mildute out and she walks crying. Just then her cow started to talk,

'Don't cry, Mildute! Take the flax, stick it through one of my ears, blow, and all will be done.'

Mildute stuck the flax through one of the cow's ears, blew, and out through the other ear it came out all spun and woven. In the evening Mildute drove the cattle home and brought home a ream of beautiful and fine cloth."

This entire episode may be thought of as a single narrative unit. In this case the fairy would be the source of tension, the stepdaughter would be the focus of tension, and the cow would be the interceding party. But there are many ways of taking this episode and breaking it up. We may take just about any of the sentences and think of it as a narrative unit. It all depends on where we see the tension. For example, consider the sentence "The fairy had a great hatred for her stepdaughter Mildute and kept sending her out to herd the cattle." We may think of the hateful fairy as the source of tension, the stepdaughter as the focus of tension, and the stepmother who sends her out as the intervening party.

The method we suggest cannot be used unless we commit ourselves to an interpretation of the story. Without an interpretation, we have no way of telling where we feel the creation and relaxation of tension. When does this occur within a single sentence, when does it occur within a wider swath ? This is not a disadvantage of our theory. The questions rather serve our purpose. The narrative units simply reflect that not everything in a story is relevant to a given interpretation.

VOICES

We have mapped out our interpretation of a story as a sequence of relations between sources of tension and foci of tension. Let us now think of what can be expressed by way of these relations. They have the duality of a parent-child relationship. We may think of the source of tension as the parent, and the foci of tension as the child. If we consider the characters that act as the source of tension, it is notable that there are so many of them. For example, in "Witch and Johnny", it is first the mother, who dies, and then the stepmother, who beats Johnny, and then the father, who calls to Johnny, and then the witch, who captures Johnny, and then her daughter, who means to bake Johnny. In terms of the plot it would be simpler and more economical to have but one character: a mother who, after coming back from the dead, makes Johnny live on a board in a lake until the day she decides to take him home and bake him in the oven. The

point is that in our interpretation of the story the characters do more than just execute the mechanics of the plot. We therefore turn away from the plot and instead we observe how our feelings are affected by a character's nature and behavior.

What we observe about the mother, stepmother, and father from "Witch and Johnny" is that on the whole they are not well developed as characters. However, with respect to them we see that Johnny's character is fleshed out as the story progresses. When Johnny's mother dies, we have no image of him beyond that of a name potentially attached to coordinates in time and space. When his stepmother beats him, however, we can picture Johnny as a being who knows what it means to obey. When his father calls to him, we can think of Johnny as a creature with cravings for cheese, butter, and sweet milk. Later, in episodes with the witch and her daughter, we see Johnny as a trickster. By then we feel that we have quite a complete picture of him, even though in truth we know next to nothing about him, whether his appearance or his inner thoughts.

We seem to need very little information in order to think of Johnny as multidimensional, rather than one dimensional. What we do need is to be able to identify Johnny with more than one voice. These voices show us how Johnny addresses different situations, or as we claim, different needs. We turn to examine our own various needs and the voices that address them.

The psychologist Abraham Maslow maintained that humans have a hierarchy of needs, so that in general, we first address our lowest needs, such as the need to survive, and only then our higher needs, such as the need for self-fulfillment. His followers identified six different needs. We denote them with Roman numerals and describe them as follows:

I. LIFE   The need for survival includes the need for food if we are hungry, water if we are thirsty, shelter if the elements are assaulting us, air if we are in outer space, medical care if we are seriously wounded, and protection if we are presently under attack. Satisfying this need keeps our body alive.

II. SAFETY   The need for safety directs our efforts so that we will be alive not only today, but also tomorrow. It leads us to look for food even when we are full, to build a shelter before there is a sign of rain, or to gain the protection of others before we find ourselves under attack.

III. SOCIETY   The need for society is the need for physical love. It is also the need to have a place in a family and in a community. It is the highest of the physical needs. The need for life directs us to stay alive, and the need for safety has us be sure to stay alive longer, but the need for society claims that our physical life serves to express something that goes beyond the mere fact that we are alive.

IV. WORTH   The life of our spirit depends on our having at least the slightest feeling of self-worth. This includes all types of feelings of importance, although the sources may be quite varied: wealth, attributes, powers, friendships, capabilities - anything which at the time seems

important for its own sake. Without the feeling of self-worth we would feel completely incapable of accomplishing anything. We would fall into a total apathy and lose the sense of having a will. In this way the need for self-worth is to our spirit as the need for life is to our body.

V. FREEDOM The need for freedom and the need for independence have us work to establish ever broader opportunities for ourselves. These include not only the opportunity to speak freely at a forum, but the freedom inherent in owning a gun or a car. Just as by seeking safety, we try to ensure that we are alive in the future, so we seek freedom today, that we might position ourselves to achieve self-worth tomorrow.

VI. FULFILLMENT The need for self-fulfillment directs us to find or express a meaningfulness which goes beyond ourselves as well as those things which we find readily important. This meaning of life may involve accepting and serving other beings, perhaps a higher power, or finding and expressing a harmony. For most people it centers on raising a family. The need for self-fulfillment claims that our spiritual life serves to express something that goes beyond our own importance.

We thank Jonas Kulikauskas for making us aware of this hierarchy. We are not familiar with Maslow's theory, but we accept this hierarchy of needs. We are impressed by the structure of the six needs as we have described them above: there are three physical needs and three spiritual needs, and they are related in the same way. The structure behind the hierarchy, which we call a gradation, is important in our work because it arranges the catalog of structures from which we start. From the beginning we postulated that gradations would be used in the code employed within any language. An example of a gradation is Kiparsky's hierarchy, which says that the possible thematic roles a noun can have are agent, beneficiary, goal, instrument, patient, location. This gradation would be at work in the case of a language of manipulation, such as syntax, the formation of mathematical objects and relations, or the evaluation of visual space. In a similar vein, we have constructed a gradation listing what we claim to be all possible methods of proof: morphism, induction, construction of algorithms, substitution, examination of cases, construction. We think that this gradation is at work in languages of argumentation, such as mathematics or rhetoric. From the outset, we have thought that Maslow's hierarchy would be the gradation at work in narrative languages, which include not only folk tales and many other texts, but also our own perception of the unfolding of our lives. In fact, we chose to work on folk tales because we felt that narrative languages most directly appeal to our feelings and therefore they would be the most revealing in terms of how languages work. If we achieve results with narrative languages, we hope that the same model will work with languages of manipulation, where the output seems concrete, but the workings seem closed to our intuition. With these thoughts in mind we employ Maslow's hierarchy, but our reasons for doing so should not bear on the validity that we claim for the method we describe in this paper.

