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STRUCTURAL PREDICTABILITY OF MALAYALAM RIDDLES

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According to a famous definition, riddle 'is a traditional verbal expression, which contains one or more descriptive elements, a part of which may be in opposition; the referent of the elements is to be guessed' (Georges & Dundes 1963: 113). Riddles are widely used in almost all the languages of the world. It is usually practiced as a competitive game among children or sometimes along with their old folks. In this game, what matters is the number of riddles a contestant knows. It has no importance as an intellectual or cognitive exercise (Hamnett 1997).

In Indian languages, a riddle is often metaphorically represented as a knot, which one has to untie during the game. In all the Indian names that refer to riddles, there is enough room to indicate that there is something hidden or left for the listener to find out. However, the clues provided in the descriptive element(s) seldom furnish adequate evidence for the answer.

This is the principal reason why people never spend much time thinking about a riddle, and when they do think about it, they are more likely to recall a known but forgotten answer than to be generally attempting to tackle a new problem.

Prime intention of the questioner of a riddle is to misguide the listener from getting the expected answer. For that he may provide some unnecessary extra information and thus divert the listener's attention. The whole game of riddling is only a matter of memory test so much so that one has to enter into its deeper structures and patterns to find out what are the linguistic elements present in this verbal expression.

This paper attempts to portray the regular patterns of riddles found in Malayalam language and find out how far the structure of a riddle can be predicted.

There are only a handful of works done in this field in Malayalam; most of them are done with an orientation of folkloristic or literary point of view. The detailed introduction given to the book of Kunjunni (1990) by Dr. T. B. Venugopala Panicker is the most important available resource in Malayalam from a linguistic standpoint.

That too is based on an approach of poetics since it is a general introduction addressed to a wider readership.

1. PHONOLOGY

1. 1. Onomatopoetic words

Riddles in Malayalam, like other languages, exploit the musical quality of verbal repertoire. For this, there are a number of strategies, viz., onomatopoetic words, repetition of words and sounds, rhyming, creating some empty words for the purpose of sound effects, etc. Of these, onomatopoetic sounds are very common. Most of these sounds are used as a clue to the process in which the expected answer is effected. Following are some examples:

ballam ballam bala ballam kinnam kinnam kinnam kinnam

kata kata kudu kudu illi: kara kara illi: kara kara

indindi:m kikkilukkam kilukilukkam

In some other contexts, the answer is hinted with some empty words, which gives a rather visual clue.

ila ka:raka ko:raka pu: pannaka pinnaka

ka:ya kaccara piccara ka:ya kokkarakko:

tittittai nalloru koccariva:l tindingana nu:lalla

purame: pondam pondam sa:su: marattil

Onomatopoetic words as such are used to hint the visual as well as auditory nature of the referent.

paraparange urundurunde

paruparutta patupatutta

While examining all these patterns, it is understood that, onomatopoetic words are a major source of developing a riddle, through which both the visual and the auditory effect of the referent is hinted.

1. 2. Articulatory properties

As we have seen already, the prime aim of a riddle is to misguide its listener from getting the proper answer. This can be effected by exploiting the articulatory part of the speech sound.

Eg: appattinu ku:dum atakku ku:dilla

The answer is 'lips'. Here the focus is given to the articulation of the words, in which a bilabial nasal [m] in contrast with a back vowel [a] are used. The listener may start thinking about the meaning of these words, which in turn makes him loose the game.

In certain other contexts, the focus is given to the syllabic or letter level. This may also be conceived of as the misguiding tactics used in riddles.

Eg. <u>la</u>ha|ayil mumpan ve:<u>la</u>yil pimpan Answer: the letter [la] ²

While observing the meaning, it can be seen as a criticism to the Malayali psyche, which is notorious for the strikes and protests, and laziness in working. However, the riddler expects only the letter level recognition of these words. Of the 650 riddles that are taken for the present analysis, only one each for these categories is found. However, it can be seen as a potential area of the riddling.

1. 3. Rhythm, rhyming, selection of musical sounds, etc.

Since riddling fall under the folkloristic category of oral tradition, it is explicit that this verbal expression cannot be articulated without the grand source of the musical quality of a language. Rhyming is observed in almost all the riddles taken for analysis. Stops, palatal affricates, nasals and laterals are appeared in gemination. Heterogeneous clusters are selected without affecting the musical quality of the utterance. Final letter rhyming is observed in almost all the riddles. The short meters used for these verbal forms are an area for detailed investigation; the stylistic qualities and the aesthetic beauty of these riddles make us think of its close similarity with Japanese Haiku poetry.

2. MORPHOLOGY

2.1. Negation

The use of negative grammatical units is profuse in riddles. Precisely because, the process of describing a process or an object is by inviting our attention to a certain environment, and when we feel that we are approaching something, immediately the riddle negates its possibility. Again it goes for some other visualization, and still again negation. Thus the function of negative markers or constructions are focused here. The defective verb *illa* is used as a negative counterpart to the copula *undo*. Yet another copula is *ano* and its negation is *alla*. There are two negative participles for adjectival and adverbial constructions (*illatta* and *illatte* respectively) Following is a brief sketch of the distribution and usage of negative markers in riddles.

2.1.1. Copular negation

In this group, the riddles fall under 'oppositional' (Georges & Dundes 1963:113) category, i.e., the riddles are divided into two oppositional statements using words $u\eta d\theta$ and illa.

