The paper deals with the historical and recent situation in classifying international folk tales and gives an overview of new developments, for example new catalogs for types and motifs. From the outset up to date, folk narrative researchers have been creating systems for ordering large masses of tale material according to genres, actors and incidents. The concentration on oral traditions, however, has largely neglected the important literary history of many tales.

It was necessary to include such information into the new international catalog ATU (Aarne/Thompson/Uther). The concept of tale type and here must be understood to be flexible. It is not a constant unit of measure or a way to refer to lifeless material from the past. Instead, as part of a greater dynamic, it is adaptable, and can be integrated into new thematic compositions and media. Some former catalog makers also had used the system of numbers for expansion beyond number 2400 in order to describe other genres such as legends, riddles, ballads, etiologies, etc.

Although a satisfying system for classification of folk narratives has not yet been found the present system has provided scholars with many valuable and practical research instruments, and numerous methodological and theoretical by-products.

Key words: classification; documentation; distribution/diffusion of folktales; Folktale; historic-geographic method; motif catalogue; tale type; type catalogue

In an attempt to classify rapidly expanding collections, late 19th century scholars in Europe began to explore the wealth of tales from oral tradition – e.g. Johann Georg von Hahn explored Greek folktales, George Laurence Gomme English folktales and Michail Petrov Arnaudov Bulgarian folktales (Uther 1996; Uther 1997; Voigt 1977). These texts were thus made available for comparative study. The systematizations were established as a basis for the documentation of the collections, genres and the stock of folktales from different countries and regions. The aim was to ascertain the extent to which the
sources and stylistic traits were connected as well as the degree of interdependency between oral and written traditions. In addition, classifications served as scientific tools to promote access to certain folktales or collections.

It was Reinhold Köhler, Johannes Bolte, Jiří Polívka and Emmanuel Cosquin who provided important impulses in this direction. The publication in 1910 of a German-language classification compiled by the Finnish folklorist Antti Aarne, a student of Kaarle Krohn, was the most influential contemporary contribution to the field from an international perspective. He developed his system on the basis of Finnish, Danish (Sven Grundtvig) and German folktales (Brothers Grimm) (Aarne 1912). Following a numeric system, his catalog is divided into categories based on the traditional genres of folklore: animal tales (No. 1-299), ordinary tales (No. 300-1199), anecdotes and jests (No. 1200-1999) (Aarne 1910). Moreover, his classification distinguishes between actors and incidents. We are greatly indebted to the American folklorist Stith Thompson for his comprehensive extension and overhaul of Aarne's catalog (Aarne 1910; Aarne/Thompson 1961). Thompson carried out a revision of the catalog: he described the tale types more thoroughly and more precisely, incorporated the newly published regional type catalogs, made reference to the various source archives in different countries, added secondary sources and indicated a small selection of literary adaptations. His major work The Types of the Folktale (AaTh) published in English in 1928 was not merely limited to folktales in a narrow sense. This is made clear Thompson's preface: "these tales are divided for the purpose of classification into three principal groups: animal tales, regular folk-tales, and humorous tales". In 1961 Thompson revised his type-catalog. This time he extended the coverage of the index: "the Types of the Folk-Tale of Europe, West Asia, and the Lands settled by these Peoples".

Amplifying the type catalog up to the numbers 2000 Thompson accepted most propositions made by the north American folklorist Archer Taylor (Taylor 1933; Taylor 1934-1940) and added the Cumulative Tales, Catch Tales, and Other Formula Tales to the few types of the Formula Tales (AaTh 2000-2399). The type numbers 2400-2499 called Unclassified Tales were represented by four heterogeneous new tale types, however, they could placed later within the other type numbers without problems.

It is hardly surprising that the catalog also attracted criticism considering only the amount of bibliographical material its author had to master. Specialists in the field highlighted the following points which required consideration:

(1) A typology of narratives implies an exact, scientific scheme, a situation that does not exist in narrative tradition.
(2) Definitions of genres and the classification according to characters are often neither thematically nor structurally consistent. For example, no distinct genre is represented by AaTh 850-999, Novelle (Romantic Tales).

(3) The concentration of the "Finnish School" on nineteenth-century oral tradition relegated literary sources to a secondary position and often obscured important older forms and occurrences of the tale types.