Given Maslow's hierarchy of needs, we note that for every need we may posit a voice inside of us which addresses that need. We find that we can attribute such voices to the characters within a folk tale, especially when they represent sources of tension or foci of tension:

I.   The voice which attends to our need for life is one which pronounces that we associate ourselves with the body in which we live. In the folk tale "Egle, Queen of Snakes", when a snake is in Egle's shirt, we may identify the shirt with her body, or more precisely, with the voice which associates Egle with her body, the voice which claims nothing more then that she is a physical entity in time and space. Likewise, when Johnny is introduced in "Witch and Johnny", and when his mother dies, we attribute to him nothing more then an unspoken 'I am here'.

II.   The voice which attends to our need for safety is one of obedience and disobedience, as may be the case. If it is unquestioning, then it has a quality of stupidness. It is the voice of the witch's daughter when the witch tells her to bake Johnny; at the time of the command, we do not sense that the daughter is capable of having an intent to disobey. This is the same voice that we attribute to Johnny when he is being beaten by his stepmother.

III.   The voice which attends to our social needs is one of craving and unquenchable desire. It is direct and immediate, and may be understood as a sexual desire. It is the voice of the snake when it takes over Egle's shirt, and when it tells her, "Give me your word, Egle, that you will marry me, and I will leave without ado." When this voice, as here, creates tension, we think of it as forcing. As Egle stands naked, we feel that the snake forced her when ultimately she agrees to the snake's demand. This voice may also appear in the role of the focus of tension: when Johnny hears his father calling, it is his craving for dairy products, (perhaps his mother's milk), which drives him to come.

IV.   The voice which attends to our need for self-worth is one of control. It makes commands and makes use of rules, and when rules fail, it invents new rules and uses trickery. It is the voice of the witch's daughter when she tells Johnny, "Johnny, Johnny, sit on the oven's peel - I will take you for a ride around the kitchen." When creating tension, it commands, but it may also be the focus of tension. In "Witch and Johnny", the wolf approaches the witch and asks her what she is doing. We attribute the voice IV to the witch, who was at work gnawing down a tree, because we feel her power and strength.

V.   The voice which attends to our need for freedom is intent on clarifying or confusing, as the case may be. A typical example is in the story "Warrior Prince": "And then the other warrior started to tell the prince, 'In the estate, which is not far off, there is a very beautiful maiden - you will not find a more beautiful in the entire world!'" When this voice creates tension, it is in general explaining. But even as the focus of tension, it can serve to exacerbate tensions, often with no reason in mind

In "Witch and Johnny", when the witch asks her guests, "Where is my daughter ?", they say, "Why, she's sleeping under the covers." In saying so they seem to bring closer the time when the witch discovers that Johnny has baked her daughter.

VI. The voice which attends to our need for self-fulfillment tries to bring harmony by having the other voices adjust and adapt. It is the voice that cares for it's life treasure. It is the voice of Jurgis Rastelis, in the story "Jurgis Rastelis", when he gives three grains of wheat to an innkeeper and says, "Watch over these, they are my whole year's salary." It is the voice which makes plans, such as when Thumb Child tells his father, "You know, father, I want to go out into the world and search for fortune, but first make me a stick from twelve thirty-pound pieces of iron." Rather than give advice, as would befit the voice V, it offers help. It makes inquiries, as when the witch inquires about her daughter. We use the term caring to encompass all of these possibilities. This voice very rarely occurs as the focus of tension, and our hypothesis is that when it does, the story achieves its climax. This occurs, for example, in "Witch and Johnny" when finally Johnny has the witch understand that she has in fact eaten not Johnny, but her own daughter.

For purposes of illustration, we venture to relate the six voices described above to some concepts of Freud, though again making no claim to have read him. We have no idea if the voices I and II have any consequence to his theories, as they merely serve to make definite one's body and one's potential for submission to others. We do observe that in folk tales the voices I and II are never attributed to the source of tension. It is as if they are too mindless. Therefore they can not be held accountable for a conflict. This is not the case with the voice III, which we identify with the id. It is the only physical voice which can create tension. It is a naked and direct craving which we think of as forcing. This is countered by the voice IV, which we identify with the superego. We think of it as commanding. The voice V, which we identify with the ego, serves to diminish or intensify the opposition between the other two, as the case may be. We think of it as explaining. Finally, if we are correct, Freud felt that mental health was achieved when the id, superego, and ego were all in harmony. We think of the voice VI as pursuing this harmony and trying to bring all of these fractious voices back into a single entity.

TONES OF VOICE

The results that we describe will depend only on our ability to distinguish between voices III, IV, V, and VI when they are in the role of

the source of tension. In fact, we need not claim that these voices actually exist, but that any time a character creates tension, he has available four tones of voice. Equivalently, the acts of creating tension may be divided into four gruops: forcing, commanding, explaining, caring. We proceed to establish guidelines for determining how various acts fall into these four groups. These guidelines are derived from our study of Lithuanian folk tales. We will apply them to a story in full, "Witch and Johnny". We will then discuss our hypotheses about story structure and provide a summary analysis of stories having various themes.

Forcing

In our mind, forcing presents a problem for the storyteller because it can not be expressed directly, but must be implied. It seems that when we represent one person approaching another, our presumption is that communication is meant to take place. However, with forcing this is not the case: here one person does not acknowledge the other, but thrusts himself at him. For this reason forcing can not be represented as such, and can only be implied. The story teller has several resources to do this. He can rely on characters that are familiar within the culture: in Lithuania, for example, a snake-prince or a devil. Suppose a devil offers his help in exchange for what one has left behind at home. On the surface of it, this is but an offer of help and a stating of conditions, both of which signify the voice VI, as we later claim. Indeed, we may interpret this at face value in a given story. However, having an opinion of the devil we may feel that such a deal is forced upon the victim, as if by fate – either from the inside, by moral insufficiency, or from the outside, by misfortune. These last two perspectives may have Christian and pagan origins, respectively, but in both we perceive the deal as being offered in the voice III. The story teller may also imply this voice by appealing to the lawful nature of the physical world. As we later claim, we usually attribute to the voice V the action of 'causal laws', as when it happens that eating apples from the one tree makes horns grow on one's head, whereas eating them from the other tree makes them fall off. However, if the same observation is made about the causality of the real world, then to us it can carry a different weight. When thirst makes a king thirsty, the force of the thirst is real and we perceive this thirst as the voice III. Finally, the story teller may imply this voice by suggesting that the driving force behind an action is natural but most stubborn and deep rooted, just as the desires of the id. Usually it is the voice IV which battles and overpowers, but when Marijona kills her sister so as to marry the snake, we see that she is driven not by the desire to kill her sister, but by something more. Likewise, in some stories guzzling beer is a demonstration of power; but when a deadman finishes off all that a giant has, we sense the force of a terrible craving. Again, this means that we perceive the voice III. With the examples to

follow we hope only to suggest that forcing can be implied. When we discuss commanding, explaining, and caring, we will not have to make such an effort.

