Grimms’ Tales in the Indian Narrative Situation

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One of the Grimm brothers, Wilhelm Grimm, made an important observation in the 1856 German edition of the Household Tales (Kinder- und Hausmärchen). When he gave serious consideration to the study of the origin of folktales, he seemed to have realised the difficulties of such a study. That perhaps prompted him to write, "[ ... ] it is quite possible that the same or very similar stories may have sprung up in the most different countries quite independently of each other". We have to take up the study of Grimms' tales in the Indian narrative situation knowing that the study of the origins of tales and the mapping of the paths by which tales traveled, are fraught with difficulty. So, nowadays, the study of the cross cultural spread of tales focuses not on the origin, but on other things.

The geographic-historical method of study of the transmission of folktales from one group of human beings to another has now given way to a performance method of study. The Indo-European method was based on philological findings; research centered on borrowings from other languages if the theoretical presupposition was comparative philology, and inheritance, if the presupposition was a common Indo-European past. The focus later shifted from the linguistics-based historical method to synchronic and linear methods. Thus folk narrative research changed its course to embrace contextual and performance traits. Dell Hymes and other followers of the ethnopoetic method made usage of linguistics-related methods of speech, suggesting that the study of tales forms part of their investigation. The performance method of study which probes the relations between referential uses and the framing characteristic of language, as put by Richard Bauman, gained much popularity. Thus, the actual context, in which the tale is performed by a teller for an audience, becomes the focal point of research. When linguistic theoreticians came to rely on the 'speech', they studied the relational contract of the speaker with the listener. The same relational contract exists between the folktale teller and his listeners. Here, historical memory also plays a role when the teller of a tale narrates for an audience or a field worker. Marie Maclean argues that narration is a very energetic contract of one person with another: history is present to make communication a forceful endeavor. She also says that textual stability is provided as much by the demands of the audience as by the memory of the teller. This temporal dimension present in the contractual relation of human beings is very forcefully brought into tales. This is
amply proved by Sandra K. Dolby Stahl who theorizes that “There is an important animation and vitality at play in the telling of a story and the listening”\textsuperscript{5}. She attributes this power and vitality to the personal presence of teller and listeners and the immediacy of the narrating situation. This may be due to the historical cultural memories of the teller and the listeners. What Jean-François Lyotard says with regard to a Cashinahuan storyteller is true here: A Cashinahuan claims that he faithfully transmits what he has heard, although his performance is highly inventive \textsuperscript{6}.

Therefore, a teller always tells what he 'has heard'. What he hears is, we shall say, the voice of history. The concept of time is still a potential source of investigation and will enable researchers to arrive at new insights in their respective fields of knowledge. Performance may be explained as including the historical element of human activity; here, the telling of a tale. Thus the inter-relational contact of tellers and listeners presupposes a historical moment, encoding many previous moments of many individuals of a culture. These encoded moments are in turn presented in the form of a narrative; this narrative is the invention of a narratee who has imbibed the previous 'narrative moment'. So, any performance is a continuous activity. Richard Bauman has borrowed the concept of 'keying' (to bind or limit the performance) from Erving Goffman. But we shall redefine 'keying' as the method of encoding the cultural memory\textsuperscript{7}.

We may draw on Stuart Blackburn's survey of different uses of the term performance in one of his papers. He explains: “Although there is consensus that the fundamental premise of the performance approach is event over text, the process over product; it has been employed with a diverse range of emphasis.”\textsuperscript{8} No doubt, here the performance is understood as an attempt to recreate and remould the given cultural traits as encoded in the form of a traditional narrative. This recreation starts the moment the narrator takes part in the activity of narration, because the narratee of a culture is in turn a narrator. Thus the teller/ listener dyad implies that cultural codes are renewed at every new telling. This renewal process is included in performance, when the listener of a tale wants to create according to his own creativity, at some other time. This could be explained as a historical act of a human being learning a new narrative. This historical act, as every human historical endeavor, is shaped out of a tension between the 'ought' and 'is', to use two terms of the Marxist literary critic Georg Lukács\textsuperscript{9}. Thus the relation beset with tension is the relation that a teller has with his predecessor from whom he had learnt his tale. The 'ought' is explained as the philosophical subject position which
always struggles against the empirical 'is'. The narrator of a culture who represents the 'is' produces another narrator from the group of listeners (in these cultures all listeners are potential narrators) who represent the 'ought'. These narrators always narrate their own tales. If we look at the contractual relation of the teller and the listener in the developing countries, the teller through his ability to narrate enters into a relation with a previous tradition and culture through the use of language. The 'ought' of the tale telling event now assumes a historical dimension, and history is projected forward. Many cultural activities connected with the prediction of the future in narration and belief as we commonly find them in the developing countries may be studied from this aspect. The future-oriented historical 'ought' becomes the motivation of a new tale-teller. Thus, the struggle between the 'is' of the empirical social reality and futuristic 'ought' is a struggle between the existing version of a tale (as suggested in a rigid form by the AaTh tale-type index), and the innumerable possible changes of a single tale when narrated by many people in a culture. Thus, the 'ought' of the listener enables him to change the tale according to his interest and creativity. This is a process which involves dealing with language and writing. Jacques Derrida explains that his idea of writing also embraces the systemic order of oral expressions. So, if oral expression comes within writing, Roland Barthes' words about the relation of writing with history hold good for the process of telling tales also. According to Barthes, history has a dual role; the very moment history takes its course, the writing formed under the pressure of history remains a recollection of previous language use. Thus, a 'double writing' is possible in history. If this process of history and writing is applied to tales, it could well fit into the model of an existing story, giving birth to different versions. Thus, we arrive at a theoretical model of possible new telling of a tale, in a culture like India.

The folktales of Kannada, a South Indian language, belonging to the Dravidian family of languages, have been selected to demonstrate how stories found in Grimms' collection happen to be narrated by tale-tellers in a different cultural environment. An exhaustive study of Kannada folktales shows that they have many motifs and story elements in common with the Grimms' tales. But we have selected only those tales which exhibit a clear resemblance to Grimms' tales; we have not included tales which show only one common motif, even if it is a notable one. So, tales in which more than half of the material can be identified with a Grimms' tale, are called 'Grimms' tales' here. Since different aspects have to be studied we have selected a single tale, Grimms'
The Golden Bird (KHM 57)\textsuperscript{13}, in five different versions. Of these five tales, only two were collected directly from oral sources; the others had already been printed. \textit{The Types of the Folktale}\textsuperscript{14} lists KHM 57 as AaTh 550 and gives the gist of the tale as follows:

“550 Search for the Golden Bird. Quest for the wonderful bird. With the help of an animal (wolf, fox) the youngest brother succeeds. On his return he saves his brothers, who betray him.”

The Kannada counterparts of AaTh 550 share almost all five subdivisions in \textit{The Types of the Folktale}. Let us arrange the different motifs or story sequences of the five versions into four divisions, as arranged by Aarne Thompson. Although their type index is not the ultimate method of folktale classification, we shall follow this method to bring out the similarities in all the five Kannada variants (see the five sample texts given in the appendix, p.)

\textbf{I. Object of the Quest}

(a) The Kannada tales give details of a bird stealing golden apples, golden mangoes and gold. Except for one tale, there is no mention of the dropping of a feather as narrated in the Grimms' tale. In all Kannada variants, the king orders a quest after he finds that golden apples, golden mangoes or gold are being stolen from his garden.

\textbf{II. The Three Sons}

Whereas the Aarne/Thompson index mentions that the king has three sons, one Kannada tale says that he has seven; in another Kannada tale, the king has two sons. Another notable difference concerns the behaviour of the elder sons. A universal characteristic of the elder ones, including those of the Grimms' tale, is that they are unkind to animals and humans whom they meet on the way, whereas the youngest son is kind. But the Indian tales, except one (sample 3), present the opposing directions in which they go as a distinguishing feature among the brothers. The elders go to the south or the west or to a direction which is not the one chosen by the youngest son. The youngest son of these tales goes to the north or east or to a direction opposite to that chosen by his elders.
III. Success of the Quest

This section has four parts:

(a) Almost similar to the Aarne/Thompson index, the heroes find the bird but are to receive it only after fulfilling further tasks. In all Kannada tales, there is a lot of story variation between the quest and receiving the bird at the end.

