Inundating Cultural Diversity: A Critical Study of Oral Narratives of Kurichyas and Guarani in the Structuralist Perspective

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Inundating Cultural Diversity: A Critical Study of Oral Narratives of Kurichyas and Guarani in the Structuralist Perspective

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Abstract

The paper seeks to explore the practicability of using Vladimir Propp's framework to study the oral narratives of *the Kurichyan* tribe of Wayanad, Kerala, India and of *the Guarani* tribe of Paraguay, South America. For this purpose, *Narippaattu* (Wolf Song) of *Kurichyar* and *The Beginning Life of the Hummingbird* of *Guarani* are chosen. Out of the 27 functional events identified in the former, six of them do not fit into the Proppian framework and of the 13 identified in the latter, three of them do not conform to the Proppian structure. The events which are matched with Proppian events are tediously paralleled and do not correspond to each other entirely in the Proppian sense. None of the events identified in both tales show any linear or causal progression. Through this, I argue that an attempt to study narratives that originate from communities with multiple subtle diversities in terms of a universal structure will be problematic and mostly futile. We will lose the culturally distinct, subtle manifestations in the narratives in the endeavour to make them fit into any universal framework.

Keywords*:* structural analysis, *Kurichya, Guarani,* Propp, narrative analysis, poststructuralism

Analysis of narratives gives us insight into how the story is structured, what function the story serves, its quintessence and the way it is performed.

> "Narrative analysis is an in-depth analysis of a chronologically told story. Here the focus is on how elements are sequenced, why some elements are evaluated differently from others, how the past shapes perceptions of the present, how the present shapes perceptions of the past, and how both shape perceptions of the future." (Kaushikee, 2012)

There are "four typical narrative forms of analyses that may be used in concert with one another in a given study: structural, functional, thematic, and dialogic/performance." (Allen, 2017) The structural analysis emphasizes the form of the narrative and deals, especially with the narrator types, identification of morphological elements in narratives, the different ways in which they combine to produce meanings and the narrative devices employed. Structural analysis of narratives developed in the West, namely Russia and France, with Vladimir Propp and Claude Levi-Strauss. Given the colonial tradition, we also tend to look for structures, functions, and meanings in terms that have gained currency through western criticism, especially the structuralist mode, because it yielded certain specific results in the West and we expect to see comparable results in our analysis of these folk songs. We are particularly inclined to do so because the organization

within the folk songs often seems a little arbitrary and confounding. In the West, especially with Propp and his study of Russian songs and tales, there emerged a method in which characters and features/ functions are specified to a degree of precision, enabling the scholar to understand the overall structure of the tale/the song comprehensively.

Vladimir Propp's structural analysis of the basic plot components of selected Russian fairytales is considered the most initial and fundamental step in this regard. It created the foundation for new disciplines like semiology, narratology and structural anthropology. His research was published as *Morphology of the Folktale* in 1928 and in its beginning, he explains the word 'morphology' which is a term from the discipline of Botany. In A Dictionary of Botanical Terms by A. A. Crozier, morphology is defined as "the science of the homologies and metamorphoses of members. It treats, for example, different forms which leave assume in different plants, and in the same plant to serve different purposes" (Crozier, 1892, p. 235). Propp claimed to approach fairytales in a similar investigatory manner instead of contributing informational material to the literature. To him, the solution to the unresolved conundrum of the tales across the world being similar is "correct morphological study. . . If we are incapable of breaking the tale into its components, we will not be able to make a correct comparison. And if we do not know how to compare, then how can we throw light upon, for instance, Indo-Egyptian relationships, or upon the relationships of the Greek fable to the Indian, etc.?" (Propp, 1968, p. 15).

Propp chose 102 fairytales (Number 50- Number 151) from Aleksandr N. Afanás'ev's collection of Russian Folktales and separated the parts of a fairytale. Propp's observations of the functions of the thirty-one functions led him to draw the following inferences:

- The number of functions is limited, i.e. thirty-one in all.
- The actions in the entire corpus of tales in the literature are limited to these functions solely.
- With logical and artistic necessity, one function can evolve from another.
- One function does not exclude another.
- All of them belong to one axis, not to multiple axes.
- A significant set of functions are grouped in pairs.
- The other functions can be arranged into groups. For example, the functions of the hero being allowed to go or sent for a purpose (Meditation), villainy, counteraction and departure can be grouped under Complication.
- Some functions exist individually, like marriage, punishment, absentation etc.