III Instead of VI
Stating of conditions   The two sisters look - a **snake** raised its head from the well and keeps Kotryna from getting water. He says the same, "If you promise yourself to me, then you will get the water, and if you don't, then you won't get it." [Snake and Two Sisters]
But from out of the water **it** says, "Promise me that in eighteen years you will give me that, which you did not leave at home, and then I will let you go." [The Princess and the Goat]
The **goat** says, "Untie me from this noose, and I will take you to your father!" [The Princess and the Goat]
Assigning a Task (to bring to light a foregone conclusion)   Then the **snake** gave the sisters two buckets and two screens and ordered them to bring water. Kotryna brought water, but Marijona's water ran out. Kotryna's water was clean as crystal, but Marijona's was full of snakes, lizards, frogs, toads, because while carrying the bucket those were the words by which she cursed. [Snake and Two Sisters]

III Instead of V
Asking (unyielding)   Afterwards the **man-snake** asked her parents, that they give him Kotryna. Her parents did not want to give her away, because Kotryna was the younger, and demanded that he take the older daughter Marijona. But the snake did not agree to take the older one. [Snake and Two Sisters]
Course of Nature   Once the king took a walk by the sea and became **thirsty**. Just as he leaned over the water...[The Princess and the Goat]
Force of destiny (chosen or not)   When the daughter was in her eighteenth year, **her father** set out for a journey across the seas: better, that his eyes not see his daughter unhappy. [The Princess and the Goat]
When she awoke in the morning, the **young woman** walked through all the rooms and found noone, but, upon entering the barn, she sees: in the corner there is standing a goat, all forgotten. [The Princess and the Goat]
After some time there came a **handsome young man**, he stepped out of a snake's skin and gave it to Kotryna to hold. She kept it under her arm. When the young man would go out, she would give him back the snake's skin. [Snake and Two Sisters]

III Instead of IV
Violence (with deeply rooted motive)   Then **Marijona** became very angry, took an ax, cut off Kotryna's head and buried it under an alder bush. She returned home with the ball of straw and married the snake. [Snake

and Two Sisters]

Force of mysterious power   Suddenly **something** grabbed him by the beard. The king asks it to let go... [The Princess and the Goat]
The **giant** came to the first plow, but his hands could not reach it, so he got on his knees and started to plow on his knees. He plowed and plowed until the horse was worn out. [The Giant in the Devils' Windmill]
The **dead man** drank all of the beer, so the giant became mad ... [The Giant in the Devils' Windmill]

Commanding

With the term commanding we refer to the demonstration of power and the exercise of control. Interestingly, we have found this to encompass crying, and also understanding.

Giving Commands   She says to her servant, "Go and see, who here is selling apples, that they smell so." [Tablecloth and Snuffbox]
Crying   Then **she** started to cry and beg that he speak, "Look, how I loved you and still love you and came so far for you so as to meet with you but one more time, or at least see you. Is it all to you but nothing, do you have no pity for me, that I of love for you suffered so much fear and misery ? Will you feel no pity for me then, when I will die for you ? If you do not speak tomorrow, I will be burned alive." [Kursiukas]
Controlling   The **boy** says to the axe, "Axe, axe, take me home!" [Sun on Forehead, Moon on Back of Head, Stars on Sides]
Battling   At once the battle began. The **dragon** took to breathing in the prince with his breath, and he took to defending with his stick made from twelve rods. [Warrior Prince]
Trickery   The **fairy child** bathed the fool in the tub, seated him in a beautiful cart by the oven, and says, "Lie down, brother, I will give you a ride." [How the Fool Baked the Witches]
Frightening   The **fool** rang the apron with its bells. The brothers told him to stay quiet, but **he** rang all the more and threw down the dead fairy. The frightened murderers fled. [How the Fool Baked the Witches]
Understanding   Now he says to himself, "**Now, wait!**" He returned, took a couple of the one apples and of the others... and went to that king's city. [Tablecloth and Snuffbox]

Explaining

This tone of voice makes insightful observations and uses the force of words. We have found this to include distinguishing the good and the bad: bearing witness, confronting, recognizing, and passing judgement as well as sentence. We think that examining and exploring also signify the

voice V, as well as causal laws at work. Among our examples we include several where the action is phrased as a question, for although inquiring signifies the voice VI, it is in every case the spirit suggested by the words which matters.

Narrating   The **overseers** tell the king, "That the estate by the sea is beautiful, that it is, but in that estate there stands a silver apple tree with gold apples and a well full of wine, and that wine smells so." [Sun on Forehead, Moon on Back of Head, Stars on Sides]

Announcing   The **king** sent out letters to all the lands, might there not appear from somewhere somebody who could take off the horns. [Tablecloth and Snuffbox]

Asking   That **old man** now asks the prince to give him some water to drink. The prince had pity on him, filled a ladle full of water, and gave it to him. [Three Kings of the Waters]

Giving Advice   "Do not fear, man, I will advise you: tonight put into the granary a mare, a pig, and your daughter, and tomorrow you will see what you will find." [Three Brides]

Promising   "The **old man** drank it in one gulp, and having drunk he thanked him very much and says, "If you ever have a misfortune, I will come to your aid". [Three Kings of the Waters]

Examining   He stuck his finger in that well, and his finger became bright like silver. [The Youth With the Bramble Hat]

Once the **prince** went out for a walk in the orchard and saw a small cottage with strong brick walls, bound with iron, held with locks, and with a small window. He looked through that window and saw sitting there this old man three feet tall with a seven foot beard. [Three Kings of the Waters]

The **king** called the prince and that impostor, asks, "Which of you saved my daughter from the dragon ?" [Three Kings of the Waters]

Passing Judgement   Then **he** ordered the son-in-law and his wife to be tied to the horses by their tails and dragged across all of the fields, and he himself married that maiden and lived many years. [Warrior Prince]

Recognizing   She gives him food to eat, but he does not want any. **He** thinks to himself, "This is not my daughter, this is the pig." [Three Brides]

The **lord** returned, says, "Why where you in that little room, when I told you not to go ?" [The Youth With the Bramble Hat]