(b) Mostly all stories in the Kannada language correspond to the Aarne/Thompson index and the Grimms' tale. In all the Kannada language tales except sample 4 (which is an incomplete tale) the horse and the princess come into the picture before the hero goes in pursuit of the bird. Of course, there are differences in details.

(c) Like all international tales, the Kannada tales also contain a motif sequence where the hero is helped by animals like a tiger, a fox or a bear, or by girls. But there are differences also. For example, the Aarne/Thompson index speaks of the hero lying with a princess and leaving an identification token with her. This popular motif (Mot. H 81.1) never occurs in the Kannada tales although it is present in classical Sanskrit epics like *Sakuntala*.

(d) The episode of the hero securing the water of life never occurs in Indian tales.

IV. The Treacherous Brothers

(a) Like the index, the Kannada tales present the motif of the treacherous brothers who either kill the hero or push him into a well. Only two tales report that the elder brothers do not harm the youngest one.

(b) Animals help the hero by giving him a magical medicine, or the princess punishes the villainous brothers by cursing them.

V. Conclusion
(a) Only one Kannada tale (which in most story sequences corresponds to the Grimms' tale and other internationally attested traits of AaTh 550) shows the hero's helper, the fox, asking to be decapitated. Unlike in the Grimms' tale and many other tales of the world, the hero refuses and then the fox requests that it be touched by a knife. The fox then, on being touched, becomes a prince. The other four tales do not contain this motif.

(b) Almost all tales in the Kannada language end with the wedding of the princess and the hero. One incomplete version rewards the hero with the kingdom in the final sequence. Thus a majority of Kannada tales corresponds to the Grimms' tale *The Golden Bird* as far as the marriage motif is concerned.

This Aarne/Thompson method of study of the content of the tale shows that there is a fixed and schematic pattern in different tales of the same type. But there are many differences also. Let us study both these similar traits as well as the different story elements one after another.

**The invariable and schematic side of the narrative**

In addition to Aarne/Thompson's method of listing similar story sequences of the different variants of a tale-type, there are some more 'schematic' elements of tales, to apply a term Anna-Leena Siikala has borrowed from the cognitive research of F. C. Bartlett. Because of their imprecision, some scholars do not agree on the use of terms such as 'scheme'. Still, we may indicate that the 'schematic knowledge' of a tale-teller serves a useful purpose in the study of narration. These schematic patterns of narrative framework can be further probed by the study of 'functions' of these tales. A 'function', says Vladimir Propp, covers both the action sequence and the character portrayal of a tale. That way a function of a tale brings another aspect of the schematic framework of a tale. To explain the 'functions' of the five Indian tales comparable to Grimms' *The Golden Bird*, we may take license from Propp to use some of the terms of his *Morphology of the Folktale* rather loosely, as Indian tales usually defy a neat application of Propp's method.

The function of 'Lack' (a king wants to catch the bird that steals a golden fruit, especially a mango or an apple) is partly covered by the Aarne/Thompson type index as a quest that usually initiates an action in this type of tales.
'Departure', again, is not the focal point of Aarne/Thompson. This explains the fact that all the sons - here the number ranges from 2 to 7 - leave in different directions and manner. On the way the hero and, usually, his elder brothers, too, meet a helper; however, sample texts 2 and 3 do not have this function. The helper (fox, bear etc.) prescribes tasks both to the elder brothers and to the hero (‘Don't go to the new castle’), but the elder ones do not obey the helper while the hero obeys and accomplishes the initial task which is a precondition for getting assistance from the helper (whereas sample texts 1, 2 and 3 do not have this function). The elder brothers who are Propp's false heroes either go in different directions as is the case in samples 1, 2 and 5, or fail during their play of dice with prostitutes as in sample 3. This is followed by the appearance of the helper and a series of tasks and their violations. These 'tasks' prescribed by the helper could also be called 'interdiction', to follow Propp loosely.

As in the case of sample 1, the helper asks the hero not to touch the golden cage; but the hero thinks that the cage suits the bird and violates the helper's condition (interdiction). This kind of interdiction and violation form the major part of the story of all five tales except sample 2. Likewise, as a result of the violation, the hero is taken to a king who prescribes a certain condition to part with the golden bird or golden horse or golden princess. In sample 2, as in the Grimms' tale, the king whom the hero meets gives him a difficult task (to cut and remove the mountain). The hero with the assistance of the helper removes the mountain. In some sample stories the heroes return back home with their 'lack' being liquidated. As in Propp's model, a villainy occurs here, and the brothers of the hero either kill him or push him into a well (samples 1, 2 and 3). In sample 4 and three other stories, the false heroes take away the possessions of the hero and return home. Although it is a common function, in sample 4, this function seems to fulfill the previous function of villainy also, as the structure of the story requires effective ending. Again the donor or helper comes to assist the hero and he is dispatched to reach the palace from where he left. The hero comes either in disguise or in his real form. The false heroes are exposed and punished, or excused; and the animal helper is transformed into a human being. The last function is the wedding of the hero (samples 1, 2, 3 and 5) or another happy ending (sample 4, where the hero is rewarded with a kingdom).

Thus the schematic knowledge of the folktale teller retains a few universal core 'schemes' of tales in his narrative store-house. These common narrative schemes are limited
in number; still, a combination of such different schematic possibilities enable narrators to have innumerable tale versions.

Schematic combinations of certain functions work on two levels; one on a syntagmatic ('lack' is followed by another function, 'lack liquidated' etc.) axis of the tale and another on a paradigmatic level (that is, Grimms' apple is substituted by a mango in Indian tales and the like). This emphasises the fact that the constant and the variable characteristics of a tale have to be studied in order to understand its structure and function. To bring another dimension to the study of folktales, we introduce the rhetorical concept of an ancient Tamil grammarian, Tolkappiyar, who presupposes the sender (speaker) and the receiver (hearer) of a poem, even when an explicit mention of the sender and the receiver is missing. What is proposed for a poem by this ancient South Indian rhetorician is true for a tale also. So, even when the teller is absent and a tale is available in print, we can presume the voice of the teller and the reaction of the hearer, through the style and other oral techniques. This kind of a theory of the internal mechanism of performance is largely absent in some of the well-known western theories as they emphasize that the performer (teller) changes his tale or a tale motif according to the audience (hearer). So, if a tale can exist (either in print or in an audio cassette) independently of a situation or context and if an internal mechanism is discernible not by the presence of the teller and hearer but by their absence, this aspect of internal mechanism has to be taken note of. So we safely build our theoretical position by saying that changes through tellings are brought about by way of the internal scheme of the interactions between tellers and hearers to the extent that these components of tales such as motifs, frames, episodes, and substitutions occupy the domain of their memories. The rigidity of the schematic and invariable elements of a tale being carried to the next generation of tellers or the variable elements being carried to the next generation are thus the result of an internalized reaction to the internalized audience. The different tellings of a tale are dictated by the tellers' consciousness of the audience, as in the case of certain folk games where a player plays alone even when no audience or partner is present, for his or her own pleasure, but following all the rules. As the external hearer is internalized in Tolkappiyar's theory (tested by the commentators of ancient Tamil poetry), the meta-narrative frame of the tale coming into existence through the intervention of the audience also becomes an internalized meta-narrative. Barbara A. Babcock's article on the 'story in the story', if studied interpretatively, would support this idea of internal mechanism. But there is also a difference. While Babcock's idea of meta-narrative concentrates on the discourse aspect of a
tale, this internal mechanism probes into the historical side of discourse.

Non-schematic area of narration

If we compare the five sample texts among themselves, we find that many motifs, episodes and story elements display little uniformity in their occurrence.