Propp proposes that any morphological study should be guided by the principle of defining a "function according to its consequences" (Propp, 1968, p. 66).

Various studies have attempted to analyze the adequacy of Proppian morphology to explain the folk narratives, which are mostly culture-specific. Many of the studies accept that the morphology of narratives is universal and that they conform to the Proppian framework. But, several structural analyses of folk narratives show that "Propp's method does affect a distortion of narratives when it boils them down into character functions." (Dawson & Mäkelä, 2022). According to Dogra,

"Propp's taxonomic model disregards and excludes the reader and is unable to look beyond the surface structure thereby missing upon essential historical and contextual features." (Dogra, 2017)

Vučković and Bratić in their structural analysis of Serbian folk fairytales attempt to examine the adequacy of Propp's morphology in defining the tales. The analysis proves that the theory could not be accepted in its entirety and that the functions identified in the tales were not exactly as presented by Propp and altered. They observed alteration not only regarding the "changed order of functions, assimilation and cases of dual morphological meanings of functions, but also in terms of the fantastic category of the marvelous, which is the core feature of the fairy tale genre, whose nature was changed." (Vučković, D. & Bratić, 2020) But, they explain the alteration with the conclusion that the tales exhibit authorial intervention. They opine that the category of the marvelous was replaced with "that of the fantastic and the rationalization of certain motifs. Therefore, the perspective on the nature of certain events in these tales is shifted from the women's towards the men's." (Vučković, D. & Bratić, 2020)

Myug Hui Choi's study on Korean and Chinese folk narratives accepts Proppian morphology as "useful and valuable", but states that "the order of the Proppian functions may change and the functional elements may vary. The modification and isolation of functional variations in a particular social and cultural context will suggest cultural distinctions which can be identified through the narrative structure."(Choi, 2004) Choi accepts Proppian analysis as a comprehensive base for analyzing narratives, but reiterates the need "to modify the catalog of Propp's functions in analyzing the Korean folktale and Pu Songling's tales."(Choi, 2004)

Azuonye attempts a structural analysis of the Igbo folktales of Nigeria using Proppian morphology and further advances the study by investigating "the ethnographic, historiographic and aesthetic implications of the recurrence of certain motifemic elements and patterns in analyses based on the model." (Azuonye, 1990) The study tries to progress beyond Propp's essential classificational purpose of basic narrative elements and towards an appreciation of its possible practical utility in ethnohistorical reconstruction and "in the study of some aspects of the poetics of the oral narrative art." (Azuonye, 1990)

A structural analysis of the folk narratives of Sesotho of Africa is attempted by Phindane and it demonstrates that though there are positive correspondences between the Proppian functions and the functions identified in Sesotho tales, there are some functions in the narratives which are "continuously unbalanced" with the Proppian structure. Contrary to Propp's findings, the functions overlap and do not occur sequentially. (Phindane, 2019)

A similar study is conducted on the Korean folktale *Kongjee Patjee* by Kim Jang Gyem, and yielded identical results. Gyem accepts Proppian morphology as applicable universally to all folktales but finds that the Korean functions do not correlate exactly with the Proppian functions. He identifies 26 Korean functions, out of which only 14 conform to Proppian morphology. (Gyem, 2011)

Soe Marlar Lwin attempts to comprehend the morphology of Burmese folktales by modifying Propp's theory with Och's and Capp's idea on temporal and causal sequences. She states that "although different cultures may share the same structural pattern, the narrative contents of a tale remain culture-specific." (Lwin, 2010) She also identifies new functional events in the Burmese tales which do not conform to any of those suggested by Propp.

Following Propp, Alan Dundes (1965) studied the folk tales from European and African Indian cultures. He incorporated "some of the terminology and theory of Kenneth L. Pike" (Dundes, 1965, p. 74) and replaced functions with motifemes, "which permits the associated notions of motif and allomotif" (Dundes, 1965, p. 74). He identified structural types for American Indian folktales that consist of different motifeme sequences. The sequences identified are: 1) Lack (L) and Lack Liquidated (LL), 2) Interdiction (Int), Violation (Viol), Consequence (cons) and Attempted Escape (AE) and 3) Lack, Liquidation of Lack, Interdiction, Violation, Consequence and Attempted Escape. Though all the existing motifeme patterns were not discussed, Dundes established that the American Indian folktales are structured. Further in the thesis, he enumerated the significance and uses of structural analysis. Firstly, he suggested that structural analysis of folktales helps in making typological statements. Secondly, he identified structural analysis as "a new technique of gaining insight into the cultural determination of content within transcultural forms." (1971, p. 77) Another benefit of structural analysis pointed out was the prediction of acculturation situations. "If one knows the structure of European folktales and the structure of American Indian folktales, one can predict with reasonable certainty what changes will occur when a European tale is borrowed by an American Indian group" (Dundes, 1971, p. 78). To Dundes, the contribution of structural analysis in making cross-genre comparison, such as the folk tale and superstition, is "exciting" (1971, p. 78).