Bearing Witness   But when they returned, the **princess** says to her father, "It was not he who saved me, but among the carriage drivers there is a prince, and he is the one who saved me." [Three Kings of the Waters]

(**brothers**): "What are you doing ? Why do you want to kill our innocent sister ? Better throw in the fire the stepmother witch! Here are our sister's children!" [Twelve Brothers, Flying Ravens]

Amazement   Once not far away the **king** was hunting and he saw that

maiden. He liked the maiden very much. [Swan, Wife of the King]
Once merchant overseers crossed the seas from another land. They see -
as many times as they have come this way, there never was here such a
fine estate. [Sun on Forehead, Moon on Back of Head, Stars on Sides]
Causality   And each time that **he** kisses the maiden, his stallion kicks
dirt into the eyes of those twelve brothers. [Warrior Prince]

Caring

We identify the voice VI in a wide variety of situations to which we
give the term caring. In general, this tone of voice expresses the power of
waiting, and only then responding. This includes watching over and holding
onto what one holds to be their greatest fortune - an appropriate stance
for a voice which attends to the meaning of life. This concern is also
addressed by making plans and schemes and assigning tasks.   Offering
help signifies that we are making a commitment although the outcome is
not yet known. Likewise, when we ask questions, we commit ourselves to
respond to an answer, whatever it may be, rather than dictate it. This also
occurs in the magical bond inherent in calling as well as in damning.

Inquiring   The **son**, seeing his father very depressed, asked him, "Why
are you, father, so despondent ?" [Warrior Prince]
When it became light and the other brothers awoke, **he** asks, "Do you want
to eat ?" [Tablecloth and Snuffbox]
The **prince** and all the others came to the sea shore, and now he asks,
"Where are the dragons ?" And that impostor saw from the woods, how the
other had stuck them under the rock, says, "There, under the rock." [Three
Kings of the Waters]
This woman drove by with a driver, stopped and shouts, "Come over here to
me!" He thinks this way and that, what kind of woman could this be, who
rides at night. Getting up his courage he went to her, and **she** asks him,
"Who are you, that spends the night here in the woods ?" [Tablecloth and
Snuffbox]
Once - the girl was already twelve years old - the **servants** took to
talking, "Did the dead lady have but that one daughter ?" [Twelve Brothers,
Flying Ravens]
Bewitching and Cursing   After the wedding, when they returned to the
manor, the **witch** just sniff, sniff - sniffed everywhere around, finally
says, "What smells here ? May all those, who do not belong here, fly out as
ravens!"
Egle, deeply saddened, fell into tears, and turning to Drebule, said, "May
you turn into an asp, so that you would shake day and night, so that the
rain would clean your mouth, so that the wind would comb your hair!"
[Egle, Queen of the Snakes]
Calling   Nine days having gone by, Egle said goodby to her relatives,

went to the sea shore and calls Zilvinas, "Zilvinas, Zilvinas! if you are alive - foam of milk, if you are dead - foam of blood." [Egle, Queen of the Snakes]

Offering Help and Helping   "Fear not", replied the **son**. "I will try to stand against him, just make me a stick from twelve iron rods!" [Warrior Prince]

(**Stallion**): "Sit on me, I will take you wherever you want." [Warrior Prince]

They had nothing to eat, so the **devil** says, "I am strong and fast, at once I will bring meat and bread and whatever else we need." **Perkunas** says, "And I will make fierce lightning and thunder, so that everywhere there will be one fire, and the wild animals will run away from us." [Carpenter, Perkunas, and Devil]

Assigning Tasks and Stating Conditions   "Now", says the **Old Man of Bones**, "I will turn them all into jackdaws and call them through the window. If you remember which is your maiden, then she will be yours, and if you don't remember, then she will not." [Old Man of Bones on Iron Mountain]

(**Mountain Digger**) "... but first we must show one another, what each of us can do." [Thumb Child, Mountain Digger, and Oak Uprooter]

The **third** of those young women says, "If the king married me, I would give him three sons - it would be sun on forehead, moon on back of head, stars on sides. [Sun on Forehead, Moon on Back of Head, Stars on Sides]

After it all the **liar** went again to the princess, and having gotten there says, "If you say, that I saved you a third time from death, then all will be well, but if you do not, I will throw you into the water." [Sun on Forehead, Moon on Back of Head, Stars on Sides]

(**King**) "Then go pick up the rock and show them to us, because whoever cut off the heads, he put them under the rock." [Three Kings of the Waters]

Changing Into Another   Seeing the twelve curly tailed hounds closing in, the **maiden** turned into a church, and she turned the young man into a priest and told him to say nothing more than "Our Father". [Old Man of Bones on Iron Mountain]

Now he says, "How tired I am today - I will go rest a bit." Lying down **he** lifted up his pants, and his wife saw the shining leg, and on his leg her father's scarf was tied. [The Youth With the Bramble Hat]

Kursiukas gave himself up as a slave to the king of one country. He made out that he was mute, but because of his good looks, all respected him. [Kursiukas]

Planning, Scheming, and Searching For Fortune   Once those **sons** say, "Father, how can we stay here, we can not find food for all of us. Let us go out into the world." And they went. [Tablecloth and Snuff Box]

But then the **carpenter** says, "You know what, friends ? We will build ourselves a beautiful house, then we can live in it like human beings. Why should we suffer like wild beings ?" [Carpenter, Perkunas, and Devil]

Soon after the **father** thought of marrying another, but that was a witch. [Twelve Brothers, Flying Ravens]

He says to him, "why, lord, do you worry so ? On your estate you have large hounds. You will burn up twelve of them, pour them into papers, place the seals, and send them to her - will she catch on ? And after the wedding - even if she finds your sons, there will be nothing she can do." [Twelve Brothers, Flying Ravens]

Watching Over One's Life's Fortune   The first night **the devil** stood watch over the turnips. As he stood watch, the thief drove by and started to pull out the turnips and load them into the cart. [Carpenter, Perkunas, and Devil]

The **father** upon his death left his one son a dog, his other son a cat, and for the little fool - a mallet. [How the Fool Baked the Witches]

A STORY IN FULL

We now make use of our guidelines to apply our method to a story from its beginning to its end. The story we choose is "Witch and Johnny", and we append our translation of its text to the end of our paper. Within the text we have marked the narrative units of our interpretation of the story. As we have said, other interpretations are possible. Within each narrative unit we then signify the voices we associate with the source of tension and focus of tension. The reasons for our choices are explained in the commentary below. We use the notation: Source of Tension -> Focus of Tension; Character That Relaxes Tension.

