ORIGINAL

DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS OF MOTOR COMMUNICATION IN TRADITIONAL GAMES AND SPORTS OF THE CANARY ISLANDS

ANÁLISIS DIACRÓNICO DE LA COMUNICACIÓN MOTRIZ DE LOS JUEGOS Y DEPORTES TRADICIONALES CANARIOS

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ABSTRACT

A diachronic analysis of motor communication in three groups of traditional Canary Island games ('aboriginal games', 'traditional games', and 'traditional sports') was carried out in order to detect and define their social models. Both motor communication and motor interaction were analyzed and categorized according to motor praxeology criteria. When confrontation was the main function of the game, the dual structure was dominant over other forms of motor communication. The motor interaction diversification in the 'traditional games' group was not comparable to the other two groups due to the various ethno-motor modes used for the same activity. The motor study allows us to form an idea of the complexity of the construct of traditional Canary games.

KEYWORDS: ethno-motricity, motor communication, traditional games, traditional sports, motor praxeology

RESUMEN

Se realiza un análisis diacrónico de la comunicación motriz en tres grupos de juegos y deportes tradicionales canarios ('juegos aborígenes', 'juegos tradicionales', y 'deportes tradicionales') para deducir pautas sociales que encierran estas prácticas. Se analizan y categorizan la red de comunicación motriz y la interacción motriz siguiendo criterios de la praxiología motriz. Bajo el significado del enfrentamiento como función lúdica principal, la estructura dualista se muestra de manera hegemónica, en detrimento de otras formas de comunicación motriz. También, se desvela que la diversificación de la interacción motriz del grupo 'juegos tradicionales' no es equivalente en los otros grupos estudiados, mostrando aquel grupo significados etnomotores hetereogéneos para una misma actividad. Las prácticas motrices estudiadas dan idea de la complejidad de la construcción de la tradición lúdica canaria.

PALABRAS CLAVE: etnomotricidad, comunicación motriz, juegos tradicionales, deportes tradicionales, praxiología motriz.

1. INTRODUCTION

This study has been performed by means of a diachronic analysis, through Motor Praxeology[1] (Parlebas, 1976a, 1976b, 1976c, 1977, 1981, 1986, 2001, 2003; *praxéologie motrice*, motor praxeology) of three groups of Canarian games and sports: aboriginal games (AG), traditional games (TG) and traditional sports (TS). Our analysis allows recognizing the motor communication of these traditional practices thereby inferring the social relationship patterns they transfer.

Cultural differences between these three groups allow us to consider them as macro-categories. We begin with the aboriginal[2] culture–more than 500 years ago–and continue with a long process of survival of traditional games up to modern-times traditional sports–which arose during the fourth decade of the XX century and continue to exist today. The motor communication network (Parlebas, 1981, p. 189) appears as relevant in our analysis because it unveils how social relationships were–and still are– through traditional games and sports, and also reveals the cultural meaning of such practices. Furthermore motor interaction (Parlebas, 1981, p. 102) acts as a criterion to determine how motor interaction fits together with communication[3].

There are few preceding research studies based on praxeologic-comparative analysis of traditional games with diachronic and synchronic value (Ould Salek, 1995; Parlebas, 2003; Navarro, 2006; Lavega, 2006). This gives an idea of the difficulties involved in this line of research, since it requires sufficient

ethnographical sources to describe culture and games whilst establishing structural comparisons.

Parlebas (2003) compared the games described in the graphic works by Brueguel (1560) and Stella (1657) and studied the motor communication networks. He found that there was a certain balance in the first author's games whereas Stella's showed a greater presence of duel (confrontation between two individuals or two teams, in exclusive and symmetric conditions). Later on, (Parlebas, 2010) a study of Norman games similar to the *Livre d'heures de la famille Ango* (1515-1525) found a slight predominance of games displaying a cooperation structure. Parlebas (2003, p. 33) holds that Stella's work announces a tendency towards the forms of sports. Ould Salek (1995) compared the games of the Roman Tunisia—II and VI centuries B.C.—with traditional games currently practiced in Kerkennah Islands (Tunisia). He found in the games of the first a confrontation four times greater in 'original' networks -–'each for oneself', 'one-against-all', 'one team against the others' (Parlebas, 1988, p. 217)– than in duel structure; whereas in traditional games he found a balance between duel and those 'original' forms of communication. Lavega (2006) used an ad hoc instrument to compile the information gathered by professionals in eleven European regions and found these games presented a high level of competitiveness with psycho-motor practices presiding over socio-motor practices, and cooperative practices being poorly represented. Navarro (2006) explored forty years of motor games proposed during two recent periods of time and their application to physical education (PE) using handbooks on this subject area. He found a ludic preponderance in the interaction of the variables symmetric-stable network, dual interaction and rule-bound game, which indicated a sportified practice model. In the author's view, this set of variables indicates that players belong to the same team during the entire game, motor interaction is defined by confrontation between two individuals or two sides and there is a rule system. In general, it all seems to indicate that there is a preponderance of motor communication based on confrontation over other types of socialization.