Sample 3 is unique in that the elder brothers of the hero are caught in a brothel as they disobey the helper. This element has been deleted from some other versions, say samples 1 and 2, where the elder brothers never meet the helper and therefore are neither tested nor, as a result, assigned a function. Another aspect of the non-schematic area of the tale text is that some Indian counterparts of this Grimms' tale display a curious, unrealistic, or rather a dreamy element: A king dreams that a bird eats a golden mango and after waking up, asks his sons to bring the bird. The other episodes of the tale start from this incident. Still another aspect of the study of tale-elements is evident in the many transformations that occur in tales. In sample 1, the horse on which the hero rides is killed by a tiger, and this initial act of villainy provides the hero with a helper in the form of the tiger, and in two instances this helper transforms into a girl and a horse. In sample 2, the hero after separating from his brothers, touches a stone that transforms into a girl; in the same tale the fox transforms into a boy, and this initiates other actions; actually the transformation of a fox as in the Grimms' tale and in sample 3 is one of the last motifs of the tale. Sample 4, an incomplete tale, displays a transformation of a different motif; the donkey turns into a golden horse. In sample 5, the girl whom the hero meets changes into a fox. Likewise, there are some deletions of tale motifs; the details of the inns at which the heroes stop on their way, are missing in samples 1 and 2. The related motif of the hero's elder brothers is also missing here. These are some of the important divergences from the Grimms' tale.

Along with these divergences, there is also a kind of subversion, which is one of the characteristics of oral performance. This subversive force operates at many levels, in substitution, parallelism and the presence of direct speech. But this subversion, one should say, is a directed subversion. On the level of narration, there is a semblance of stability of the components of narration, as we have seen above. But, as far as the characters and other elements of the tales are concerned, the fox of Grimms' tale is substituted by either a tiger or a bear (as in sample 1 and 4 respectively), or an apple is substituted by a mango (as in
sample 3). This kind of substitution happens at various levels, either at the motif level, function level, episodic level, or at the level of oral delivery.

Another area of non-schematic functioning is made evident through the study of the oral delivery devices. One such device is parallelism, the motivation for which is, of course, oral communication. For example, the parallelism “Allondu bhavi/ Allondu mata” occurs in a sentence. Here mata (inn) is brought to rhyme with bhavi (drinking water well) as the preceding word is the same Allondu.

Another prominent oral delivery device we notice when all sentences of the five Kannada sample texts are analyzed, is the invariable presence of conversation in oral presentations. (When tales are collected for publication, there is a tendency to reduce direct speech.) Our aim in pointing out the occurrence of direct speech in the orally delivered tales is to show that conversations comprise non-schematic aspects of the study of tales. According to Bakthin, dialogue and ambivalence of a text are indistinguishable. This kind of ambivalence is the result of the underlying mnemonic patterns. As Walter J. Ong explains, these patterns are used to recall narratives from memory, a memory infused with the logical arguments and views of the folk. Direct speech actually unkeys the different thinking techniques, narrative details and patterns and causes a kind of controlled 'chaos' in the time and space dimensions of the constitutive domains of the tale. This 'chaos' enables the hearer of a tale, even after a long period of time, to reproduce another tale with different motifs and details, by breaking away from the tale he had heard; this tale may be a version of the tale told to him, or sometimes, a tale containing many new motifs of different tales put together. This kind of intertextuality of different genres, both narrative and otherwise, is found in the non-schematic domain of the tale.

A complete study of all oral delivery techniques, formulas, patterns, catch words, repetitions, onomatopoetic devices, parallelism and their role in making the components of the tale less permanent, shows that the change starts in the conversational construction of narratives. This actually pushes forward the narrative thrust of the tale because many of the oral techniques of storytelling, for example repetitions like 'he went ... and went' (hoda ...hoda ... ) actually produce another narration. This other narration underlies the printed version of the tale. We will come to this second narrative later.
Another kind of repetition concerns the word **avaga** (at that time) used at regular intervals. This shows that the orally registered voice begins to operate in the written version of the tale. The continuous occurrence of still another repetitive word like **iruthaithalla** (it used to exist, didn't it?) as the word-ending of some sentences is used by the teller in order to develop a rapport with the hearer. There are many instances of this occurrence in all the five sample texts.

The Kannada suffix **anthe** (they say) as a word-ending for sentences of sample 4 also indicates that there exists another dimension to the surface level of the tale. The study of this fragmentary tale yields some interesting observations with regard to the oral textualising process. The episodes are narrated without clarity; and like the tale as a whole, the sentences are also not complete. Interestingly, however, all the important 'schematic' fixed elements, which mark the typical format of this kind of tale reappear in this variant, too. Also this tale, in the process of formation, very clearly displays that all the important motifs of a tale come and occupy their respective narrative slots. As for the word-ending of this particular tale, which was collected from a schoolboy, the occurrence of **anthe** also creates an impression that there is an inner spatial dimension. Almost all children use this word-ending in every sentence when they narrate folktales. The study of folktales of children makes it easy for us to understand the elders' way of conceiving a narration. As has been pointed out, the existence of the second tale becomes clear here, too. The word-ending **anthe** demonstrates that the tale reported is not the teller's own, it's somebody else's. Because all children use the word-ending **anthe**, it becomes evident that they narrate the tales of their elders. So, behind every child's tale, there is another one. What is important is that this boy tells his own tale with variations, even though the language he uses is that of a remote, perhaps non-existing narrator. Another important aspect of this category of tales is that by referring to another narrator, the boy borrows time and space from that teller who is his double and always exists in another time and space. This complex and ambivalent picture of the second narrator may not be reduced to the level of an empirical second narrator. What we try to assert is that the tale told orally is not a final form, nor is the written form of this oral tale the true representation of the oral form. The written form as available is actually the fusion of the two tales, one being the mental version and the other, the oral one which is defined and structured by different oral literary techniques.

Let us now try to understand the conceptually possible second tale further. This
second tale is hinted at by the hidden presence of the pair, the teller and the listener. Again we come to the ancient Tamil rhetorician's idea of a hidden sender and receiver. The voice of a sender brings in the voice of the receiver because unless the sender is aware of the receiver he cannot send the messages. The very fact that the sender is aware of the receiver means that the sender becomes part of a receiver. This is inevitable in human communication. The sender and receiver and the contract they have entered into, are alive to the creative force of communication. They are placed face to face not only in space but also in time. The elder teller tells a tale to a younger member who then becomes a sender after a period of time.

In addition to the teller-listener communicative contract, there is an emphasis of orality present between these two. This lends still more depth and force to the communicative contract of the teller and the listener. We now know that the second tale, as has been pointed out earlier, is made out of two emphases, one, the communicative relation that exists between the teller and the listener, and the other, the orality which is superimposed on the communication contract as far as the tellings of the folktales are concerned.

What we have to study here is the relation between the schematic presentation of a tale and its non-schematic formative devices. The non-schematic formative domain of the tale can be said to be 'chaotic' and subversive due to the fact that there is elimination of certain portions and a remodeling of the previous versions of a tale. But this chaos happens only in some slots of the story. That way, the schematic and non-schematic elements operate according to a pattern and order which has much to do with the schematic and unchanging domain of the tale. So the schematic and non-schematic domains of a tale's formative phases depend on one another. If this is so, the proposition that there is a second tale lying underneath the visible tale assumes importance. The formation of the second tale is possible only because there is a relation of affinity as well as an oppositional tension between the schematic and changing components of oral tales. The second tale shares a family resemblance with the first tale from which it originates. When the teller thinks of telling a story, a tale emerges in his mind, and when he begins to put that in a repeatable oral form, using a particular dialect, and other such communicational techniques, another tale emerges. This other tale looks like the tales that he had heard some time before. What is important here, is the intermingling of both the schematic and non-schematic domains of tales in the process of formation. If the schematic elements of the earlier tales dominate in the newly formed tale, it
becomes a version of the earlier ones; if the non-schematic elements dominate, there would emerge another tale which is of a different type.