1. ? . 2. Mother IV -> Johnny I, Father. Every folk tale begins with the introduction of characters. The death of a mother creates tension, but it might not be obvious what voice to assign, if any. However, after analyzing eighty stories we draw empirical conclusions. We find that if the beginning of a story is dominated by the voice IV, then it more than likely starts with the death of a child's mother, whereafter she is replaced by a wicked stepmother. If the beginning is dominated by the voice V, then it often starts with the death of a father, which presents the sons with the hardship of poverty, so that they find themselves as servants of others. Or the sons might tell their father that they must leave so as to escape poverty. Often there are three brothers, one of them a fool, or two brothers, one rich and the other poor. The story may start with the abduction of daughters or the threat thereof. It may also start with a king who seeks to marry the most beautiful woman, or seeks to find a horse with two heads, and so on. Finally, if the beginning of a story is dominated by the voice VI, then it often starts with sons going off to seek their fortune. We note that this is not the same as being driven out by

poverty.   Alternatively, it may happen that a man receives payment for services, for example, three gold coins, which is understood to be his whole life's fortune. With regard to all of the above, in "Witch and Johnny" we consider that the mother by her death creates tension with the voice IV. We assume that the focus of the tension is Johnny, who has voice I. This tension is relaxed when the father takes another wife.

> 3. Stepmother IV -> Johnny II ; Father.

> 4. Father IV -> Johnny III; Johnny.   We must decide on how we

interpret the father's words so that we might agree on his tone of voice. Is he commanding (IV), asking (V), or calling (VI) ? We rule out asking. We claim that in this story the father and son's relationship is one of commanding. The father put the son on the board, and in calling he seems to command him with the same authority. In this matter, as an aside, we want to make a comparison with the story "Little Luke". It begins: "There was this man and he had a son. In those days it would happen that witches would steal children. [a] Fearing that his son might also be stolen, that man made a boat, set his son inside, and let it out to sea. In letting it out he told him not to row by the shore, but to come over only then, when he heard calling:

> Come to shore, come to shore, Little Luke,
> I will give you a white shirt
> And a red ribbon! [b]

That child swims along in his boat on the seas. When a meal needs to be brought to him, his mother goes to the shore and calls, 'Come to shore, come to shore...' Little Luke at once swims to shore, his mother gives him the meal, and he swims out again [c]" Although the events are similar to those in our story, here we say that it is the voice VI which creates tension. In [b] the father makes a plan, and in [c] we say that the mother is calling. We think the differences between the two stories are subtle but significant. Luke is explicitly told to come when he is called in exactly this way, unlike Johnny. Luke is set inside the boat to keep him from capture by the witch, of whom Johnny and his father are unaware. We also note that it is the father who sets Luke in the boat, but his mother who calls him.

> 5. Witch IV -> Johnny III; Johnny. The witch commands Johnny and

at the same time tricks him. Again, we compare this with the story about Little Luke. "Once a witch heard how the mother calls to Luke, and she herself took to calling, 'Come to shore, come to shore...' But the witch called with a deeper voice. The child understood that this was not his mother and says, 'You are not my mother - my mother has but one hand'." Here we feel that the power of the calling is not in what the child is being promised, as in Johnny's case, but in the magic of the words.

> 6. ? Tired -> Witch; Witch. We do not know what voice to

associate with getting tired. It may well be IV because it is something that overcomes us and that happens when we ourselves are exercising power.

7. Johnny IV -> Bag I; witch. A case of trickery.

8. Witch V -> Meat I; Witch. Narration by the witch.

9. Witch IV -> Johnny III; Johnny.

10. Witch IV -> Daughter II; Johnny. The witch commands (instructs) her daughter.

11. Daughter IV -> Johnny II; Johnny. A command and an attempt at trickery. Many of the narrative units that we will be describing may be combined. Often events in a story are repeated for emphasis. In practice, if an event does not stand out with respect to our feelings, then it does not warrant a narrative unit. For purposes of exposition we err on the side of having shorter narrative units.

12. Johnny IV -> Daughter II; Daughter. A command. Our interpretation is that with the words, "You sit, I will drive you around first", Johnny goes on the offensive. Alternatively, if this is considered as a defense to the daughter's offer, then we further interpret her words, "You won't be able to" as an attack on Johnny, and his words "I will too" as a defense. Different interpretations are possible, even by the same person, but not at exactly the same time.

13. Johnny IV -> Daughter II, Daughter. We don't think of this as Johnny explaining, but rather as pressing on his attack. We note that the relation IV-II has occured throughout their dialogue. This reflects the fact that our feelings don't change much either. It would be quite all right to combine 11, 12, 13, 14 as Daughter IV -> Johnny II; Johnny.

14. Johnny IV -> Daughter I; Johnny. Johnny overpowers her. We think that Greimas would be content to take the story up to here and analyze it without reference to what happens later. However, we claim that there is no satisfactory way to end the story here with one or two sentences. We would be left with the feeling that nothing fundamental happened.

15. Witch VI -> Guests V; Guests. The witch inquires. We will see that her guests speak with the voice V. We note their role in enhancing the tension of the story, even though they have no reason to side with either Johnny or the witch. Here their answer tells the witch where her daughter is, bringing closer the moment when she finds out her daughter is dead!

16. Witch VI -> Guests V; Guests. We assign the same voices in 15, and it would make more sense to have this as part of that narrative unit. We may think of the witch's daughter and Johnny as two sides of the same child - the daughter being the 'good' child and Johnny being the 'mischievous and rotten' child. The witch plays the role of the mother who wants to bring back harmony to the child. What follows is a game where the course of action keeps misleading the witch so that she thinks it is the good side of the child which is alive. All of this goes on until she discovers that the good side has been defaced by the bad side. As for the guests, here we must infer the voice of the focus of tension, as we note that "No, let her sleep" is spoken by the relaxer of tension. However, when one is speaking at another, the listener will have voice II, whereas if one

is speaking to another, the listener will have voice V

17. Guests V -> Daughter II; Witch. We think of the guests' comments as being spoken with respect to the obedient daughter. We remark that action described in long quotes can be itself understood in terms of narrative units. It is our opinion that embedding narrative units in quotations does not affect our feelings towards the events being discussed. In this particular narrative unit we exclude two possibilities that we do not want to admit of. We exclude Guests V -> Witch V because we do not want both the source and focus of tension to ever have the same voice. We do not think that in such an event there could be tension as there would be no resistance. Here, for example, it would mean that the guests are saying what the witch is listening to hear. We also exclude Guests V -> Witch VI because we have been working with the hypothesis that the climax of a story is reached when the voice VI is the focus of tension. It seems that such a climax may be reached more than once and amounts to a certain chord being struck within us. To claim that the relation is Guests V -> Witch VI would be to say that the guests are, by their comments, attacking the witch head on, for example, thrusting the witch into a position where she will eat her daughter. We interpret the story differently.