(4) The system encompassed only European narrative tradition, with relevant material from western Asia and European settlements in other regions. Even in Europe, the traditions were documented unevenly. Documentation varied considerably from place to place, and for some (for example, Denmark and Russia) no information was provided at all. Evidence from Portugal, and from eastern and southeastern Europe, was often missing. The narrative traditions of minor ethnic groups (Basques, Ladini, Frisians, Sorbs, etc.) were not, or not sufficiently, documented. Only the Catalans were represented by the collection of Joan Amades.

(5) The presentation of separate localized types with only a few variants each unnecessarily obscured both the picture of their place in tradition and the classification system of the catalog as a whole.

(6) References to relevant scholarly literature were often missing.

(7) References to variants were usually taken from older collections, not from new ones.

(8) The descriptions of the tale types were often too brief, too imprecise, and male-biased.

(9) The inclusion of so-called irregular types was dubious.

(10) Evidence given for the existence of many types was often provided by archive texts that were difficult to access.

In the new international type catalog (ATU) by Hans-Jörg Uther and his editorial staff (Sabine Dinslage, Sigrid Fährmann, Christine Goldberg, Gudrun Schwibbe) this criticism is taken into account without forsaking the traditional principles of how the tale types are presented (Uther 2004, esp. 7-11). The descriptions of the tale types have been completely rewritten and made more precise on the basis of all the results of research available up to approximately 2003. Research material cited for each type includes extensive documentation of its international distribution as well as monographic works on that type or the cycle of types to which it belongs. Note has been made of the many types scattered throughout the various sections of the AaTh catalog whose internal properties or structural similarities and affinities with other types had previously been overlooked. The adoption of new types or subtypes listed in regional catalogs has been limited: many oikotypes have been integrated into widely-distributed types with significant regional variations, rather than as additional types or subtypes.
The concept of "tale type" used here must be understood to be flexible. It is not a constant unit of measure or a way to refer to lifeless material from the past. Instead, as part of a greater dynamic, it is adaptable, and can be integrated into new thematic compositions and media. The background for this model of narrative alteration and innovation is evident in a change of paradigm that took place in recent decades in historical-comparative folktale research. Earlier research had been handicapped by a shortage of information regarding historical and recent narrative material, especially from Europe, in all the genres. In such a system it was impossible to document all oral and literary forms on a worldwide basis. The genre-based structure of the AaTh catalog, and the thematic conception that this implied, made this impossible. History has shown that folk narratives from outside Europe fit its thematically-oriented sections only in part and often with difficulty. This is particularly true of myths, epics, legends, and etiological accounts, and also of lesser genres such as anecdotes, jokes, rumors, and genres such as life history, family history, and refugee experiences that have been studied only recently. For these genres, some other system is needed.

Up until the 1960's, folktale scholars generally believed that oral traditions had existed unchanged for centuries, and thus provided an important source of evidence for the belief systems of their ancestors. Thus, oral traditions constituted a more important source for national identity than did later written sources. This romantic concept, which continued from the 19th century well into the 20th, a period of intense nationalization in Europe, had a lasting influence on the perceived importance of the documentation of oral tradition. While Antti Aarne had essentially ignored older, literary sources, Stith Thompson sometimes made reference to important literary texts by Chaucer, Boccaccio, Basile, and Johannes Pauli, referring also to medieval Spanish and English exempla. However, knowledge of the existence of this literary tradition played too minor a role when the spread and development of the oral traditions were assessed. Written sources were for the most part undervalued. The oldest written texts, particularly of animal tales, were often dismissed as subtypes or "irregular" forms (Schwarzbaum 1964). Although such ahistorical treatment clearly represents a deficiency, it cannot be remedied within the tale type numbering system. In modern times the perspective is different, and written sources are valued more highly (Röhrich 1987).