The identification of the minimal unit of structural analysis- either Propp's 'function' or Dundes' 'motifeme'- makes the identification of structural patterns in the tales easier and helps to study narrative structures in a theoretical perspective. `R. A. Georges commented that both the above narrative analysis does not account for how and why the patterns exist or operate. According to him, "folktales, like grammatical sentences in any given language, are generated systematically. Through a series of ordered operations, narrative structures containing a finite number of elements arranged in a fixed sequence are generated." (Georges, 1970, p. 6) He identified the folktales as being composed of a "move" and a "countermove"; the former consists of "initial motifemic cluster" and the latter of "final motifemic cluster". Each cluster consists of elements like Lack, Task, Interdiction, Violation, Deceit and Consequence. He proposed the following patterns to be operating in the narrative structures:

1. "Task + Task Accomplished
2. Interdiction + Violation + Consequence + Attempted Escape
3. Interdiction + Violation + Consequence
4. Lack + Deceit + Deception + Consequence
5. Deceit + Deception + Consequence" (Georges, 1970, p. 10)

According to Georges' study, the basic structural pattern is developed before the content is ordered. It attempts to explain not only the basic pattern but also the complexity of the narrative structure of folk tales. The complexity is either because of the chaining together of the above-said sequences, or of embedding, which is the insertion of one sequential pattern between the narrative elements of the other. Though there is widespread criticism of Georges' study that it applies the theories of transformational-generative grammar into folklore which is significantly

resistant to it, it is the first analytical attempt that took into consideration the operational process in the creation and retelling of folk tales.

Gerard Genette, in his analysis of Marcel Proust's writings, stated that "structural analysis of narrative was only suited to the simplest narratives, like folk tales." (Genette, 1980, p. 9) However, attempts at structural analysis have been made on other forms of narrative as well, taking into consideration the rising interest in narratives as a societal and psychological phenomenon. Labov and Waletzky(1967) structurally analyzed oral versions of personal experience in English and put forth an analytical framework. Unlike Propp, they identified "clause" as the basic narrative unit and claimed that in personal experience narratives, a clause served two functions: referential and evaluative. The referential function refers to the characters, settings and events of the stories whereas the evaluative function refers to why the storyteller or the audience tells or listens respectively. The referential function serves to give the audience information through the storyteller's recapitulation of experience in the same temporal order as that of the real occurrence. "Evaluation is a natural, even unconscious, part of narration." (Cortazzi, 2014, p. 43) It serves to communicate to the audience the meaning of the narrative through the narrator's perspective, by subjectively establishing the meaning it has for them. The basic narrative framework devised by Labov and Waletzky, by analyzing oral versions of personal experiences, has a six-part structure. Each of the elements of Labov and Waletzky's framework is detailed below:

1. Abstract: What was the subject of the story?

2. Orientation: Informs about the characters and setting.

3. Complication: What occurred next?

4. Evaluation: Why is it being told?

5. Resolution or Result: How did it conclude?

6. Coda, marks the close by bringing the listeners back to the present moment

Labov asserted that these six elements tend to occur in oral narratives, fables and fairy tales, and if they occur, they do in the proposed order. Labov's study is recognized as the first attempt to structurally analyze spoken discourse and to provide a framework for the same.

Though it is a sociolinguistic approach that studies the formal pattern concerning their social functions, it is widely criticized that the focus is only on the relationship between the narrative clauses, failing to place it contextually by establishing the link between the narrator and the audience.

Another significant contribution to the structural analysis of oral narratives was made by Harvey Sacks, in his structural analysis of conversations while at a suicide helpline in Los Angeles. Though there was widespread criticism of the disorganized nature of the narratives, from acclaimed critics like Noam Chomsky, Sacks claimed that storytelling was omnipresent in all naturally occurring narratives and developed the technique of conversation analysis. He stated that conversations are in a structured arrangement and this pattern is seen as the result of the methodical use of certain interactional methods - 'devices', 'systems', an 'apparatus' - that members utilize as answers to specific organisational difficulties in social interaction.