These previous praxeologic studies reveal that it is possible to find constant features in motor practices of different socio-historical periods whilst showing cultural specificities. Such constant features of traditional games and sports need therefore to be submitted to an in–depth analysis.

From a methodological perspective and within the context of organization of popular games, Alonso, López de Sosoaga, Segado and Argudo (2010) also consider motor communication as an analysis criterion to identify differences between the leisure activities offered during festivals.

It must be noted that, the studied traditional games and sports were originally adult male activities, since the participation of Canarian women in these motor activities has not been reported by chroniclers, historians or ethnographers. This masculine heritage is an additional issue leading us to think about the marginalization of feminine ludic heritage and about the possibility of passing on certain values inherent to these traditional practices. In this regard, the gender

perspective provides the analysis of traditional physical practices with an additional insight into the phenomenon of motor communication.

This study describes social patterns found in ludic activities through the motor communication observed in the three groups of practices analysed. It also shows how current tradition is a complex–and sometimes heterogeneous– product of the interpretation of certain imagery. However, the analysis of the three groups of practices is made viable by a set of objective criteria found in the structures of these activities. Therefore, the aim is to identify the motor relationships and interpret their attributed social meanings on the basis of the communication network and motor interaction.

2.   OBJECTIVES

To identify the motor communication networks and the type of motor interaction occurring in the three groups of games and sports studied (AG, TG and TS) and deduce which are the social patterns contained within these motor communication criteria.

3.   METHOD

By means of a structuralist method (Lévi-Strauss, 1958) a diachronic praxeologic analysis has been performed on two components of motor communication ('communication network', 'motor interaction') found in Canarian traditional games and sports. To such end the largest study ever performed– with thirteen criteria related with the internal logic of these practices–was used as a reference (Hernández Moreno, Navarro, Castro and Jiménez, 2007, p. 56) together with Parlebas' theoretical framework of *motor praxeology* (1981, 1986, 2001). These two aspects of motor communication have been selected for their relevance in the unveiling of social structures behind these practices.

3.1.   Sample

The sample is composed by 24 traditional games and sports from the Canary Islands divided in three groups: AG, TG and TS.

Table 1. Names of Canarian traditional games and sports		
Canarian traditional games and sports		
Aboriginal Games (AG)	Traditional Games (TG)	Traditional Sports (TS)
- levantamiento de piedra *- salto de vara*	*- pulseo/levantamiento de piedra* *- salto del pastor* *- cucaña* (*) *- carrera de cintas o sortijas* *- levantamiento del arado* *- carros de madera*	*- arrastre de ganado*
	- bola tradicional *- tángana*	*- bola canaria*
	- tablas de san Andrés (versiones: de deslizamiento individual o con tablón)	
- lucha *- enfrentamiento con palos* *- lanzamiento y esquiva de piedras*	*- carrera de caballos* *- palo canario*	*- lucha canaria* *- lucha del garrote canario*
	- pelotamano *- pina*	*- vela latina de botes* *- vela latina de barquillos*

This sample has the peculiarity of being composed of motor activities that were originally practiced by men. Today, however, they are no longer discriminatory.

3.2. Instruments

An instrument (*praxeologic analysis sheet*) used by Hernández Moreno *et al.* (2007: 57) has served as the basis for the recording of data obtained through the praxeologic analysis of traditional games and sports. In the present case, the analysis focused on motor communication, which is included under 'structure of the task' in the said instrument.