As we now know, many so-called oral narratives have a rich literary history. Some can be traced back to works of literature, in which the imaginations of the homo narrans shows itself in adaptations that are responses changes of function. This is particularly true, for example, of the fables associated with the name of Aesop and of similar narratives from oriental traditions. Other important sources for Spain are Petrus Alfonsus and his Disciplina Clericalis, Juan Ruiz and his Libro de buen amor, or the anonymous Libro de los exemplos, and for Catalonia late not least Ramòn
Llull. Other examples of literary genres relevant in this field include medieval Arabic jests, European exempla and farcial tales, and the fabliaux and novelle of the late Middle Ages, all of which entered early modern literature. These narratives are completely different from the numerous etiological tales of illiterate peoples. Although the definitions of a tale type as a self-sufficient narrative, and of a motif as the smallest unit within such a narrative, have often been criticized for their imprecision, these are nevertheless useful terms to describe the relationships among a large number of narratives with different functional and formal attributes from a variety of ethnic groups, time periods, and genres. On pragmatic grounds, a clear distinction between motif and type is not possible because the boundaries are not clearly defined. With this attitude, a monographic investigation can distinguish between content and theme and still consider form and function as the properties that determine the genre of the narrative.

Some early advocates of narrative classification envisioned an exact system like that of the natural sciences, analogous to biological classification; this vision was later influenced by semantic and structural research. Such hope for scientific exactness must be seen as a product of the wishful thinking of the time. Nevertheless, narratives must not be analyzed arbitrarily but according to structural considerations. Just as genres of narrative are only intellectual constructs, so, is any typology. Broad definitions permit similar themes and plots to be included, so that, in the course of the history of the origins and development of a tradition, its different functions can be discerned. A precise analysis guarantees that variations in narrative tradition will not be reduced to simple multicultural similarities.

The ATU tale type catalog is a bibliographic tool that characterizes such diversity, represented by published narratives from different ethnic groups and time periods, with a description of each type followed by references to catalogs, texts, and published research. Paradoxically, a description of a tale type can show its various and changing structural elements, but not its meaning or functions. Nor can such a description show the variation in motifs contained in individual texts, variation that is essential for understanding the narrative's age, the process of its transmission, and its place in tradition.

The list of potential sources includes historical works of various degrees of popularity, such as calendars, magazines, and popular books read for educational purposes, language study, or pleasure. In the past, European tradition unjustly dominated the international tale type catalog. Where this imbalance continues into the ATU, it is not due to any kind of ethnocentric ideology, but merely reflects the present state of knowledge. For many countries and regions, systematic classification of narrative tradition has only recently begun.
Existing tale type catalogs covering folktales from various regions and countries specifically explore traditional genres such as myths, legends, ballads and anecdotes. In the early 1960's, special systems were devised for the classification of legends, ballads and exempla; these have provided a template for subsequent indexes. Other catalogs have concentrated on fields: such as mythological legends and legends about death. Although the criteria according to which these catalogs are arranged are mainly content-oriented, AaTh references are always mentioned.

Problems of classifying tales that cannot be found in ATU

As already mentioned, a large number of catalogs published during the last six decades have other ordering systems than the international tale type catalog. Concerning the registration of long and short tales, different tendencies to arrange the texts according to motifs, themes and/or actors or semantical and structural aspects become apparent.

Classification according to motifs

All the catalogs following the Motif-Index (1932-36, rev. 1955-58) of Stith Thompson belong to this category. As generally known, Thompson analyzed about 40,000 individual motifs followed by references to texts and scholarly literature (Thompson 1932ff.). He classified the motifs using an alphabetical-numeric system according to actors, objects, meanings and singular incidents that allows space for future additions. This system of ordering aimed at arranging all motifs in a way enabling users to find them easily in the appendix of the catalog (Jason 2000; Uther 1999). Within this system of classification, narrative elements of other genres (myth, etiology, ballad, etc.) can be incorporated in more detail than in a tale type catalog, as announced by the subtitle A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest Books and Local Legends.

Some important catalogs based on other ordering systems were not considered – perhaps because of language barriers – for example Jiří Polívka’s review of Slovak folktales (Polívka 1923ff.), Lajos György’s index of Hungarian anecdotes and jokes (György 1934), others have been considered only incompletely. One can therefore with good reason speak of an indeed imposing but however subjective choice, as far as medieval sources and recent collections are concerned. This applies, for instance to John Esten Keller’s Motif index of Spanish medieval exempla whose anticlerical motifs were not adopted by Thompson (Keller 1949), or Dominic Peter Rotunda’s index of novella (Rotunda 1942 partly, whose motifs with sexual content Thompson ignored, too (Hoffmann 1977:1-19; Legman 1966). Thompson argues:

Thousands of obscene motifs in which there is no point except the obscenity itself might logically come at this point, but they are entirely beyond the scope of the present work. They form a literature to themselves, with its own periodicals and collections. In view of the possibility that it might become desirable to classify these motifs and place them within the present index, space has been left from X700 to X749 for such motifs (Thompson 1955ff.:5, 514 [note 1]).