"The gross aim of the work I am doing is to see how finely the details of actual, naturally occurring conversation can be subjected to analysis that will yield the technology of conversation. The idea is to take singular sequences of conversation and tear them apart in such a way as to find rules, techniques, procedures, methods, maxims (a collection of terms that more or less relate to each other and that I use somewhat interchangeably) that can be used to generate the orderly features we find in the conversations we examine." (Sacks, 1984b, p. 411)

The contextual study of narrative structures by Labov and Sacks provides the basis for the structural analysis of storytelling as a social phenomenon as well. While they made a structural analysis of the sequential compositional structure of narratives, other studies focus on narrative as a discourse.

Hasan and Hoey structurally analaysed narratives on the level of textual realization, which was different from the prior studies that analysed narratives based on story structure. Hasan (1996) generically analysed nursery tales and developed the idea of Generic Structure Potential (GSP) to explain how the structural unity of a text is attained. According to Campbell, it covers both syntagmatic and paradigmatic analysis looking at the generic structure and the lexicogrammatical patterns within a text and how these accomplish the communicative purpose of the text. Hasan identifies a linear combination of obligatory, optional and recursive elements, in a specific order, as the Generic Structure Potential characterizing all genres. The elements identified as obligatory and their sequence determine the genre of a text while the optional elements create a difference in the texts belonging to the same genre. Recursive indicates the ordering of the obligatory and optional elements, including their repetition. Hasan analyzed the Generic Structure Potential of nursery tales and identified them as a genre. Hasan identified the moves within these tales and how the moves were organized within the text to create a pattern unique to the nursery tales. The obligatory elements in the nursery tales were Initiating Events, Sequence Events and the Final events while the optional elements were the Placement, Finale and Moral. Hasan, through her GSP framework, helped to identify the common elements in the structure of nursery tales, which in turn brought out a better definition of the genre of nursery tales. It also pointed out the possibility of variation within the structure of the narrative of nursery tales by identifying the optional elements and their changing order. According to Hasan, "the purpose of the framework of GSP is to describe the obligatory and optional elements within a genre and the sequence and recursion of elements. The obligatory elements determine to what generic type the text belongs." (Hasan, 1996, p. 53)

On the contrary, Michael Hoey, in his *Textural Interaction: An Introduction to Written Discourse Analysis* studied narrative structure in terms of matrices. He constructed a narrative matrix with participants on the horizontal axis and the time bands on the vertical axis. The act of narration is like following a path through the matrix. He distinguished the structure of a happening from the structure that is told about it. His study illustrated matrix analyses of several narrative texts including Cinderella, Aesop's Fables, and Goldilocks and the Three Bears. The iterative query 'What occurred next?' is used to observe time-sequence-oriented narrative matrices. This is generally interlaced with questions on the scene's description or the characters' thoughts (Hoey, 2001).

Hasan's (1996) and Hoey's (2001) study looked at the approaches that authors use to communicate the fundamental tale in various ways.

Alternatively, Ochs and Capps, in *Living Narrative: Creating Lives in Everyday Storytelling*, draws differences "between telling a story *to* another and telling a story *with* another" (2001, 2). They posit that the worldly everyday personal narratives form the prototype of narrative activity rather than the flawed byproduct of a well-planned narrative discourse. Personal narratives contain the tension that "drives human beings to narrate" (2001, 4). They compared the narrative structures of personal and literary narratives and stated that "all narrative exhibits a tension between the desire to construct an over-arching storyline that ties events together in a seamless explanatory framework and the desire to capture the complexities of the events experienced, including haphazard details, uncertainties, and conflicting sensibilities among protagonists." (2001, 4)