18. Witch IV - Daughter I; Witch. We relate devouring the meat to the overpowering of a victim. Other voices would also be relevant - we could think of the witch as signifying III if we felt she craved the meat itself, or as signifying VI if we felt she was trying to put Johnny in his place. As an aside, we may note the opposition in this story of milk products and meat products. It is as if the young child is being weened from his mother's milk: the daughter is the good child who eats meat, and Johnny is the bad child who does not

19. Guests V - Witch IV; Witch. Guests being guests, we interpret them as asking the witch for water, rather than thinking out a plan to get water. We assign the same voice of authority as before to the witch that they address. The witch reacts by going to wake her daughter.

20. Guests VI - Witch IV; Witch. Now the guests speak with a different voice, one of planning the action, or equivalently for our purposes, one of helping out. Again, we think of the witch as being addressed by them as a voice of authority. In the interpretation that we are describing we may think of 19 and 20 as shifting up the voice of the guests, so that they are no longer commenting, but actually dictating the course. Then, in 21, the witch will take over this role, when she takes to actually bringing the water. In this way, when she is attacked by Johnny in 22, we will be interpreting her as the voice VI, and we will sense a climax as the tables are turned on the voice which is responsible for restoring order. In this way the guests serve to redefine the witch summarily, so that the witch that overpowered her victim with voice IV will now be the witch that is keeping everything in order - until Johnny surprises her. An alternative interpretation of these events would hold

had we felt that she had eaten Johnny having voice VI, that is, if we felt that she was trying to put Johnny in his place. Then the shock in her mistake would be directed not to the helplessness of her victim, but to her own righteousness. In this reading three narrative units ensue. The guests would ask her for water, and thereby be attacking her because the water, Johnny, and the truth are all in the well. With her having voice VI and being attacked, this event would strike a climactic chord. In the second unit the witch would turn to the daughter and again her discovery of the truth would be immanent. But this unit would not be climactic because she would be on the offensive. In the third unit the guests would again confront the witch, and send her towards the well. This moment again would be climactic.

21. Witch VI -> Water I; Witch. The witch that helps out by getting water has voice VI. We may also think of her as going to put Johnny in his place. The witch that sings relieves the tension by seconding the witch.

22. Johnny V -> Witch VI; Witch. This is the climax. Johnny declares to the witch that she has eaten her daughter. It is important that this witch has been understood to be signifying the voice VI because it sets her up as the force trying to eliminate all of the tension and having at this point utterly failed. This at least is our hypothesis about climaxes. With respect to this story it means that she is attacked for planning to eat Johnny and not simply attempting to eat him. If the later were the case, then she would be merely an adversary that Johnny was successful in fooling. On the contrary, the point of the story is that the preconceptions from the beginning of the story are now to be thought of as hopelessly wrong.

23. Witch IV -> Johnny I, Daughter. While the witch understands what has happened, we think of Johnny as a piece of meat.

24. Witch V -> Johnny IV; Johnny. As the witch looks for Johnny, we think of him as capable of mischief.

25. Witch V -> Johnny II; Witch. The witch sees Johnny, and we think of him as vulnerable and scared.

26. Wolf VI -> Witch IV; Witch. The wolf asks a question of the witch who is bent on overpowering the tree and then Johnny. The narrating witch relieves tension.

27. Wolf VI -> Witch IV; Witch. The wolf offers help. One unit could be made up of 26, 27 and even 28.

28. Wolf VI -> Tree I; Witch. The wolf helps Johnny, or equivalently, he changes the form of the tree. We may identify the focus of tension with Johnny, in which case he would represent the voice II.

29. Hare VI -> Witch IV; Witch. The hare inquires and offers help. He is addressing the witch who is trying to overpower Johnny. The narrating witch relieves tension.

30. Hare VI -> Witch IV; Witch. It is possible to think of the hare as explaining. However, we think of the hare's statement as an act of self-definition, much as when the devil says, "I am strong and fast, at

once I will bring meat and bread... " in the story "Carpenter, Perkunas and Devil". We therefore relate it to offering help.

31. Fox VI -> Witch IV; Witch. Just as 26 and 29.

32. Fox VI -> Witch IV; Witch. The fox offers help. The fox's statement presents an example of argumentation, which we hold to be a language distinctly separate from narration. As we discussed earlier, the language of symbols, such as when the fox runs around the tree three times, we hold to be a language of manipulation.

33. Fox VI -> Witch IV; Witch. The fox inquires.

34. Fox VI -> Tree I; Witch. The same as 30.

35. Fox VI -> Witch IV; Witch. The same as 28. We note that the units 26 through 35 involve very little change in the type of feeling experienced. This reflects the fact that this is not a very interesting part of the story in our interpretation. In truth we compress it in our experience so that there are fewer units involved than we present here. We note the persistence of the voice creating tension and remark that this voice does not serve to heighten the sense of impending doom, as we will see is the case in rescue stories. Here we feel the voice drags on as if in discussion of the consequences of Johnny's transgression - his fate and the appropriate punishment.

36. Witch VI -> Johnny II; Witch. We interpret the witch as making up her mind to attack Johnny and hence the tree all the more vigorously. The witch that actually gnaws relieves the tension by seconding her.

37. Johnny V -> Geese II; Geese. We interpret Johnny as asking for help, although the formula by which he calls the geese would make it possible to claim this is calling in other settings. We think of him as talking or shouting at the geese, and therefore assign them voice II.

38. Ducks VI -> Johnny II; Johnny. The ducks help out. Johnny is helpless and signifies voice II.

39. Father ? -> Feast I; Storyteller. 40. ? It is not clear what voice to assign to throwing a feast. We would have to make an empirical study of the way stories end as we did with the way they begin. In our experience the voice VI would be fitting because throwing a feast is a way of bringing everything back together. We have no set way of interpreting the very end.

STORY STRUCTURE

We summarize our interpretation of the story "Witch and Johnny" with a graph. This graph shows a curve that represents the source of tension and another which represents the focus of tension. We will consider this graph as we make observations about story structure in general.