Shortly after the motif catalog has been published it attracted criticism: The numeric system conceals the fact in many cases the classification of motifs is only approximative and can cause misunderstandings as well as incorrect determinations/identification. The broad characterization of the actors (e.g. Mot. P 50: Noblemen [knights], Mot. P 150: Rich men, P 200: The family) is not significant enough to specify individual tales, with the effect that some motif groups are crowded (A, B, J, K), others in contrast are lesser (L, M, N, P).

Even the term motif (Jason 2000:18-65; Lüthi 1979:80-82, 122-126; Würzbach 1999), generally today qualified in folk narrative research as a multifunctional structural element of different function that is the most important smallest unit in a narrative (Ben-Amos 1980, esp. 26, 30 and note 2; Grambo 1976; Permjakov 1979:55, 74f.; Voigt 1976:10f., 27f.), is defined very broadly only by Thompson and considered as an analytic category (Thompson 1955ff.:1, 19). These systems permit the registration of different and changing structural elements; the same does not apply, however, to the levels of meaning and the functions of individual motifs as a prerequisite for investigations concerning textual dependencies, age, transmission, and dissemination of narratives. In the case of large narrative units such as the epic, the sole application of the systems in use – such as the Motif-Index – would lead to a total fragmentation of content segments, or, in Lutz Röhrich’s words, to an “atomisation of elements” (Röhrich 1976:248).

Such criticism didn’t impress later editors of catalogs. They adapted the Thompson numbers and by using an own system they gave in addition the international type and/or motif number. However, it makes sense to develop
other systems in parallel with the international system, because in many cases a classification according to AaTh respectively ATU is not feasible. Furthermore, individual motifs that cannot be classified ought to be documented.


Classification according to the international tale type catalog

Most of the catalogs adopt the traditional ordering system according to genres, but partly also document new narrative types and motifs with local diffusion (ectotypes) including their variants in accordance with the system. Among these are, for instance, the Greek (Megas 1978; Angelopoulou/Brousskou 1994, 1999; Angelopoulou/Kaplanoglou/Katrinaki 2004, 2007), Hungarian (MNK 1982ff.), Frisian (van der Kooi 1984), Spanish (Camarena/Chevalier 1995ff.), Aragonese (González Sanz 1996, 2004), Catalan (Oriol/Pujol 2003, 2008), Portuguese (Cardigos 2006) type catalogs or the huge compendium of the folktale in the Arab world (El-Shamy 2004).

Classification according to other ordering systems

Such ordering systems are developed mostly for legends and exempla, less for myths, fables, anecdotes and etiologies. Most editors of catalogs primarily are oriented to actors and incidents. This is the case of the catalog of medieval Latin exempla, published in 1969 by Frederic C. Tubach (1969). He alphabetically registered 5400 texts according the central actor or action. Tubach had analyzed 37 printed collections. For French exempla, Jacques Berlioz and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (1992) edited a revised index based on Tubach’s numbers. Karel Dvořák (1978) in his catalog of old Bohemian exempla followed the arrangement of Tubach’s numbers and added new ones. For comparison, Dvořák also informed about Greek and Roman literature that was considered only insufficiently by Tubach. Ákos Dömötör (1992) in his index of Protestant Hungarian homily exempla proceeded accordingly. He classified more than 200 Hungarian homily exempla (including those translated from other languages). Based on the system elaborated by Jean Théobald Welter (1929), Dömötör divided the material according to themes into biblical exempla, ancient mythologic exempla as well as legends and legendary tales. He again subdivided this group into (1) ancient historic legend material, (2) narratives of the devil, (3) Christian legends, (4) secular historic legends and (5) belief legends. Two smaller groups are reserved for fable and fairy tales used as exempla.
Another exemplary index has been published by Gerd Dicke and Klaus Grubmüller. The index which is arranged according to actors, provides a survey of printed and unpublished texts of the Latin and German fable up to approximately 1600 and “gives an outline of the subject by making accessible what has been transmitted, in such a way that the Latin sources from which the fables in the German language are always derived a new, primarily in the first period of their history, are disclosed as well” (Dicke/Grubmüller 1987:4). The index describes the contents of 655 fables from *Aal und Schlange* (The eel and the serpent) to *Zaunkönig und Adler* (The wren and the eagle). Especially useful are an appendix listing Latin manuscripts fable collections that are not registered in the standard editions; comprehensive bibliographies; meticulous indexes of manuscripts, authors, and anonymous works that amount to a concordance of the editions quoted; and finally, a list of protagonists, which, however, does not include the other actors involved. The index by Dicke and Grubmüller is easy to use. For future studies on fables, and also on the related genre of the exempla, this index is functionally a most useful tool.