Unlike the previously mentioned theorists, they took a dimensional approach toward narratives. They thought that examining narrative as a genre and activity in terms of a set of aspects that a tale expresses to varying degrees and in different ways might be beneficial. The below table outlines the five dimensions proposed by Ochs and Capps in their research. "The dimensions pertain both to narrating as activity and to narrative as text." (2001, 19) The type of engagement and the extent to which they are involved in the process of narration is referred to as the dimension of *tellership* (2001, 24). *Tellership* evaluates how the presence of active *tellers* or high engagement of partners might either confirm or question the existing storyline. The degree to which a story transmits a sequence of reportable events and delivers a point in a rhetorically successful manner is referred to as *tellability.* It also covers the aspect of how the events are significant to particular *tellers. Embeddedness* is the extent to which a narrative "is an entity unto itself, separate from prior, concurrent, and subsequent discourse." (2001, 36) The degree to which narratives describe events as occurring in a single, closed, temporal, and causal route or, conversely, as occurring in a variety of open, unknown pathways is referred to as *linearity.* The narrative viewpoint adopted by *tellers* and protagonists is referred to as *the moral stance.* (2001, 33-54)

Each narrative dimension offers a set of possibilities for analyzing how a story is told and how events are organized through a narrative structure. In other words, their research illuminated several components of narrative, such as plot, textual realization, and context. They established a methodology that may be used to assess the narrative inclinations of both conversational and literary genres, taking into account the pragmatic as well as aesthetic realizations of narrative.

Table 1: Dimensions and possibilities of narrative

"Dimensions	Possibilities
Tellership	One active teller → Multiple active co-tellers
Tellability	High → Low
Embeddedness	Detached → Embedded
Linearity	Closed temporal and causal order → Open temporal and causal order

| Moral Stance | Certain, constant → Uncertain, fluid" |

(Herman, 2002, p. 562)

A structural analysis of the narrative may be undertaken based on the above review of literature in connection to many factors such as text (story structure), texture (actual level of textual manifestation), and context (actual social scene of the narrative). As suggested by Alan Dundes (1971), "it seems likely that the structures of textures, text and context may be parallel or otherwise meaningfully interrelated." (1971, 173)

The current paper focuses on the aspect of story structure from among all of these diverse aspects. Its goal is to determine the functional events that make up the storylines in the origin myth of *Malakkaari* extracted from the *Kurichyan* folksongs of Wayanad in Kerala, India and those in one of the folktales in Guarani tribe of Paraguay, as well as their relationships in different models of the fundamental story structure. The study will initially look at how functional events are integrated into plot structures in different types of tales, to investigate narrative structures in *Kurichyan* folksongs and Guarani folktales. The research seeks to provide structural analysis of folk narratives as a method of getting an understanding of the cultural determination of the narrative motif and the social purpose of storytelling by illustrating the link between the narrative form, function, and field of tales from different cultures.

The Kurichyan tribe of Kerala possesses a rich oral tradition. They have a huge collection of folksongs unlike any other Adivasi group. They are located in different areas of Wayanad, Kannavam Hills of Kannur and Kadathanadan areas of Kozhikkode in Kerala. The Kurichyas maintain untouchability with communities other than Brahmins and Nairs and they are thus called 'Adivasi Brahmins' or 'Malanamboothiri' (Hill Brahmins). They used to ostracize family members, especially women, in issues related to untouchability. They have precautionary acts and religious practices for atonement. The Kurichyas possess the richest oral tradition than any other tribal community. Their dialect is unique in their pronunciation and tone. The extraction of tales from their folk songs is a tedious one, and a translation of *Narippaattu* (The Wolf Song) is attempted in the study. The research analyses structural events in the tales using Propp's concept of functional events as the theoretical background.

The translation of *Narippaattu* is as follows. Pairumaara Muthappan had seven smithies and had cattle in all of them. Chekartha moori is the biggest bull among them. Moothachiyamma's only wealth is her cow (*kothalchi*). It needs to be mated and Moothachiyamma approached the lord for a bull. They asked her for money which she does not have. They refused to give her the bull she asked for. Then, she heard the sound of the cattle in the farm and saw a bull suitable for the cow. She approached the servant for the bull. But he refused. She was sad and went back home. She went to her cowshed and offered to give Pairumaara Muthappan 'oottum paattum'. She also offered to give a neck bell(*charom*) and coconut to Porankala Daivam. The next day when the servant opened the shed, the bull ran out of the shed and reached the cow's shed. Kothalchi and Kuttan mated there and ran to the hills. They mated at the four hills. The fifth hill is called Kalakamala and the sixth is called Chingathanmala. And there lives Chingappuli (female) and Kalakappuli(male). After mating, Kothachi and Kuttan went back. The leopards got the smell of the pheromones and Kalakappuli groaned from Kalakamala. Chingappuli reciprocated from

Chingathanmala and eventually they too mated. Both Chingappuli and Kothalchi cows were impregnated at the same time. The cow gave birth and was going through the field. The leopard craved to eat raw flesh and saw them. If any one of them is preyed upon, the other would cry, and so spared them.