The 'motor interaction network' includes five levels: 'exclusive networks' and 'stable networks' (with 6 categories) (Table 2), 'unstable networks' and 'ambivalent networks' (Parlebas, 1988, pp. 199, 213). Exclusive and stable networks were selected according to the 'rivalry' (R) and 'solidarity' (S) features found in the relationships that may arise in the game, and according to their structural stability or instability throughout the development of the game. In turn, exclusive and stable networks were selected according to a social-relationship criterion ranging from individuality (individual, individuals) to the collectivity (two or more teams). Unstable networks were selected according to the type of change–established by the rules–of its structural instability ('permuting'), according to the convergence of the initial network as regards its inversion

('converging') and to the fluctuation in the settling of changes in relationships ('fluctuating'). Finally, ambivalent networks were selected according to the presence or absence of both rivalry and solidarity in the motor communication relations observed. Considering the above criteria, the following eight categories have been used as reference: network 1- exclusive and individual stable, network 1-exclusive and team stable, network 2-exclusive and individuals stable, network 2-exclusive and teams stable, network n>2-exclusive and individuals stable, network n>2-exclusive and teams stable, exclusive and unstable network and ambivalent network.

The 'motor interaction' analysis contains five categories: psycho-motor, alternate inter-motricity, cooperation, opposition, cooperation-opposition, (Table 3). The category of 'alternate intermotricity' (Martínez de Santos, 2002) has thus been added to Parlebas' four categories (1981, p. 102) with the aim of distinguishing between the situations lacking direct motor interaction and those requiring the player to adapt to a modified practice setting due to the intervention of the previous player.

3.3. Quality of data

In order to ensure the quality of data, two experts validated the codified registry of the types of communication network and motor interaction. The content was validated and the 24 studied practices were assigned a code corresponding to each of the two above-mentioned criteria. With the provided registry, the liability test was performed on both criteria. The motor communication network obtained a Kappa-Cohen index of 0.83; whereas motor interaction obtained an index of 0.94.

4. RESULTS

The results of the praxeologic comparison clearly show the social meanings that traditional games and sports convey as a reflection of their motor communication structures and how these meanings are sustained or modified.

4.1. Motor communication network

The eight studied categories of motor communication networks are distributed in three groups: exclusive and stable networks, unstable networks and ambivalent networks (Table 2). The totality of communication networks found in Canarian traditional games and sports are exclusive and stable and avoid ambiguity (ambivalence). There are no unstable networks and only one case of ambivalent network.

Table 2. Motor communication networks of the three studied groups

Motor communication network	Canarian traditional games and sports		
	Aboriginal Games (AG)	Traditional Games (TG)	Traditional Sports (TS)
1-exclusive and individual stable	*- levantamiento de piedra* *- salto de vara*	*- pulseo / levantamiento de piedra* *- salto del pastor* *- cucaña* *- carrera de sortijas o cintas* *- levantamiento del arado* *- carros de madera* *- tablas de san Andrés* (individual plank version)	*- arrastre de ganado*
1-exclusive and team stable		*- tablas de san Andrés* (plank version)	
2-exclusive and individuals stable	*- lucha* *- lanzamientos y esquiva de piedras* *- enfrentamiento con palos*	*- palo canario*	*- lucha canaria* *- lucha del garrote canario*
2-exclusive and teams stable		*- bola tradicional* *- pelotamano* *- pina*	*- vela latina de botes* *- bola canaria*
n>2-exclusive and individuals stable		*- carrera de caballos*	
n>2-exclusive and teams stable			*- vela latina de barquillos*
Exclusive and unstable network			
Ambivalent network (fluctuating)		*- tángana*	

There is among the TG group a single exceptional case of a network which is strictly based on cooperation, or on the performance of a single cooperating team–the plank version of *tablas de san Andrés*–(network 1-exclusive and team stable), as well as for the fluctuating ambivalent network (*tángana).*

In the AG group there are no cases of team games. The games are thus distributed in two categories indicating the appreciation of personal achievement (1-exclusive and individual stable) and duel (2-exclusive and individuals stable).

The most frequent network in the TG group follows the same individualistic tendency, but six of its games are more openly distributed among other network types with collectivity feature as a constant.

Sociomotricity is especially displayed in the TG group with two social networks in two different sub-categories: 2-exclusive and teams stable and n>2-exclusive and individuals stable. In the first type of network there are two types of social relationships: one with direct interaction (*pelotamano* and *pina*) and another with differed interaction (*bola canaria).* In the second type of network (*carrera de caballos)* the riders are confronted with each other but share a single space where interaction is possible. Also, there is an ambivalent network (*tángana*) where players are individually confronted against each other without motor interaction but using space as a mark of their own performance, which in turn, determines the following player's actions. This allows for the creation of alliances between certain players through betting in search of a mutual benefit over the other players.