Although anecdotes and jokes classified under the numbers 1000-1999 represent a large part of the international type catalog, the genre occasionally gave rise to the development of other patterns of documentation. For anticlerical Estonian anecdotes, for example, Loreida Raudsep (1969) divided a thematical pattern that contains 427 type numbers. Raudsep grouped her material in three thematic blocks: (1) The church and Christian doctrine, (2) clergymen and (3) parodies. She also provided subdivisions, for instance in (2) she summed up the clergymen according to characteristics, resumes their misfortunes, their behavior toward the squires as well as the declarations and judgments concerning clergymen and their work. For the Romanian material of anecdotes, Sabina Cornelia Stroescu (1969) conceived a tall type catalog with more than 6200 possible type numbers, that offers six categories and describes about 400 narrative types: (1) Relations sociales (conflits des classes), (2) Relations de famille, (3) Traits psychologiques, (4) Défauts physiologiques, (5) Facéties concernant l'armée, and (6) Anecdotes (général, a. sur enfants, a. sur écoliers). Based on an archive containing 22,000 units of German anecdotes of the 17./18. century, Elfriede Moser-Rath (1969) developed an unpublished model for a type and motif catalog concerning anecdotes and jokes. The ordering system proposed by Moser-Rath was based on actors and incidents and envisaged three thematic domains: (1) behavior patterns and characteristics, (2) chain of life/Family life and (3) social criticism in different groups of the population. An appendix discusses themes like revilement and mockery as well as smaller narrative units like conundrum and wordplay. In two major studies (Moser-Rath 1984, 1991), she gave a monumental overview and discussed her material under thematical aspects.
The foremost interest of catalog editors concerned the legend as a narrative genre and its phenomenology in ancient and recent texts. At various congresses, among others at Antwerp, Budapest, Liblice near Prague, Berkeley, Fribourg (near the Black Forest), Kosovče and Bonn (Peeters 1963; Ranke 1963; Greverus 1965; Hand 1965; Bošković-Stulli 1966; Hand 1971; Röhrich 1973; Hlůšková/Krekovičová 1991; af Klintberg 1993; Heissig/Schott 1998), an international model was proposed as follows (Acta Ethnographica: 13, 130f.):

1. Etiological and eschatological legends.
2. Cultural and historical legends. (2.1) Development of cultural places and cultural golds. (2.2) Legends and localities. (2.3) Events of far-away history. (2.4) Wars and calamities. (2.5) Persons who play a prominent role in a group. (2.6) Breaking the rules.
3. Supernormal beings and forces/mythic legends. (3.1) Fortune. (3.2) Death and the dead. (3.3) Haunting places and phenomena. (3.4) Processions and fights of spirits. (3.5) Visit to the other world. (3.6) Supernatural owners of nature. (3.7) Local spirits inhabiting cultural localities. (3.8) Metamorphoses. (3.9) The devil. (3.10) Disease demons and diseases. (3.11) Persons with supernatural (magic) gifts and forces. (3.12) Mythic animals and plants. (3.13) Treasures.
4. Legends (Myths of gods and heroes).