The next day, the servant opened Pairumaara Muthappan's cattle shed and led them to graze. In the nearby place called Alothu Poyil, there are a lot of Aalachakka(a tropical fruit) and the herdsman drove the cows there. He climbed the tree and pulled off a few fruits for the cows. The cows fed on them and grazed on the mountain grass. Chekartha Moori was in the front and it grazed along the side of Cholakkaadu. The leopards were hiding in Aloth Poyil and Chekartha Moori accidentally went in front of them. Seeing the bull, Chingappuli felt tempted. Kalakappuli jumped on the bull. Hearing the bull's cry, the herdsman who was cutting Aalachakka reached there. He drove away the leopards. He went to the temple of Pairumara Muthappan and prayed. He told the Namboothiri there all that happened. He suggested killing the leopards by forming a hunting group. The leopards lived in a cave called Akkerakka Mukkerakka and Chingappuli delivered inside the cave. In order to offer Oottum Paattum for Pairumara Muthappan, the people prepare Kottappayar, Naattappayar (both are varieties of dishes with peas), paalpayasam (a dessert made with milk), neypayasam (a dessert made with ghee), small and big pappadam(a crisp Indian bread made with lentil flour). The Namboothiri of Manushyamballi Illam started to Pairumala to have this. He reached there after crossing Akkerakka Mukkerakka Hills. On his way back, leopards jumped on him. Kunkan Nambiar of Kumpullam Fort, Elayam Kammalu of Thazhe Illam took guns. The herdsman took a bow made of 'Oda' and an arrow made of bamboo. Finally, they defeated the leopard. The people then hung the leopard after covering the carcass with silk cloth. Thus the *Muthappan Thira* and wolf song come to an end.

Distribution of Characters to Narrative Roles:

Protagonist A: *Kothalchi* cow

Protagonist B: *Chekartha Moori/ Kuttan* bull

Protagonist C: *Chingappuli*

Protagonist D: *Kalakappuli*

Protagonist E: People

Dispatcher 1: Servant

Dispatcher 2: Herdsmen

Dispatcher 3: *Namboothiri*

Helper: *Moothachiyamma*

Donor 1: *Pairumaara Muthappan*

Donor 2: *Porankaala Deivam*

Table 2: Propp's 31 Functions adapted from *Narippaattu*

A=Propp's Functions

B= Functional Sequence in *Narippaattu*

A	B	Function	Definition of Functions
		Initial Situation	All the characters are introduced
1		β- Absentation-One of the members of a family absents himself from home.	
2		Γ- Interdiction-An interdiction is addressed to the hero.	
3		Δ – Violation- The interdiction is violated.	
4		ε – Reconnaissance- The villain makes an attempt at reconnaissance.	
5		ζ – Delivery- The villain receives information about his victim	
6		η – Trickery -The villain attempts to deceive his victim in order to take possession of him or of his belongings	
7		θ – Complicity- The victim submits to deception and thereby unwittingly helps his enemy.	
8	26	A – villainy- The villain causes harm or injury to a member of a family	On the way back from attending *Oottum Paattum, Namboothiri* was attacked by the leopards.
	1	8A - a –Lack- A member of a family lacks something or desires to have something.	*Moothachiyamma's* cow needs to be mated.
	3		*Moothachiyamma* does not have the money to give to the Lord.
	5		The servant refuses to give a bull to *Moothachiyamma.*

	13		The leopards craved to eat raw flesh.
9	2	B – Meditation- Misfortune or lack is made known; the hero is approached with a request or command; he is allowed to go or he is dispatched.	*Moothachiyamma* approached the Lord for a bull.
	4		*Moothachiyamma* approached the servant for a bull.
	6		*Moothachiyamma* offered to give *Oottum Paattum* to *Pairumaara Muthappan.*
	7		*Moothachiyamma* offered to give a neck bell and coconut to *Porankaala Deivam.*
	21		The herdsmen went to the temple of *Pairumaara Muthappan* and prayed.
	22		The herdsmen told the *Namboothiri* all that happened. Here, more than the Proppian meditation, the event is that of informing.
	25		People prepare different food items to offer *Oottum Paattum* for *Pairumaara Muthappan.* The offering and the preparations are ways of approaching the Donor for help.
10	8	C - Beginning counteraction- The hero agrees to or decides upon counteraction.	The bull ran out of the shed and reached the cow's shed. This is not counteraction, but an involuntary action of the protagonist, with the possible action of a magical agent.
11	15	↑- Departure- The hero leaves home.	The servant opened the cattle shed and led them to graze. Here, the protagonist is released from its home by the dispatcher.
	16		The herdsmen drove the cows to *Alathupoyil.*
12		D- The first function of the Donor- The hero is tested, interrogated, attacked etc., which prepares the way for his receiving either a magical agent or a helper.	