**Translation of folktales as a double writing**

We now come to consider the formative elements that can become a second tale. This could be done from a study of a translated version of Grimms’ *The Golden Bird*. There is a tendency to form a second tale, not only when folktales are told by one person to the other, but also when they are translated from a foreign language into another one. This is an important aspect of the study of folktales. Grimms’ tales have been translated into almost all Indian languages. So, what we arrive at by studying the translation of *The Golden Bird*, is applicable to all the Indian languages. Along with the Kannada translation of *The Golden Bird*, some Tamil language translations of Grimms’ tales like *The Musicians of Bremen, The Singing Bone, The Straw, the Coal and the Bean* and *The Golden Goose* have been used to chart out the changes that occur when Grimms' tales are translated. So, what we arrive at may reflect an interlingual characteristic. Thus the following may be considered as the general pattern of the changes that occur when Kannada and Tamil language translations of Grimms’ tales are undertaken.

1. In the Grimms' version of *The Golden Bird*, the golden apples are counted (the English sentence is in the passive voice), but in the Kannada version, the king himself counts all the golden apples on the tree. In the Grimms' German version, the king orders his sons to keep watch, but this does not suit the Kannada translator and so he changes this sentence to the effect that the king orders the gardener to keep watch under the golden apple tree.

2. Another important change in the translation is that the focus of the tale is on the fox. In the Grimms' version, when the eldest sons of the king set out to find the golden bird, and take their gun to shoot the fox, it cries out, “Don't shoot, and I will give you some good advice. You're looking for the golden bird ...” , whereas in the Kannada translation, the fox cries out: “Sir, don't beat me; I will give you good advice. I know what you have come for ...”. In the Kannada tale, the fox uses the words “I know”. But this is missing in the Grimms' version. This gives the Indian tale a specific point of view
- the point of view of the fox. Another aspect of this emphasis is provided by the title being changed in the Indian tale to 'Fox's tale'. The Tamil title translation of Grimms' *The Singing Bone* is 'The Story Sung by the Bone'; it concentrates on the point of view of the neutral narrativity, by leaving out qualifying features which put the focus on personalized narration.

3. Another Tamil translation of *The Singing Bone* supplies an instance of the spatial motif changing into a non-spatial motif. In the Grimms' version the elder son of the poor peasant, who is ambitious and crafty, enters the forest from the west, whereas the younger son who is simple and good, enters from the east. This link of character and space is left out in the Tamil translation of the tale. Besides, the younger brother of the Grimms' tale is not shown seeing the elder brother in the west, which is the direction opposite the one from which he entered the forest. He meets his elder brother after traveling a short way into the forest. Thus, going a short way further indicates the time axis of the narration which is really the reversal of the east/west spatial oppositional arrangement.

4. The dialogues of the original tale are changed into simple narration without dialogue, in the translation. The narrative voice of the prose gains prominence here. This is largely the case both in the Kannada and the Tamil prose translations of the Grimms' tales. A Tamil translation of Grimms' *The Straw, the Coal and the Bean* also supports this observation.²⁷

5. Cultural details have been replaced in both the Kannada and Tamil translations. The gun used by the first two sons of the king in *The Golden Bird* gives way to an arrow in the Kannada version of the tale. The same is the case with Grimms' *The Musicians of Bremen*. In the Tamil translation, the donkey's drum and the dog's lute in the Grimms' version change into the *Veena* (string instrument mainly known in South India), and the *Katam* (a pot used as an accompanying instrument). Likewise, shaking hands which is a European custom is replaced by 'speaking to each other', 'kissing' is replaced by 'holding hands' etc., in the Kannada translation.

6. If we go through the list of changes between the Grimms' tale and the translated Indian tales, we will find out that Indian languages emphasize the thinking of a character
rather than than the speech. This has something to do with the evolution of Indian language prose which, having been influenced by western fictional prose, developed as a medium of individual expression.

7. Another aspect systematically left out in the Kannada translation is the adjectival and qualifying sequential characteristic of an item or a mood in a particular narrative situation. The dog in the Kannada tale is not characterized as faithful, as opposed to the faithful dog in the Grimm's tale. In the Grimm version, towards the end of the tale, the fox makes a request: “Wait,” said the fox, “Now you must reward me for my help.” “What reward would you like?” the boy asked. All these conversations which mark a sequential detail are left out in the Kannada translation.

A look at the translation techniques adopted by the translators of Grimm's tales into Kannada and Tamil shows that there is a guiding force behind Indian language translations. This force is apparent in the many deviations in tone, adjectival focus, focus of the character, the change of narrative from an objective presentation to a personalized one, the paucity of dialogues in the translated version etc. All these indicate that there are two hypothetical discursive domains, one close to the original language and the other close to the native language. This hypothetical domain is possible because of the construction of a narrative discourse not by adhering to the Grimm's but through deviating from the Grimm's. Usually performance is seen to exist when a communicative axis is overshadowed by another cultural axis.

The translators are involved in an interesting endeavor. They rewrite the original according to their cultural necessities, creative mind and to suit their priorities. This is borne out by the reduction in the number of dialogues in the translation. Thus there is a double writing involved in the translators' endeavors of altering, reducing and adding certain elements to the tale. This double writing, one backwards within the space of the original, and another forward through the process of translation, accomplishes a performance act which accounts for many of the translation techniques. Another point is the change of the story from the original German (of course, through English) to Kannada, the target language. In the Kannada version, the gardeners' sons set out on a journey to bring the golden bird, while the original version talks of the King's sons setting out on a journey. This too, perhaps, is the consequence of 'double writing'. This doubleness is characterized by the many translation
techniques.

The changing of spatial Dimension into the time category actually emphasizes and concretizes the difference between the original and the translation. This also, we shall explain, enables the translation to gain enough aloofness from the original to carry forward the performative act of double writing. The cultural change by substitution of native habits for western ones, cutting off of the sequential explanation of the tale etc., are also part of this process.

The concept of 'double writing' is related to the concept of double tale. The creative performance of double writing deviates from the original tale to become another tale with slight modifications. The double tale which is a creative and narrational mental state, constitutes a storehouse for many more tales for a future storyteller. Double writing and double tale are different ideas, but they have a relation in the sense that when tales are read by readers (like when tales are heard by listeners) they tend to create their own second tale; but this process ends there as the communicative medium is not orality but print. This concept of double writing demonstrates that even when the teller and the hearers of a tale are absent, their presence is felt in the interiorized space of the tale. The ancient Tamil concept that the teller could be presupposed even when he is absent seems to be a valuable tool even here. Thus double writing as a concept shares a few qualities of the second tale because both activate the presupposed dyadic pairs - the teller and the hearer or the writer (translator) and the reader. The space one finds between the original tale and the potential second tale assumes importance now. The double writing could also be accommodated in this space. So the new versions and new translations have to take shape in this conceptual space taking their germinative characteristics from these two tales, one facing the interior, and the other, the exterior.

The Ideological Disposition

So far we have dwelt upon what is called the artistic social action of the folk. The literary and creative project which takes shape in the form of a narrative has a conceptual significance. Let us see what the different units of the sample texts tell us about the conceptual or ideological disposition of the folk. Firstly one will be struck by the conceptual binary of dream and reality as assuming a predominant part in the different sample texts. In sample 2, the real wish of the kings of other tales is brought to the domain of dream. The idea
of dream and reality is present in a different way when many instances of transformation also occur in these tales. In sample 1, the tiger transfigures into a princess first and a horse later. In sample 2 the boy touches a stone and the stone turns into a girl. In the Grimms' tale and sample 3, too, there is transformation (the fox turns into a boy). This disproves the argument that eastern and western narrative pattern of tales are different. Transformation also assumes a transmutational role which largely happens in ordinary dreams; anything can be anthropomorphic - the doing away of the strict division between animal, plant and human beings happens both in dreams and in fairy tales.