A dualism is found in the one-on-one game structure of three of the five cases included in the AG group (network 2- exclusive and individuals stable). In the TG group the number of games featuring social interaction increases and it is distributed as follows: three games with team confrontation and two games with one-on-one confrontations. In this same group there is a single one-on-one game. The TS group defines the dualistic structure of team confrontation presenting a symmetry typically found in sports phenomena, which is also represented in two of the three TG (*bola tradicional and pelotamano*).

4.2. Motor Interaction

The five analysed categories have been distributed as follows (Table 3):

Table 3. Distribution of motor interaction in the three studied groups

Motor interaction	Canarian traditional games and sports		
	Aboriginal Games (AG)	Traditional Games (TG)	Traditional Sports (TS)
Psycho-motor	- *levantamiento de piedra* - *salto de vara*	- *pulseo / levantamiento de piedra* - *salto del pastor* - *cucaña* - *carrera de sortijas o cintas* - *levantamiento del arado* - *carros de madera*	- *arrastre de ganado*
Alternate inter-motricity		- *bola tradicional* - *tángana*	- *bola canaria*
Cooperation		- *tablas de san Andrés* (plank version)	
Opposition	- *lucha* - *enfrentamiento con palos* - *lanzamiento y esquiva de piedras*	- *carrera de caballos* - *palo canario*	- *lucha canaria* - *lucha del garrote canario*
Cooperation-opposition		- *pelotamano* - *pina*	- *vela latina de botes* - *vela latina de barquillos*

The comparison between the three groups (AG, TG and TS) shows two constant features: one corresponds to the practices lacking motor interaction ('psycho-motor' category)–more numerous in the TG group– and the other is related to oppositional interaction ('opposition' category) which is more evenly present in the studied groups.

A poor variability of motor interaction can be noted in the AG group in contrast with the diversification of motor interactions in the TG and TS groups.

The special case of 'alternate inter-motricity' is found in three practices in which motricity is determined by the actions of other players but have a scoring system as reference in order to give sense to the successive motor actions.

In the 'cooperation' category there is only one game: *tablas de san Andrés* (plank version). This type of interaction constitutes an exception amongst the three studied groups.

5. DISCUSSION

The prevailing motor communication model in these traditional practices is the dual structure, which reveals a dualism bearing a sense of confrontation. The aim is therefore to surpass the player or the group–both when players take turns one after the other, or when they engage in direct motor interaction– or a group winning over another in direct confrontation.

As it has been confirmed, confrontation is developed through a successful and prevalent formula. This formula displays a dominant ludic structure based on participant exclusivity and stability as regards 'rivalry' or 'solidarity', as well as on symmetry in participants and in conditions for motor interaction in duels of individuals or in duels of teams. However confrontation also allows us to understand the sense of practices without direct motor interaction ('psycho-motor', 'alternate intermotricity') that are in turn developed sequentially and on the basis of another player's achievements. In contrast, only a game in the TG group–*tablas de san Andrés*–has a purely ludic function based on cooperation.

The dominant dualistic structure prevails in detriment of other networks and motor interactions. This concurs with the results obtained by Navarro (2006, p. 803) on the dualistic prevalence in the games proposed for physical education. In our study the consequence is clearly defined by a single network conveying cooperation (1-exclusive and team stable). Thus, the recurrence of confrontation, previously confirmed by Parlebas (2003) and Ould Salek (1995), has been transposed markedly to one of its formulas: the confrontational structure opposing individuals or groups.

The recurrent presence of exclusive and stable networks is explained by the fact that social practices among adults avoid ambiguity and confusion in their social systems. This results in the reproduction of unequivocal systems in

games and sports where it is possible to distinguish the games' situations and to establish evidence and memory records.

After Canarian aboriginal culture the presence of new categories of communication networks signals the dramatic cultural changes occurred with the arrival of the Europeans in the Canary Islands–in the 15th century. In fact, the most ancient of traditional team games are *pelotamano*, *pina* and *juego de bola*, which were very popular across Europe five hundred years ago (Gillmeister, 1997; Navarro, 1989; Castro, 2001; Tremaud, 1969). The emergence of the games mentioned above extended the ludic dimension from individual practices to group practices, which did not exist in aboriginal society. However in some games–such as *lucha de garrote, lanzamiento* and *esquiva de piedras*–the values reflected differ from the values socially embraced today. If attention is paid to violence, *pina* is a game involving especially harsh contact, whereas the values contained in *pelotamano* and the *juego de bola* are easily transposed to today's schools or to the domain of ethnic-related recreational physical activities (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2009).