13		E- The hero's reaction- The hero reacts to the actions of the future Donor.	
14		F- Provision of a magical agent- The hero acquires the use of a magical agent.	
15		G- Guidance- Hero is led to the whereabouts of an object of the search	
16		H- Struggle- The hero and the villain join in direct combat	
17		I- Branding- The hero is branded	
18	27	J- Victory- The villain is defeated	The people killed the leopard and hung the carcass.
19	9	K- Liquidation of Lack- The initial misfortune or lack is liquidated	*Kothalchi* cow and *Kuttan* bull mated.
	10		*Kothalchi* cow was impregnated.
	11		*Chingappuli* was impregnated, though there was no initial lack.
	12		The cow gave birth, though no initial lack was mentioned.
	17		The herdsmen climbed the tree and pulled off a few fruits for the cows and they fed on it. No initial lack is mentioned.
	24		*Chingappuli* gave birth inside a cave. No initial lack is mentioned.
20		↓- Return- The hero returns.	
21		Pr- Pursuit- The hero is pursued	
22		Rs- Rescue- Rescue of the hero from pursuit	

23		o- Unrecognized arrival-Unrecognized, he arrives home or in another country	
24		L- Unfounded claims- A false hero presents unfounded claims	
25	23	M- Difficult task- A difficult task is proposed to the hero	*Namboothiri* suggested killing the leopards by forming a hunting group. Here, one dispatcher suggests a solution to another dispatcher.
26		N- Solution- The task is resolved	
27	18	Q- Recognised- The hero is recognised.	The leopards hiding in *Aloth Poyil* discovered the bull. Here, one protagonist is physically discovered by the other, and is not a recognition in the Proppian sense.
28		Ex- Exposure- The false hero or villain is exposed	
29		T- Transfiguration- The hero is given a new appearance	
30	20	U- Punishment- The villain is punished	The herdsmen drove away the leopards.
31		W-Wedding- The hero is married and ascends the throne	

From the above analysis of *Narippaattu,* several functional events are identified. Out of the 27 functional events that occur in the song, six of them cannot be included in the Proppian framework and they are listed below.

New functional events identified:

8A$_\neg$: One of the protagonists does not choose to cause harm or injury to any character. In the tale event 14, the leopard spares the cow and the calf.

11↑$_r$: The protagonist is released by the dispatcher.

27D$_P$: One protagonist is discovered by another protagonist

9I: One narrative role informs another.

25M$_S$: A difficult task is suggested in the form of a solution

9 B$_D$ – The donor is approached with a request.

We can now consider folk narratives from Guarani, which is a generic name for one of South America's most populous ethnic groups. Originally, their geographical domain included what is now Paraguay between the Paraná River and the lower Paraguay River, Argentina's Misiones Province, southern Brazil once as far east as Rio de Janeiro, and regions of Uruguay and Bolivia. The Guarani and Kurichya share many similarities among themselves in terms of belief systems, rituals, culture especially material culture which includes their practice of arrow making and use. The below pictures reflect the striking physical similarities among the communities.

Figure 1: The Kurichyan head using the traditional bow and arrow (Photo captured by the researcher)

Figure 2: A Tupi-Guarani tribe member using the traditional bow and arrow (Author Alexis White-Mobley, 2015)

The structure of the folk narratives of the Guarani tribe may also reflect similarities, and for this purpose, the tale 'The Beginning Life of the Hummingbird' is chosen and analyzed, which was collected and included in John Blerhorst's *Latin American Folktales.*

Distribution of Characters to Narrative Roles:

Here, the only narrative role is that of the First Father.