The "handbook of legends" (Handbuch der Sage) has remained a fragment (Peuckert 1961ff.) of which only three fascicles (1961-63) are available. Only a few catalogs completed were, for instance the index of legends dealing with death by Ingeborg Müller and Lutz Röhrich (1967), the catalog of Finnish mythic legends by Lauri Simonsuuri (1961; Jauhiainen 1998), the catalog of Finnish historic and local legends established by Pirkko-Liisa Rausmaa as well as Kristiina Rokala's catalog of belief legends (1973, the index of Czech folk tales of Horňácko by Dagmar Klímová (1966) or Anna Bihari's catalog of Hungarian legends (1981). Other surveys document historic narrative material in a larger temporal or regional context (Brückner 1973, Rehermann 1977), particular themes (Heilfurth 1967) or establish the inventory of types and motifs of a language area in representative anthologies (e.g. Top 2004ff.). Despite the continuing discussion about a catalog of modern legends and the existence of well commend collections of individual countries, such an attempt was not realized.

The existing type system AaTh/ATU was only rarely used to amplify, as possible, the domain of the legend. For example, the Norwegian scholar Reidar Thoralf Christiansen (1958) registrated the about 80 most frequently attested Norwegian migratory legends in a numeric catalog with detailed summaries, reserving place for future additions. Christiansen reserved the numbers 3000-8025 for The Black Book of Magic. The Experts; Witches and
Since the appearance of the morphologic research by Vladimir Ja. Propp (1928, 1969), especially because of its later reception of his work following the translation into English, attempts to analyse fairy tales according to structural and semantic aspects do not end (Voigt 1999; Dammann 2007). A central starting point is the assumption that the fairy tales haven't only be ordered according to contents and actors, but also with regard to the meaning and signification of the text: individual elements therefore had to be considered in relationship with the structure of and the function of the text. Because semantics are subject to historical changes and in the way of tradition the text acquires permanently new meanings, the individual elements of the text had to be traced back to their nucleus. Even if such ideas were inspiring, and initiated methodic considerations especially among Russian and among French folktale researchers (Roland Barthes, Claude Bremond, Algecirdas Julien Greimas, Eleasar M. Meletinskij, Grigorij L. Permjakov, Sergej Ju. Nekljudov) and encouraged other scholars to discuss the problem (e.g. Vilmos Voigt, Mihály Hoppál, Mihai Pop, Alan Dundes, Heda Jason), the number of those who examined narratives according to these models in a broader extent was small. Only the Lithuanian scholar Bronislava Kerbelyt (1999ff., 2001) presented several catalogs of legends and fairy tales arranged according to semantic and structural aspects.

**Conclusion**

As the history of type and motif indexes shows, the search for principles serving the classification of folk narratives has not yet produced a satisfying system, but indexes have provided scholars with "many valuable and practical research instruments, many methodical and theoretical by-products", as Vilmos Voigt (1977:570) asserts. Indexes that follow a generally accepted standard have contributed to establish interdependencies between oral and literary traditions and help determine original sources, stylistic dependencies, and the reception of individual narratives as well as entire text collections: "This would enable folklore archives and institutions around the world to use similar language in their indexing, archiving and retrieval of folklore data", as Lauri Honko (1985) wrote. The last twenty years have shown that discussions about ancient knowledge hidden in the archives are not only a memory of the
past. It still is useful for exploring the opinions and the worldviews of our ancestors and also for our own.

In spite of the criticism concerning current classification systems and in spite of the imprecise definitions of the type and the motif, no feasible countermodel has been suggested. It seems that the only choice is to stick to the old systems and try to improve them whenever possible.

In establishing concepts for new indexes and classifying the narrative material of specific regions or ethnic groups, the following requirements should be met:

1. a clear definition of the time and area when literary and oral traditions were documented
2. a presentation of recordings in accordance with a theme-oriented system, on the basis of existing classification systems, or as an independent system, with reference to international type and motif numbers
3. an indication of individual structural elements
4. a chronological and structural listing of the variants
5. indication of contaminations with other narrative types
6. a suggestion of related tale types
7. the year of recording (publication)
8. references to international sources and literature
9. an index of subject matters, names, places, and narrators
10. information about translated texts in other languages.

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KLASIFICIRANJE PRIPOVIJEDAKA: NAPOMENE O INDEKSIMA I SUSTAVIMA KATALOGIZIRANJA

SAŽETAK


Ključne riječi: klasifikacija; dokumentacija; rasprostranjenost pripovijedaka; pripovijetka; povijesno-geografska metoda; katalog motiva; tip pripovijetke; katalog tipova