Sports are the materialization of a widespread ludic thought in modern society corresponding to a social ethics that values justice through strict equality at the outset. This idea sketches the homogeneity that is always found in sports, but that has also somehow been partially respected in AG and TG. Motor practices in these two groups also carry the formula of modern sports: duel confrontation. We therefore find ourselves again before a hegemonic conception of ludic activities motivated by a deeply dualistic thought in games (Huizinga, 1938).

Only the opening toward ludism in TG has had an impact on game symmetry, as shown by examples such as *pina*, where in an entertainment context players participate with an unequal number of players (asymmetric network). This means that the ludism of traditional games precedes the closed forms of modern sports (Parlebas, 2003), since the latter postulate a specific belief in the justice of equality of players and conditions. Hence winning or losing in symmetrical conditions counterbalances ludism in favour of productiveness thus moving away from entertainment. Huizinga (1938/1984, p. 232) had already sensed in his criticism of sports development that something was happening despite his contention of competition in play (1984, p. 63) as a 'creating function of culture': "Sports in modern society are progressively drifting away from the pure sphere of play to become a *sui generis* element: it is no longer play (...)".

Amid the dualism phenomenon and the communication networks representing it, another debate between individuality and collectivity has been identified in the TG group concerning the diversification of networks of individuals or teams (2-exclusive and individuals stable or teams stable) which adds a result-recording system or result memory as a variation in the quantifying progress (Blanchard and Cheska, 1986, p. 135). This gives way to a differed socialization as regards motor communication. However confrontation in equal conditions and equal number of players remains constant in modern sports.

Diversity of motor interaction in the games of the TG group was considerably greater than in those included in the AG and TS groups. All three groups

displayed different ways of materialising motor communication, counter-communication and the common background derived from the result of the motor task. The TG group has traditionally been characterised by practices that have fulfilled a ludic function, thus diluting the social prestige that might result from the outcome of the activity. This feature appears more frequently in the TG group and it is evenly distributed among all five types of motor interaction. In the AG group, motor interaction types concentrate under the 'psycho-motor' and 'opposition' categories, which are funded on individual success. This is consistent with a 15th century society organised in chieferies (Tejera, 2004) where confronting one another in such activities had consequences on the individual's social prestige (Huizinga, 1938/1989, pp. 68, 71, 82). The interactions in the TS group's were mainly motor counter-communication interactions, in accordance with the characteristics of a competition-driven game (Huizinga, 1938/1984, p. 232). This indicates that traditional sports are disguised as a so-called tradition but actually function as real modern games (Renson, 1991; Maguire, 2003).

In all three groups of games and sports studied social prestige is derived from the outcome of the motor situation. The AG group obtains prestige through successful performance–without a result memory system–whereas in the TG group, 9 games obtain it from the successful performance of the task, and 3 do so through a scoring system–*bola tradicional, pelotamano* and *pina*–which have, interestingly, a purely entertaining function. It is however remarkable that two of the three traditional games that keep a record of results–*pelotamano* and *pina*–have not evolved into traditional sports, unlike other practices originated either from professional activities such as (*vela latina de botes, arrastre de ganado* and *vela latina de barquillos*) or from personal defence (*lucha canaria* and *lucha de garrote canario*).

This phenomenon of sportification of instrumental practices suggests there is need for further analysis, since it is observed that the prestige provided by the outcome is associated to the person and the person's achievement–as is the case in the workplace or in personal defence practices–and not to the more structured result-recording system used in practices that have a strictly entertaining function. The practices in the TS group obtain prestige by means of a score-keeping system extended with a result memory, which is typical of modern sports (Guttman, 1978). Therefore in all three groups the social prestige mechanism is triggered differently.

The greater codification observed in traditional sports over games implies the integration of new meanings beyond their own internal logic, such as valuing the success inherent to competitive sports systems over the immediate achievements typical of games–where there is no memory of results. The *lucha tradicional* is a good example of this. This practice started structuring its competition system in popular celebrations (Matanzas-Cuba, 1872; Fiesta de Candelaria, 1872; Sánchez, 1988; Morales and Palenzuela, 2004), whereas it's sportified version, *lucha canaria*, has been regulated by several competition systems–such as teams, weight or challenges. (*Reglamento de 1945*; Pérez, 1965). This currently involves certain contradictions when it comes to claiming a traditional sense in a context of sport institutionalisation.