Table 3: Propp's 31 Functions adapted from *The Beginning Life of the Hummingbird*

A=Propp's Functions

B= Functional Sequence in *The Beginning Life of the Hummingbird*

A	B	Function	Definition of Functions
		Initial Situation	All the characters are introduced
1		β- Absentation-One of the members of a family absents himself from home.	
2		Γ- Interdiction-An interdiction is addressed to the hero.	

3		Δ – Violation- The interdiction is violated.	
4		ε – Reconnaissance- The villain makes an attempt at reconnaissance.	
5		ζ – Delivery- The villain receives information about his victim	
6		η – Trickery -The villain attempts to deceive his victim in order to take possession of him or of his belongings	
7		θ – Complicity- The victim submits to deception and thereby unwittingly helps his enemy.	
8		A – villainy- The villain causes harm or injury to a member of a family	
	7	8A - a –Lack- A member of a family lacks something or desires to have something.	The First Father did not see darkness despite the absence of the Sun. He was lit by the reflection of his own inner self. His sun was the thoughts within himself. Whether this is a lack in the Proppian sense is a matter of concern.
9		B – Meditation- Misfortune or lack is made known; the hero is approached with a request or command; he is allowed to go or he is dispatched.	
10		C - Beginning counteraction- The hero agrees to or decides upon counteraction.	

11		↑- Departure- The hero leaves home.	
12		D- The first function of the Donor- The hero is tested, interrogated, attacked etc., which prepares the way for his receiving either a magical agent or a helper.	
13		E- The hero's reaction- The hero reacts to the actions of the future Donor.	
14	11	F- Provision of a magical agent- The hero acquires the use of a magical agent.	The primal wind in which the Father lived returns with the yearly return of the primal time-space.
15		G- Guidance- Hero is led to the whereabouts of an object of the search	
16		H- Struggle- The hero and the villain join in direct combat	
17		I- Branding- The hero is branded	
18		J- Victory- The villain is defeated	
19	1	K- Liquidation of Lack- The initial misfortune or lack is liquidated	Our First Father, the absolute, grew from within the original darkness.
	2		The First Father created the sacred soles of his feet and his small round standing place.
	3		The secret palm of the hands of the First Father was created by Ñamanduí.
	5		A hummingbird came and refreshed his mouth.
	6		The hummingbird nourished Ñamanduí with the fruits of paradise.
	9		He made the cradle of darkness.
	10		He created the earth.

	12		As soon as the season that was has ended, the trumpet-vine tree bears flowers.
20		↓- Return- The hero returns.	
21		Pr- Pursuit- The hero is pursued	
22		Rs- Rescue- Rescue of the hero from pursuit	
23		o- Unrecognized arrival- Unrecognized, he arrives home or in another country	
24		L- Unfounded claims- A false hero presents unfounded claims	
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30		U- Punishment- The villain is punished	
31		W-Wedding- The hero is married and ascends the throne	

The following functional events do not fall into any of the categories devised by Propp.

4. The Hummingbird hovered among the flowers of the sacred headdress.

8. He brought the screech owl to rest.

13. New winds and a new space in time come into being. There comes a resurrection of space and time.

Discussion and Conclusion

The above structural analysis of the folk narratives of Kurichyan and Guarani tribe yields the following results. Both narratives do not show any linear or causal progression. The functional events in both narratives do not follow the Proppian sequence as well. The sequences of events in oral narratives of any culture, which are mostly the reflection of human experiences, naturally tend to be chaotic. Eight of the functional events in the chosen Guarani tale correspond to Propp's 19K-Liquidation of Lack. Similar to the events present in the Kurichyan narrative, there is no initial lack presented before any liquidation. These events can only be tediously framed into the universal structure suggested by Propp. The narrative framework of the Kurichyan tale is more complex compared to the chosen Guarani narrative. But, it cannot be generalized as the primary works selected were limited to comply with the limited space of the research paper.

In contrast to the initial hypothesis, attempting to study narratives that originate from communities with multiple subtle diversities in terms of a universal structure will be a problematic effort. Human societies exist across the globe, each with its own culture, tradition, value systems, customs and rituals. These individual structures will not fit into such a universal framework. We live in a postmodern world where multiple narratives and realities coexist. Though human emotions and tendencies are universal, how they manifest will vary from one community to the next. We will lose the culturally distinct, subtle manifestations in the narratives in the endeavour to make them fit into a universal framework. Therefore, a narrative analysis should try to "unveil fundamental culture-specific opinions about reality and humankind" (Herman et al., 2019) instead of trying to match individual structures to a metanarrative.

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