From our commentary of "Witch and Johnny" it is apparent that we take liberties in assigning a tone of voice to the focus of tension. In part this is because we have devoted our efforts to providing guidelines that apply to the source of tension. More important is the fact that the focus of tension is often passive. It may even seem that we should rather direct our attention to the reliever of tension. We claim, however, that as we experience a story all of our interest and feeling is associated with the focus of tension. As the beginning of the story unfolds, Johnny is completely passive, but he is the character with whom we empathize. We identify our feelings with the focus of tension even when that role is no longer taken by the hero. This is because throughout the story whenever tension is created we feel that it is directed towards us. We find ourselves in the role of the focus of tension. When Johnny pops the witches daughter into the oven, it is not his motivation that stirs our feelings, but the intended effect of his action – to fry her to a crisp. When the wolf strikes up a conversation with the witch, our feelings do not relate to his motivations, but to the intended effect of his conversation on her – to halt her gnawing. This makes sense when we realize how many folk tales are logically ridiculous. In very few tales do we find a correlation between the goodness of a character and the morality of his or her actions. In "Witch and Johnny" the hero's actions are in no way good and perhaps evil. Furthermore, in many tales the original motivation of the characters is quickly lost. In contrast, we are always alert to the effects of a newly instigated action even though this may require our imagination to divine to whom the message is addressed. In this sense it is the focus of tension to which we identify our feelings.

On our graph the focus of tension appears quite chaotic. However, we do observe that it is bounded from above by an envelope which is concave down. We state three hypotheses which follow from this observation. The first is that at the beginning of a story the focus of tension always has voice I, and then as the story progresses, the focus of tension expresses higher voices. In this way our empathy unfolds. If in the beginning the focus of tension is always a particular character, such as the hero, then the progression of the voices is what makes us perceive that this character is being developed. This is the case in "Witch and Johnny". Our second hypothesis is that at the end of the story the opposite occurs: the focus of tension retreats to lower and lower voices until it arrives at voice I. In this way the story winds down and comes to an end. By the very end we find that the characters which were so vivid and alive are one dimensional again. The most important hypothesis about the focus of tension concerns the climax. It says that the climax of a story is reached when the voice VI is the focus of tension. In "Witch and Johnny" this is the instance when the witch is made to discover that she has eaten not Johnny, but her own daughter. The claim is that there needs to be some instance where the tables are turned for us to feel that in the story something has occured. It is as if the story leads us to experience the

course of action through ever higher and more subtle voices until we achieve the highest voice. At this point we have reached the limits of expression for our own experience and we feel the inevitability of the course of action as it marches on. This event may allow ourselves to be convinced of the story's psychological reality even though we may as yet be unaware of how the story itself ends. The investigation of this last hypothesis should be quite fruitful. We are interested in the mechanics of how the climax is prepared and in general how we move from one narrative unit to another. Behind all of these matters we would expect there to be twelve categories defining either the possible narrative units or the transitions between them; but all of this we reserve for the future. In this paper we do not investigate any hypotheses concerning the focus of tension because of the tenuous nature of such data.

In contrast, we feel most confident about our hypotheses about the source of tension and our ability to validate them. We observe the graph of the source of tension for the story "Witch and Johnny". It is surprisingly consistent at the beginning of the story, where it maintains voice IV, and at the end of the story, where it maintains voice VI, but it is chaotic in between. In the beginning of the story we sense a consistent pressure of commanding, tricking, overpowering even though it is expressed by a cacophony of characters: the mother, the father, the witch, her daughter, and even Johnny himself. The middle of the story is chaotic, with many different tones of voice being expressed through the source of tension. The end of story, however, has us again sense the pressure of a consistent and monolithic tone of voice – this time it is one of inquiring, offering help, and helping. This striking consistency of tone of voice expressed by the source of tension at both the beginning and the end of a story is not particular to "Witch and Johnny". We have found it to be true for all of the eighty Lithuanian folk tales which we have studied. We claim that it is a feature of narratives in general and is in fact what determines their content.

The central observation of our paper is that in any folk tale the source of tension expresses a consistent tone voice throughout the beginning of the tale and likewise throughout the end of the tale. As a consequence of this observation we were able to classify eighty Lithuanian folk tales according to the tones of voice expressed at the beginning and at the end. In this way we found seven kinds of folk tales: III-VI, IV-V, IV-VI, V-IV, V-VI, VI-IV, VI-V. The similarity of theme between stories of the same kind is amazing and this is the subject of the next section of our paper.

At this time we note that the tone of voice with which a story begins is not the same as the tone of voice with which it ends. As we will see, the exceptions to this only serve to prove the rule. Of the eighty stories, only two had the same tone of voice at the very beginning and at the very end. Both of these stories are very long and we will later discuss one of them so as to show how our method applies to a longer narrative

We also mention that if we define the beginning and the end to be the first and last regions where the source of tension sustains a constant tone of voice, then these two regions seem to natural divisions of the course of action. The beginning does not seem end until the character that has been receiving our sympathy as the focus of tension takes on the role of the source of tension and expresses the same tone of voice as the others before him or her. For example, the beginning of "Witch and Johnny" does not end until Johnny bakes the daughter, that is, until Johnny himself expresses the voice IV as the source of tension. It seems that in this way the character breaks out of the confines of the tone of voice to which he or she has been exposed. Also, the beginning seems to end with a shift in location and situation that seems to match Propp's function "XV. The hero is transferred, delivered, or led to the whereabouts of an object of search". Propp explains that "generally the object of search is located in 'another' or 'different' kingdom." In "Witch and Johnny" we simply note that the beginning of the story continues until Johnny has arrived at the witch's house and his conflict with the witch has been established.

In the beginning of our work we set down a method for establishing narrative units and evaluating them. The application of this method produced notable empirical results that we have described above and have sought to confirm. We our most confident of our central observation which states that the source of tension maintains a consistent tone of voice throughout the beginning of a tale and a consistent but different tone of voice throughout the end of a tale. We are happy that our results suggest how a story works, that is, how it unfolds before us. We perceive a story as a dialogue between two complexes of characters: a source of tension, which is active, and a focus of tension, which is passive. Our empathy follows the source of tension. The source of tension matures in stages. At first it expresses only voice I, but as the story progresses it speaks in ever higher voices, or perhaps is spoken to as if it has a higher voice. In any event, it has an ever wider range of voice so that by the time the climax is reached and it expresses voice VI it has also represented all of the voices on the scale. In terms of communication the source of tension serves the purpose of noise. By the time the climax has been reached it has drowned out any attempt to have it confined or controlled. In contrast, the source of tension serves to get across what the story is trying to communicate. In the beginning of the story it hammers away at us with a singleminded voice. It does this until the character having our empathy switches from a passive to an active role and takes on this same voice. After that the range of the focus of tension expands to cover the whole scale so that judging from the graph itself it becomes impossible to distinguish between the the source of tension and the focus of tension. When the source of tension finally does reestablish a consistent tone of voice, then we relate to it as something stable but different from what had been expressed before. In this way a compromise is reached. The source of tension is acknowledged to have the role of imposing the voice

to which the focus of tension and we ourselves must ever respond. The source of tension, however, is not allowed to define itself exclusively with respect to any single voice. In this way we may perceive that from the perspective of the source of tension the voice expressed is not particularly relevant so long as it maintains control. In contrast, the focus of tension makes sense of the entire scale of voices, starting with the lowest and ending with the highest. It is as if in each story it demonstrates this understanding. The content of a story is the pair of voices that dominate its beginning and end, and as we will see, this content corresponds to a particular theme. For example, "Witch and Johnny" is of the kind IV-VI and like all such stories it is a transgression story. We think that the source of tension serves to dictate the content of a story, but it is the focus of tension by which this content is received.