Ludic culture has complex changing mechanisms we cannot ignore. This idea makes us put in perspective the effects of the hegemony of motor communication given that Canarian traditional games and sports display the diversification they are able to develop. The paradigm of this diversifying capacity can be found in the case of *bola canaria* that presents two very similar modalities of play: a traditional version and a sportified version.

The diachronic analysis of motor interaction has shown that cooperation and cooperation-opposition practices do not follow a constant process. The reason in the first case is that it constitutes an exception within the TG group and it does not evolve into a sportified form. In the second case, the explanation is that these practices have also not evolved into the TS group, and have been replaced by newly designed practices based on professional activities (vela latina, arrastre de ganado, vela latina de barquillos). Hence, traditional Canarian sports are only partly the result of a transformation process that is linked to traditional games.

Social meanings have manifested clearly in the analysis of motor communication network and motor interaction allowing to reveal the existence of several possible interpretations linked to different games, but also to similar practices of these games–as is the case with the traditional version of a game and its sportified version. Furthermore, it has been observed that some practices that initially emerged as traditional games have undergone sportification processes (Parlebas, 2001, pp. 131-145) that have modified their social meanings and forms of practice–and some times even reinvented the games (*lucha del garrote canario, arrastre de ganado*).

The evolution of Canarian games reflects the dynamism of tradition. As a result of this process traditional practices display a variety of phenomena giving rise to parallel–and some times diverging–modalities (*bola tradicional, bola canaria*) derived from aboriginal games that disappeared more than five hundred years ago. Such games had meanings that are unkown and can hardly be interpreted today–*salto de vara*–syncretized aboriginal games–*lucha aborigen* vs. *lucha canaria, enfrentamiento con palos* vs. *juego del palo*–reinvents of games as sports based on aboriginal games–*lucha de garrote deportiva*–traditional games that promote rural values–*pina, pelotamano, levantamiento de piedra, arrastre de ganado*–and games with a considerable load of violence–*enfrentamiento con palos, lanzamiento* and *esquiva de piedras, and pina*– that, strangely enough, are included in educational curricula and recreational programmes under the same treatment as other games. This set of phenomena conveys cultural meanings that cannot be univocally considered in the context of tradition.

6. CONCLUSIONS

In the diachronic analysis made of traditional games and sports, under the meaning of confrontation as the main ludic function, the dualistic structure prevails over other forms of motor communication.

The diversification of motor interaction manifested in the traditional games group (TG) is not paralleled in aboriginal games (AG) nor in modern society's sports (TS); as in these two latter groups a reductionism in motor interaction forms was observed compared to the greater variety shown by the TG group– where games clearly have a ludic function.

The practices involving cooperation and cooperation-opposition motor interactions do not follow a diachronic pattern, unlike practices featuring opposition motor interaction. This indicates the high level of complexity of the transformation processes affecting traditional ludic forms.

Canarian traditional games and sports contain heterogeneous meanings, some times even under the same motor communication structure. This reveals the dynamic nature of traditional ludism as regards interpretation and forms of practice.

NOTES

[1] Pierre Parlebas is professor *emeritus* of the Université de la Sorbonne Paris V. He postulates a praxeologic theory based on a structural-systemic approach of the social analysis of games and sports. He views motor situations as a system of interactions between a performing subject, the physical environment and the eventual participants. He applies as a method a set of *ludo-motor universals* (Parlebas, 1981, p. 292) that are capable of unveiling the *internal logic* of motor praxis.

[2] Documentary sources on Canarian culture use the term 'aboriginal' to refer to the idea of 'indigenous'. In the present work the first term has been conserved.

[3] For Parlebas (2001, p. 269) motor interaction becomes effective during the performance of a motor task when a player's motor behaviour has a tangible effect on another player or on the other players. Given that players are bound by rules, motor interactions are framed within interaction structures. Therefore, the task is meaningful in as much as it belongs to a socio-motor system carrying a load of *semiotricity*. Hence, Parlebas proposes a motor action that operates within a motor situation which is understood by means of a specific communication – motor communication network, motor interaction. He concurs with Flament (1965/1977, pp. 68, 203) who contends that the task is considered as a social system within communication and therefore lacks sense through the task itself.

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