Another quality allied to this is revealed when the storyteller of sample 4 recounts the tale; there is confusion about many things in this partial oral presentation of the tale. Certain gaps have to be filled in; this pre-formative 'confusion' actually is part of the dream-like quality of the fully formed tale. That way, the 'confusion' or the unsettled character of a not fully formed tale told by a schoolboy comes to reveal the inner structure of a fully formed tale. Propp, when explaining the assimilation of tale functions, seems to have encountered the problem of a 'complication' present in tales. With regard to the Grimms' tales he acknowledges that although they present the same scheme as the Afanas'ev collection in general, they “display a less pure and stable form”29). Foreign influences and intermingling of elements made Propp think that certain tales defy neat classification30. However, we have to consider intermingling as a natural phenomenon of tales of different types. This intermingling, 'complication', and the erasure of the schism between dream and reality through transformation of dramatis personae rather reveals the creative faculty of the folk.

Another such characteristic displayed in these tales is the occurrence of the frequent interdiction/violation sequence (although not in a strict Proppian sense). In many sample texts (1 and 3, for example) the helper addresses an interdiction concerning the task the hero is undertaking: “Don't touch the diamond cage near the bird” (sample I), “You go and catch the horse” (sample I), etc. A major part of the story is given to the interdiction/violation pair of elements in samples 1 and 3. This type of alternation of positive and negative human attitudes represents an emotional drama of the give and take which could very well be compared to an example given by Freud: A child who is separated from its mother is presented with a spring toy that appears and disappears alternatively31. We may presume that an appearance/disappearance schism in human thought is brought to bear on the interdiction/violation dyad. Thus a drama is staged where an actor on stage is alternated with
an actor off stage. This, everyone knows, is a play of the two characters and at times these two are indistinguishable and one is taken for the other. The interdiction/violation dyad thus reveals an indistinguishable domain of narration within the tale's sign world.

This kind of literary and psychological approach to the study of a few motifs that occur in the non-schematic domain of the tale world reveals that beneath the differences of categories, there is an ambivalence. Mention must be made of the odd motif of the elder brothers being defeated by the prostitutes in the play of dice (sample 3). This sexually meaningful and symbolic play has a relation with other sign systems of the tales. When the hero goes in one spatial direction, the elder brothers start in a different direction, usually opposite to the hero's. Thus the sex-related motif has a significance when placed in opposition to a spatial direction. Till the elder brothers reappear on the scene of villainy, where they harm or kill the hero in order to steal his possessions, they are absent from the tale. Playing dice with the prostitutes to be defeated and kept as their servants could be equated with the 'departure' of the spatial narrative axis, because disappearing in a spatial direction to become the servants of prostitutes touches upon the semiotic significance of the tale world. Thus, there emerges a connotation of spatialization which takes on the meaning of the motifs and their arrangements in the non-schematic narrative sphere of the tale. Thus the boundary line of two areas of space and eroticism disappears to take on a new narrative purpose.

It is now common knowledge that oppositional or differential linguistic pairs create sense and meaning in the otherwise flat and formal structures of language. Thus linguistic structures become imbued with meaning and force when the different elements of narratives become the carriers of cultures. When a teller starts recounting a tale, the narrative form of traditional wisdom emerges. What is expressed in the oppositional format of the interdiction (“Don't go during the day, but go at night” “Don't go straight to the castle but wait in the garden” etc.), is the temporal meaning. This opposition of day and night is not a real opposition, because this temporal duality is a pretext to the formation of an erotic sub text (he accomplishes the task of getting the princess). According to Walter J. Ong, the oral domain of ideas and the linguistic rules that bind them are inseparable in oral memory. Thus, these oppositions render the narrative into nonexclusive oppositions in the process of assuming meaning.
Another domain of non-exclusive binary is the relation between the trick and mythological medicine in one sample text. The eagle that comes to prey on the carcass of the dead hero (in sample 1) is tricked by the helper, the tiger, who catches the eagle's young. Then the eagle brings *amrutasanjeevini*, the mythological herb that cures all diseases and brings the dead back to life. In another instance (sample 2) the princess prays to God to bring the dead back to life. In sample 3 the fox, the helper, comes with the other foxes of the forest to help the hero out of the well. If the motifs of the trick, the mythological medicine and the prayer form a magical pattern, the help of other foxes is a non-magical motif. Here, these two kinds of motifs, usually considered as oppositions, lose their distinctness because they fulfill the same function - they bring the dead back to life.

Thus, in all the examples cited above we see that the distinctness blurs, oppositions transgress and ambivalence looms large on the whole domain of a narrative network. These ambivalences create an energetic movement of meanings which further activate the inner core of the generative process of the new versions of tales. What is noteworthy is that the emergence of meaning depends on the play of different story elements (functions and the 'chaotic' occurrences) as generated not by a single narrator, but a community of storytellers. (For instance, the five sample versions of the tale cited here stem from five different tellers.) This implies that as many versions of a tale are possible as there are individual tellers.

The loss of distinctness of the binary characteristics of motifs allows these motifs to become part of an ongoing process of taking part in two narratives, one interior and the other exterior. The blurring of distinctions really is the result of the emergence of narrativity, though invisibly. The possibility and validity of these two hypothetical interior and exterior tales have already been discussed. As for the question of how a conceptual possibility is to be taken for real, we shall quote an answer given by Dell Hymes in another context, “The indispensable tool would not be a tape-recorder but a hypothesis.”\(^{33}\) The linguistic ideas of Ferdinand de Saussure have brought out a lot of new research, particularly through the langue (the conceptual possibility) and parole (real manifestation) formulation\(^ {34}\). What happens in the study of the non-schematic elements of the Indian counterparts of Grimms’ tales is a conceptual and structural possibility of a model of two tales. The oppositional categories of the non-schematic story elements order themselves within the structure of the story according to their contending meanings. They further align themselves with the structure of two tales, one given, and the other hinted at. The formative grid of the potential two tales,
with their ambivalent pull towards the opposing sides, the interior and exterior of the narrative space, now accommodates these contending meanings. This at times causes the birth of one more version of the tale, different from these two. This kind of formulation presupposes a perpetual action taking place in the oral textual formative process which goes on creating newer versions. Thus, in the activated domain of tales all elements mingle - the universal and the native. But the folk, through their tales, approach the world afresh. Hence, the narrative unkeying and keying is possible only through accommodating the ideas, the logic, and the tradition of different cultures, all being kept in a carnivalesque suspension. 