Finally, we remark that the results of our method suggest why it is so difficult for people to create a good story from scratch. It is a task in itself for the story teller to establish a rhythm. Tension must be created, but it can not be created arbitrarily, for once it is created it must be relaxed. Even if this principle is mastered, there is the problem of establishing a consistent tone of voice for the source of tension. This gives us the feeling that the energy of the story is directed along a single wavelength. A ready mistake is to try to drag in a variety of tones of voice - this is a recipe for chaos. However, at a certain point it is necessary to establish a different tone of voice. If this is not done, then the story will have never gotten off the ground. Then there is the task of managing the focus of tension so that it opens and closes like a flower, with the six voices all arrayed when it is in full bloom. If this is not done then the story will be lacking in the breadth and depth that we attribute to human life. We claim that for purposes of telling a story these are the relevant principles to adhere to. Many other matters are secondary. Folk tales are full of one dimensional characters, full of repugnant deeds and images, and full of loose ends. We have not found these problems to affect our enjoyment of any folk tale. What we have found is that all folk tales fit the model that we have described above.

WITCH AND JOHNNY

There was an old man and an old woman, they had a child named Johnny. [1] The old woman shortly died, and the old man took another wife [2] The stepmother did not love Johnny and beat him often. The old man grew sorry for his child, so he seated him on a board and set him out to float around on a lake. [3] Having brought food, he would call him,

"Johnny, Johnny, come to shore, come to shore - I brought cheese, butter, sweet milk!"

Upon being called, Johnny would come to shore, take the meal from his father, and go back out to the lake. [4]

A fairy witch heard how the father calls his child, went to the lake and called out herself,

"Johnny, Johnny, come to shore, come to shore - I brought cheese, butter, sweet milk!"

Johnny came to shore, the fairy witch grabbed him and, having put him in a bag, is taking him home. [5] While carrying him she got tired, set down her burden, lay down to rest and fell asleep. [6] Johnny climbed out from the bag, filled it with rocks, and as for himself he went back to the lake, found his board and swam off. Having had her sleep, the witch picked up the bag and came home all happy. [7]

"Daughter, I have brought back a full bag of meat - I will invite everyone I know and throw a feast."

She untied the bag, she's about to take Johnny, why she sees, there is nothing but rocks. [8] Furious she at once ran to the lake and called out again,

"Johnny, Johnny, come to shore, come to shore - I brought cheese, butter, sweet milk!"

Johnny came to shore. The witch, having grabbed him, put him in the bag and this time carried him without stopping for rest, and afterwards kept him for several days more - gave him everything to eat and drink, whatever Johnny wanted. [9]

One day the witch really heated up the oven and says to her daughter,

"Daughter, I will go to invite the guests, you sweep out the oven, bake Johnny and, having put him in the bowls, place them on the table."

Johnny was playing by the door and heard everything. As soon as the witch left, the daughter at once swept out the oven, took the oven's peel and calls to Johnny [10],

"Johnny, Johnny, sit on the peel - I'll drive you around the kitchen."

Johnny, knowing what she was up to [11], replied,

"You sit, I'll drive you around first"

"You won't be able to," replied the little witch. [12]

"I will, too," said Johnny

The little witch sat down [13], and Johnny just popped her into the

wolf ran around the tree several times, and it became as thick as before; afterwards he went off into the woods. Upon waking the witch saw, that she had been tricked, and she started to gnaw away again. |28| As she gnawed, a hare runs by.

"What are you doing, old friend ?" he asked, just as the wolf.

The witch told him as well about her misfortune, but when the hare said that he would gnaw for her, so that she might take a nap, the witch at first refused.

"No," she says, "You won't trick me. The wolf in just this way promised to gnaw for me and he just tricked me: neither gnawed, nor helped at all." |29|

"Such a scoundrel that wolf!" said the hare, as if feeling sorry for her. "I, old friend, never wish harm on anybody – you can be sure to trust in me ."

The witch trusted him – lay down for a nap, and the hare, having done just as the wolf, ran off. Upon awaking the witch saw again that she had been tricked and started to gnaw even harder. |30| As she gnawed like so, a fox runs by.

"What are you doing, old friend ?" she asks the witch.

"This and that," the witch complained. |31|

"Oh, old friend, how unhappy you are! Perhaps you are tired from gnawing ? Let me, I will gnaw, and you, old friend, get some sleep, get some rest – where has it been seen that one should gnaw down such a tree all by themselves ..."

"Oh, no, I can't," said the witch. "You will do just as the wolf and the hare." |32|

"Well, what did those scoundrels do ?"

"Why they offered, just like you, to gnaw, and they neither gnawed, nor anything at all," said the witch. |33|

"Such scoundrels! Did you, old friend, not know until now that they are great tricksters ? They wish good for noone! Whereas I, old friend, never do any bad to anyone, and if you don't believe me, you can stay awake and watch – you will see, how I will gnaw."

The witch listened – she lay down and at once fell asleep |34|, whereas the fox ran three times around the tree, and it once again became just as before. Upon waking the witch saw again, that she had been tricked |35|; terribly furious, she started to gnaw herself all the faster. Soon there was not much to go – now the tree swayed, it is about to fall, now Johnny is shaking, sitting in the tree. |36| At this time geese flew by him. Johnny took to asking,

"Geese, swans,
Throw me at least a feather apiece
When I return to my father's estate,
I will serve you new wine,
I will feed you grains of wheat."

The geese threw down a feather each, but it was still not enough

|37|, ducks flew by, and they threw down a feather each, – and Johnny flew off to his father's estate. |38| His father was overjoyed and threw a great feast. I was also there, I drank beer and mead, it ran down my beard, but not in my mouth. |39| Then they put me in a wooden clog, fired me from the clog, and I flew over here. |40|

WITCH AND JOHNNY

* source of tension
o focus of tension

beginning of the story   1 – 14
climax   22
end of the story   26 – 40