Appendix

Sample 1

Once there was a king; he had three sons. The king owned a garden. There was an apple tree in his garden. This apple tree was called the Golden Apple Tree. He asked his three sons to guard the apple so that no one could steal the apple. A bird used to come to the tree. The sons of the king saw this bird. They told the king. When told about this, the king gave them orders to catch the bird wherever it was. All three sons set out on a journey in search of the bird. The two elder sons went southward; the younger son went to the northern side. There he went ... and went ... and at last reached a forest. There, there was a pond. Near the pond was a banyan tree. After tying the horse to the tree, he took bath in the pond, ate the food he had brought and lay down to take rest. Then a tiger came to kill the horse. He was awakened and asked in anger, “Who has killed my horse?” The tiger came forward to say, “Hey, I have killed the horse.” He threatened to kill the tiger. The tiger said, “Don't kill me; I will help you.” “If so, you take me to the kingdom where the bird is found,” said the king's younger son. Soon after the tiger took him on its back and reached another kingdom. Then the tiger said, “There is a home here, the doors face southwards, the home is the king's residence; one will find a cage of diamonds there and inside the cage a bird. You catch the bird and leave the cage there.” The king's son got off the tiger and went into the home. There were guards around. After a lot of effort, he went inside. He though that the cage was suitable for the bird. Then without catching the bird, he touched that cage and there was a commotion. Immediately the guards came and caught him. He was beaten and dragged to this king and the king asked him, “Which is your place? Where do you come from? Which is your kingdom?” The boy answered. Upon hearing his answer the king said, “There is a kingdom in the direction in which the sun rises. A king lives there; he has a white horse. If you fetch that horse I will give you this cage and the bird.” The king's son accepted this. Then he came back
to the tiger and told him everything. The tiger listened to what he said and took him on its back and went to the city. Stopping at the outskirts of the city, the tiger told him to go inside to bring the horse. The prince went; on seeing the horse he caught it with his hands. He saw a saddle placed on the wall. He thought it would fit the horse. When he took the saddle, there was a big commotion and the guards came and caught him. He was brought to the king. The king knowing his intention, said, “Yes, I will give you the horse, but you have to perform a task before that.” The prince asked him what that was. The king said, “There is a city toward the south. In that city there is a princess. If you bring her to me, I will give you the horse, and the saddle.” He accepted this condition and came to meet the tiger again. He told the tiger everything that had happened. The tiger took him on his back and reached another city. Then the tiger took three stones and cast a spell on the stones. Then the tiger said, “You take one stone and throw that on the palace of the king of this city. Then all the doors will open. Take another stone and throw that on the princess’ dwelling place. The princess, due to the effect of the stone, will feel sleepy. Throw the third stone on the cot on which the princess sleeps. She will awake and come along with you.” As advised, he threw one stone on the king's palace and it opened. He went in and looked around. He found the maid servants and guards of the princess there. Then he threw the second stone. All felt sleepy. Then he threw the third stone on the cot. The princess woke up and fell in love with him and followed him. The prince and the princess came to the tiger and after paying their respects, sat on its back. They went to the city where the king with the horse was ruling. The tiger said to the prince, “You marry this girl.” For that the prince said, “No, I have promised the king to bring this princess to him.” Then, on hearing him the tiger said, “You hide this princess somewhere here. I will become a princess. You take me to the king and take his horse and come back to this princess.” The prince did as advised. He took the tiger-princess to the king and came back to the real princess. This king, on seeing the tiger-princess, asked her to marry him. At that instant the tiger-princess changed into its original form of a tiger. The tiger jumped on him to attack. Then the tiger came back to the prince and took him on its back. The princess sat on the horse and they all went to the city where the bird was found. There the tiger told the prince that it would change into a horse and the prince could take it to the king and get the bird, and cage, and everything. The tiger then changed its form into that of a horse. On hiding the real horse with the princess, he rode on the tiger-horse and went to meet the king. He asked the king to give the bird with the cage in exchange for the horse. The king was happy to see the tiger-horse and he wanted to ride this horse. He worshiped it before mounting it. When he beat the horse, the tiger-horse ran all the way into a big forest and changed into its original form of a horse.
form. On seeing the tiger, the king ran away. Then the tiger came back to the prince.  

The horse, princess, the bird, the prince, all went to the prince's kingdom. They sat below a tree for rest. Then the tiger said, "I will not come to your kingdom. If you summon me, I will appear before you. To that the prince agreed. Then the tiger went to its cave nearby. Afterwards there came the other brothers of the prince, they saw the horse, princess and the bird and were jealous of their brother. They thought, “We have not brought anything. This boy is so clever. On knowing this, their father would punish them.” A thought came to their mind, “We will kill our brother and take all these to the king.” They killed him and took the horse, bird, and the princess to their father. The father was happy and arranged for their marriage. The princess, saying that she would observe Gouri worship for 21 days, refused to marry anyone till then. The king also accepted this condition.  

The king arranged for the Gouri worship. She worshiped the goddess, Gouri, daily and requested the goddess that her real lover come back to life. There, in the forest, an eagle came to eat the carcass of the dead body. Meanwhile the tiger also was planning to do something as its friend had been killed. At that time, the eagle came to eat the dead body. The tiger now caught a young one of the eagle. The eagle requested the tiger to spare its young one. The tiger agreed to leave the eagle's young, on the condition that the eagle give life to the dead prince. The eagle agreed and brought the magical medicine amrutasanjeevini and placed it on the dead body. Immediately the prince came to life and said good words to the tiger as a gesture of thanks. He then asked, “Where are the bird, the princess and the horse?” The tiger told him everything that had happened. The prince said, “You are the real friend.” The tiger said, “You go to the king and tell him what had happened.” So, he went to see the king and the king scolded him for not bringing what he had requested. Now, the brothers saw him and were frightened knowing what would happen to them. He told his father what his brothers had done. The tiger also came forward to inform the king about what had happened. The king asked soldiers to cut the elder brothers into pieces and put the pieces of their bodies as decorations in the city. The younger son asked the father to pardon his brothers. Afterwards the king arranged the younger son's marriage with the princess. Then the king wanted the younger son to become his heir. But he refused and asked his father to announce that his elder brothers were the heirs to the kingdom. All three of them won many wars and lived happily.
Once there was king. He had three sons. One day the king had a dream. In the dream he saw a bird in a golden cage, and it was eating a mango. He wanted to see the actual bird. Next morning he called all his three sons and asked them to bring the bird wherever it was. The three sons set out on horses to bring the bird. The two elder sons went in one direction, the third one went in another direction. He was intelligent and on occasions crafty.

Riding the horse, the third son went on ... and on ... to a distant place. He was tired. He went under a tree and touched a stone. It turned into a girl. He then inquired about her. She said she was a goddess, and due to a curse she had been turned into a stone. His touch had broken the curse. She then said that she wanted to help him. So he asked her to help him trace the bird. She said, “There is a hill nearby. A fox is cutting a road through the hill. If you go and touch the fox as you have touched me, the fox will help you.” The king's son left the place.

The fox was piling the stones cut from the hill. The king's son, pretending as if he intended to help him, went near the fox and touched the fox as told by the goddess. Immediately the fox turned into a boy. He asked the king's son, “Who are you? What do you want?” The king's son told about his search for a bird in a golden cage. The boy told the king's son that the bird was with his father. Then he brought the king's son to his home. The boy's father said he would give him the bird in the golden cage if he fulfilled a condition. The king's son asked the boy's father what it was. The boy's father said, “See, we have a horse with one eye. If you bring the magic wand to bring sight to the other eye also, I will give you the bird in the golden cage.” “Let it be so,” said the king's son and left the place.

The king's son then went on ... and on ... and reached a small village where he came to know that the magical wand was with an old woman. The king's son thought that he would become a snake and kill her and he approached her in the form of a snake when she was sleeping. No sooner had he touched her, than the old woman became a young girl. “As you made me a girl, you have to marry me,” said the girl.
“I will marry you, if your give me the magic wand,” said the boy. She gave him the magic wand and he took her along with him; he came to the place where he had earlier learnt about the horse. He gave the magic wand to the owner of the horse and it regained sight in its blind eye. That man, as promised earlier, gave away the bird in the golden cage. The king’s son left that place along with the bird and the girl.

The other sons of the king who were on their way back home, with their long drawn faces, saw their younger brother. They become jealous and killed him right there and brought the bird with the golden cage, and the girl, to the king. The king was so happy on seeing the bird in the golden cage, that he praised his two elder sons and forgot about the younger son. Then he agreed to marry the girl his sons had brought with them, to them. That girl became very sad. On the first night, the two brothers vied with each other as to who should go to her first. At last they both came to her room together. That poor girl took two cups full of milk and came. She was sad thinking of the younger brother had been killed. She prayed to God, “If I am born to one father and mother and if I am a wife to my husband, let my dead husband come back to life, let the golden cage become an iron cage, let the parrot become a crow and let the mango become a bitter fruit.” This curse took effect and the king’s two elder sons soon died. Her dead husband came back to life and met her.

On seeing the parrot becoming a crow, the golden cage becoming an iron cage, and the mango becoming bitter, the king was bewildered. He came to his two elder sons to inquire about this. He saw them dead. The last son was seen near the girl.

He wanted to know, “What's all this?” Now the girl told the king what had happened.

Then she told him, “If you want everything to assume their earlier forms, touch your third son.” No sooner did the king touched the third son that the crow regained its earlier form of a parrot, and the iron cage, that of a golden cage. The bitter mango became sweet. The king married the girl to his third son. All were happy. When the bird with the golden cage was eating the mango as earlier, the king saw that happily.

(Lingaiah, Devaiah: Janapada Kathasangama [A Compilation of Folktales]. Bangalore 1978, 24-27. Informant: Sarojamma (female), 55 years, studied up to 5th standard)
A city called Amrapura; there was a king in the city. There were seven sons to the king. He married all the six elder sons. From there, for twelve acres, there was a garden of flowers and oranges. There was only one mango tree. There were lakhs of mangoes on the tree. When these ripened they became golden mangoes.

In Baragurpette there was a king. He had a golden bird in his palace. The golden bird used to come and take one golden fruit each day. At that time, the king said, “You people are here; but everyday I lose about two kilograms of gold. All of you go and guard the tree.” Then all sons went to guard the tree with food and other requirements. All the six sons had to guard for 8 days. But they could not catch the bird.

Then (the king) said to his youngest son, “Daily we loose about two kilograms of gold. At least you go and guard the tree.” He then sent him. That night he went to guard the tree with his bow and arrow. He had no food and he guarded the tree alone. The bird came at midnight. No sooner had the bird plucked a golden fruit, than the boy sent an arrow. Two feathers fell down and he took these fathers. Then his father came there. He asked, “What, hey! Did you get the bird?” He replied, “Father, a bird has come from some country. When I sent an arrow, only two feathers fell down; how many kilograms of gold will that be?” When the feather was weighed, it was four kilograms of gold.

Then the king sent all his six sons to catch the bird. All of them took horses and enough money and went away. At that time, there came a cunning fox and asked them, “Where are you going, oh princes?” They said, “We go to catch the golden bird.” The fox said, “When you go, on the way, you will see an old and another new bungalow. Don't go to the new bungalow, but go to the old bungalow.”

They went to the old bungalow and they did not like it. Then, they went to the new bungalow. There was a drum. They beat the drum six times and prostitutes came out. After taking food, they sat down to play dice; the prostitutes defeated all the six brothers. When they were defeated, as punishment, they were allotted a house full of bugs.

The six sons did not come back even after three months. The king said to his last son, “Oh! son! They have not come for so long. Are you not going in search of them?” He was
sent with money for expenditure, and a horse. He went in search of the brothers who hadn't come back. He met the fox on the way. Fox asked, “Have not your brothers come? Where do you go?” The boy said: “In Baragurpette there is a golden parrot, I go in search of the bird. I go also in search of my brothers.” Then the cunning fox advised, “When you go, go to the old bungalow and tie the horse there. You go only at midnight. The golden parrot will be found upstairs. They have put the bird in a wooden cage. You take the wooden cage. Don't touch the diamond cage.”

But he wanted to take the golden bird from the wooden cage and put it in the diamond cage. No sooner he touched the diamond cage, than the golden bird made noise, and the guards immediately woke up. The king's son was caught and scolded. He said, “Don't scold me. Please take me to the king. Let the king pronounce his judgment.” He was taken to the king. The king asked, “Why have you come?” The king's son replied: “Whatever you ask me to do, I will do.” The king said, “You will get the golden bird on one condition. There is in Sirapette a golden horse. You have to get me that horse. Then I will give you the golden bird.” “I will get you the horse,” said the king's son and then he left for Sirapette.

On the way he saw the cunning fox and the fox said: “You have not listened to my words. Now see, you have a problem. Tell me for where have you started?” Then the king's son said, “In Sirapette, there is a king. In front of his palace is a golden horse. I am asked to bring that horse.” The cunning fox said, “Mind you, when you go, don't go straight. Go only at midnight. There will be three horses with good decorations on. The one in the middle has a cloth decoration. The two horses on both the sides have golden decorations. You go at midnight and take the horse and come away. Don't bring the horse with the golden decorations.” But he tried to take a horse with the golden decorations. The horse neighed and the guards came and scolded him. He said, “Don't scold me. I have come to steal. You take me to the king. What punishment he prescribes, I will accept.”

They brought him to the king. The king said, “Being the son of a king, how have you come to steal my horse?” He replied, “I have come to steal your horse, sir, I will accept your judgment.”

Then the king said, “There is a king living underneath the ocean; he has a hundred daughters. The last one is a golden daughter. If you bring her, I will give the golden horse.”
Then the king's son said, “I will give you the golden girl. Now, I will take leave of you.”

Thus he went and on the way he saw the cunning fox. The fox said, “When you go into the ocean, don't go to the palace straight; first, go to garden. Sit near a flower plant. At dawn, all the hundred daughters will come to take a bath. At last, the golden girl will come and take a bath. When she is about to leave carrying water in a pot, you hold her and say, 'I am your husband and you are my wife.' Then also say, 'I have not come to marry you. I have to take you to someone. You are under my control,' and she will take you to her father.”

Everything happened as the fox had said. The golden girl took him to her father. The father said, “How can you touch the princess?” He replied, “Sir, excuse me, I will accept whatever punishment you give.” Then, the king said, “There is a big hill away from this ocean; you cut the hill and remove it so that we will see the ocean. If you do this, I will give this girl to you.”

“I will do that,” said the boy. Then he rode on the horse and went away. On the way, in a forest, there was a temple. There was also a tree near the temple. He tied the horse to the tree and he went and took rest at the temple. The fox came to know of the task set by the king.

The cunning fox brought all other cunning foxes and they all cut the hill and removed the rock from the ocean. In the morning, the golden girl's father announced, "He is not a human being. He is a divine person. Bring him wherever he is. Search for him."

People went in a chariot in search of him. He was not to be found. They were worried. All were about to come back. There was one cowherd nearby. They inquired about the missing boy. He said, "One person has been here for the last fifteen days. No water; no food; without speaking to anyone, he is there. We could only feed the horse." They went to where he was lying. They woke him up. He was the seventh son.

He was brought to the palace in a chariot. The king arranged for the marriage. After the marriage, he was given plenty of dresses and other ornaments and then sent away.

After going three miles, there came the fox and said, “Are you going to give them the
golden girl for the golden horse) When they receive you, call them to the gate of the fort. They will come. Then, tell them to give you the golden horse for a ride. When they give, you take the horse and the princess and go away."

When he went on further there came some people to receive him. He asked them to come to the gate of the fort. They obeyed him and came near the gate. He took away the horse and the princess and rode away. On his way he met the cunning fox again. The fox said, "Go to get the golden bird. But don't go inside the village. As soon as they give you the bird, ride away on the horse. Then, all the three items will be yours." He took away everything as advised by the fox.

Now, he remembered his brothers. There was a temple near the village. He hid the bird, golden horse and the golden princess and asked four policemen to guard them. Then he went in search of his brothers. He came near the bug-infested house of the prostitutes. He beat on the drum and played dice with six prostitutes and defeated them all. He registered the property of those prostitutes and freed all his brothers.

The brothers saw that he had brought with him the golden bird, the golden horse, etc. They were jealous of him. They wanted to kill him. On the way back, when it became dark, all of them stopped and had their food at an inn. They wanted to take rest. At night, the elder brothers tied the legs and hands of their younger brother and put him in a well. When he was put in the well, the golden bird, the golden horse, etc., closed their eyes. They neither spoke nor breathed.

The brothers took the golden bird and the golden horse and came home. They gave the golden bird, golden horse, etc., to their father. They boasted that they themselves brought all these. They asked the guards to kill their brother if he came there.

Then, the cunning fox brought all other foxes and took the younger son away from the well. The fox then asked, "Which way will you take to go home?" He said, "I will obey you and will go as you advise." The fox said, "Near your village, there is an inn, and there there is a mendicant. There you stay for eight days and learn his language. Then you go home with a pot in hand and sacred ash on your forehead. When you go there, don't speak to anyone."
He went home chanting “Jai Sitaram, Jai Sitaram”. He went everywhere chanting this. He was invited by the rich peasants. They asked him to foretell their future as he was like a fortune-teller. He asked them to give one hundred rupees for his services. Then, he was taken to the king's palace. The king gave him one hundred rupees and asked him to foretell what would happen to the king. He reminded the king about what happened when the king wanted a golden bird. He reminded him about the youngest son also. The king now remembered everything. The fortune-teller now told the fate of his youngest son and the evil designs of his elder sons. He, at the end, revealed to the king that he was his last son. The king wanted to punish the elder sons. But, he wanted the king to pardon them. Then he wanted to meet the fox as a last gesture of thanks. The fox came. He told the fox that he wanted to commit suicide as he did not like his father punishing his elder brothers.

The fox said, “Don't kill yourself, instead, kill me.” “I will not kill you,” replied the boy. The fox then said to him, “Touch me with the edge of the knife.” He touched the fox with the knife. The fox immediately turned into a prince. He was the brother of the golden girl. They both went home. The younger son married the golden girl and lived happily.

(Jayachandra, Mandya Adirajaiah: Janapada Kathegalu [I15 Folktales J. Bangalore 1977, 297 -303. Informant: Tholasamma [female] of Amrapura. She belongs to the Lambani tribe and lives by agricultural work and by selling fuel wood in villages.)

Sample 4

Once there was a king, they say. He had planted a golden tree. One day ... a golden bird came to pluck a gold ( ... daily). There were two sons. (The king) said that he would donate the kingdom to those who brought that golden bird. (The sons) both, went to guard the (tree). The elder son slept, they say. The younger one saw the bird, they say. The king said that he would give his kingdom to the one who would catch the bird. Two sons left for (the bird), they say. There they see a board, on which was inscribed, 'Danger' ... That side the younger one went ... On the other side it was inscribed 'No Danger'. That side the elder one went. There was a bear ... they say. That bear (here the collector asks a direct question: Is it the elder son?) .. No ... younger one. There was a bear, they say. He went to the bear. The bear asked, “What do you want?” He said, “I want the golden bird ...” (Then) he went to the
golden bird, they say ... The merchant said, “If you want the golden bird, you should bring a golden horse.” He changed a donkey into a golden horse and rode on it. The donkey made a noise. He ran away and there he took rest under the tree, along with the golden horse. The elder brother came there and took away (the horse). Then ... afterwards, the bear took (the younger brother to the king) and registered the kingdom in his name, they say.

(Recorded at a school in Bangalore from an eleven-year-old schoolboy by Jayalalitha Venkatesh as part of her M. Phil. dissertation under my supervision, and submitted to Bangalore University, 1997)

Sample 5

There was a king who had three sons. There was an apple tree in his kingdom that bore golden apples. Without the king's knowledge, an apple was being stolen each day. He wanted to know how this happened. He brought soldiers from the army to find it out. Yet, he was unable to find out what happened. They fell asleep when the bird came to steal the golden apples. Thinking that the time had come to appoint his sons to guard the apples, he sent all his three sons to do so. The first son went and waited, and went to sleep before the bird came. No one came to know about this. Then the king sent his second son. He also did the same. It was the third son, sent by the king who saw the bird, but the moment he went to catch the bird, the bird disappeared and the theft of the golden apples continued. Then the king announced that whoever brought this bird would be given his kingdom. All the three sons went in search of the bird. When they went east, they saw a message inscribed on a stone: "If you go to the east, you will find the bird, and if you go to the west, you will reach a graveyard with wild birds and animals, and those who have gone there have not come back alive." Only the third son went to the east; the others took different directions. When the third son went to the east, he found the place quite new to him and he wanted to see everything. So he roamed around. Then, someone told him a story there ... He thought that he needed some rest. He went to take rest in a house, and started looking at everything there. He saw a golden bird in a golden cage. He wanted to know why the golden bird was kept in a golden cage. He could not find out the reason. One day he saw a girl coming to a river to fetch water. She came there every day. When he observed the girl, he found that the girl's footprints were those of an animal. He followed her. She went into a cave. There the girl changed into a fox. He caught her and asked her about herself. She told him that she knew where the bird was, and he inquired about the place. He also said that if she showed him the place, he would marry her. She replied, "If you kill the bird, I can be redeemed of the curse that has been cast upon
me.” Then he said: “Yes, I will do that.” Then she said that she knew the magic to turn people into animals. She now turned him into a donkey to enable him to go where the bird lived. He traveled as a donkey and brought the bird back. Afterwards he told her that he would kill the bird only after showing the bird to his father. Now she told him that she would accompany him, and accompanied him up to a certain place. Then, she told him, “I cannot come beyond this point.” He traveled further, and on the way became thirsty and fell down from the horse. The horse fled and the crows came to eat his flesh. She came to know of this, got there and quenched his thirst by giving him water. Then she changed herself into a horse to carry him to his kingdom. He also wanted to find out where his brothers were ... The bird said that it could not find his brothers, but that his brothers had already reached the king's palace. These people also arrived there. The other brothers went to their father and claimed that they had really caught the bird ... The girl who accompanied the third brother wanted to teach the other brothers a lesson ... She kept the bird in a golden cage; otherwise it would disappear ... Then she went to the king and told him that his third son had caught the bird. Then the third son killed the bird and saved the girl from her curse, and married her.

(Tale collected by Jayalalitha from Kalavathi [female], aged 13)
Notes


4. Marie Maclean thinks that textual stability is provided as much by the demands of the audience as by the memory of the teller (Narrative as Performance. London et al. 1988, 14).


7. Erving Goffman notes that by key he means a set of conventions are transformed (Frame Analysis. New York 1986, 43 sq.).


12. There are about 23 tale-types which can be identified with Grimms’ tales, namely Grimms’ tale numbers 7, 16, 20, 21, 24, 27, 28, 30, 32, 49, 57, 61, 64, 68, 75, 76, 77,
85, 87, 90, 98, 115, 179. Each Kannada or Tamil tale has 3-5 versions from oral sources.


15. Anna-Leena Siikala says that F.C. Bartlett, the proponent of the research method based on the repeated production of tradition, uses the concept of scheme in his pioneering study of memory (Interpreting Oral Narrative [FFC 245]. Helsinki 1990, 16).


17. This concept of dialogism is discussed in my paper presented at the 11th congress of the ISFNR in Mysore, January 6-12, 1995. Tolkāppiyar (5th Century) is the author of the “Tolkāppiyam”, the oldest Tamil book on grammar and poetics that has been preserved. He is usually compared to the Sanskrit grammarian Pāṇini.

18. Tales collected in Kannada (more than 5,000) shows that this is not proved. My field experience India does not corroborate the view that the teller changes a tale immediately according to his audience. Studies conducted by several research students and me show that the tellers make changes according to the choice dictated by their memory.

19. This can be commonly observed in Indian villages and towns.

20. See Babcock, Barbara A: The Story in the Story. In: Bauman 1978 (above, not. 3) 61-81. Although this paper deals with the metanarrative self commenting devices of tales, if we stretch the logic, there is scope for formulating the idea of an internal mechanism between tale, teller and hearer.


23. In the Kannada original of sample 1, 'avaga' is used in two successive sentences. Then after two lines 'avaga' occurs again. Similar examples are found in abundance in the four other sample texts.

24. Jayalalitha (see sample 4 and 5) collected about 300 tales from school children in Bangalore. She explains that in descending order of age, children use the ending 'anthe' more frequently. After every line, they take another breath, and then another sentence starts, etc.

25. Rajaretanam, Gundlu Pandit: Raya Nari (Fox, the King). Bangalore 11980, 51-64.

26. In Kannada, more that 150 of the Grimms' tales are translated; not less than the same number are translated into Tamil. This happened mostly during the period from 1930 to 1959, when there a growing reading public among Indians.


28. In the Grimms' tale, "The Golden Bird", when the fox asks the third son to shoot him down, the following anbser is given: "...fine gratitude,' said the king's son"; whereas the Kannada translation shows that the boy could not reconcile to the idea of killing the fox (manasu baralilla – mind did not come). Even in the Tamil translation of "The Musicians of Bremen", the dog says that bones will be available in the place where they intend to go, whereas the Girmms' version shows the dog 'thinking' about bones.

29. Propp (above, not. 16) 100.

30. cf.ibid.

32. Ong (above, not. 22) 34 sq.

33. Hymes (above, not. 2) 340.


35. I thank Ramakrishnaiah for his help in the course of the preparation of this paper.

36. The translation of the five tales published in the appendix has been done by the author of this paper.