Eg. a:nayekka:ŋa:n veliccam<u>undə</u> bi:di kolutta:n ti:yilla (torch)³

ittumu:ta:nundu tuni ka:lvattam mu:ta:nilla tuni (cock feather)⁴

etuttundə pustakam<u>alla, cittamundə</u> cuvar<u>alla, vattattila:nə</u> caktam<u>alla</u>(coin)⁵

This can be considered as a general pattern where two oppositional statements are present. The curious thing here is that the existential copula *undo* actually misguides the real path. Moreover, the negative part is the true statement.

2.1.2. Participial constructions

Number of adjectival participles with its negative markers is more when compared with its adverbial counterpart. There may be some reason for this, that the peculiarity of the referent is hinted with this lack of some attributes.

Eg. aţikk<u>a:tta</u> muttam e:tə (sky)⁶
anijijia:l eţukka:nokk<u>a:tta</u> vellitta:li (a rangoli with rice mix)⁷
ilayilla:ttoru pu:villa:ttoru ka:yilla:ttoru karivalli (hair)⁸

This type of use of adjectival participles helps the riddle to shrink into a compact poetry like form. This also avoids unnecessary explanation of the situation. As regards the negative adverbial participles, the form is usually *atte*.

Eg. a:rum ka:na:te varum a:rum ka:na:te po:kum (wind)⁹

kattiku: tate ka: taruttu (cutting the stem of a betel leaf) 10

The frequency of the use of adverbial participle is low when compared to the adjectival counterpart.

2.1.3. Other aspects of negation

The sense of inability of a certain action is expressed with words like *ku:ta:*, *vayya:*, *ola:*. etc. When appeared in riddles, this forms precede an additional ability attributed to the referent and then the surplus is negated with these words.

Eg. uruffa:m o:ffa:m etukka:n vayya (eye)¹²

kannundə kand<u>u:da:</u> ka:tundə ke:ttu<u>ku:ta:</u> va:yundə tinnu<u>ku:ta:</u> (doll)¹³

Regarding the tense markers used along with the negation, the frequency of occurrence of present and past tenses are less, when compared with the future markers. This may be because of its habitual function, which the riddle utilizes most.

Conditional Mood

Conditional mood is expressed with the marker *a:l* and it splits a statement into two, a conditional clause and a statement. Actually these are not at all a condition, but a nature of an object or a process.

Eg; akattarutta:l purattariyum (jack fruit)¹⁴

itta:l prinnini nellinu po:yi (coin)¹⁵

ullilccenna:l kollakka:ran (liquor)¹⁶

This is rather simple construction, having two parts and connected with a marker.

3. Syntax

3.1. Coordination and Subordination

Malayalam sentence coordination is done mainly by adding *um* to each component that are to be joined. This can be replaced by punctuation mark coma in riddles, to avoid elaboration. In addition, this coordinative particle has been shifted its function to emphasis in most of the environments. Following are examples:

ați parra, națu turnə, tala turppə (yam)¹⁷ (here *um* is avoided)

kannan kulattile vellom vatti kannappaingili cattum poryi (stand lamp)¹⁸ (here it is used as an emphatic marker)

3.2. Anaphora

Anaphora by deletion is very common in Malayalam riddles. The crucial part that is deleted is the question word itself. In English this type of riddles are very rare. Here the sense is understood, and the whole form transforms into a connotative poetry like form, where the listener has to fill the lapses and lacunae.

Eg. akattirippo:ne purattu ka:tfum kanna:di (e:tə) ('which')(ans. Face)(2)

oru ne:ram munnil nilkkum oru ne:ram pinnil nilkkum (entə) ('what') (shadow)¹⁹

Another major deletion is the copula in sentences. and and undo are the usual copula words that are apparently absent in riddles.

Eg. appa:tteppattikku mumbo:ttu va:lə (undə)(coconut grater)²⁰

ettellan kuttappan ottakka:lan (
a:nə)(umbrella) 21

This gives the poetic quality to the riddles as we have seen in other contexts. In other words, this avoidance of copula makes Malayalam riddles close to the construction of Tamil sentences.

4. Vocabulary

While analyzing Dusun riddles, Williams (1963) points out one particular function of riddle as to 'interpret and explain natural phenomena'. This is true to all cultures since

riddle has a sort of instructional value as well. Riddles initiate children into a wide and diverse world of objects and beings. This wonderful world is seen through the mirror of metaphoric symphony. In this section, an attempt is made to find out a common vocabulary and its underlying factors for the Malayalam riddles. This is not an exhaustive one, however, the general areas from which vocables are entered can be found here.

4. 1. Flora & Fauna

Flora vocabulary belongs to mainly the rural agricultural atmosphere. Crops, domestic plants, natural flora found in villages, different parts of these plants and trees, etc. are the common area from where these words come from. This vocabulary is used either for descriptive or metaphoric purposes. Fauna includes animals and birds belonging to both domestic and wild categories but the wild animals are very rare in these groups. Most of the animals included in this vocabulary are either used for meat or other food purposes. When riddles utilize this vast source of flora and fauna. This increases the pedagogic aspect for the children who are just initiating into the world of knowledge and letters. It also increases the attachment towards nature and one's own surroundings.

Riddle vocabulary can also be seen in different binary oppositional categories, such as urban vs. rural, culture vs. nature, domestic vs. non-domestic, etc. Each and every binary set has its own functional value, which may either be reinforcing the existing value system or attempt to subvert it symbolically. As a pedagogic tool transferred from generation to generation, it does reinforce the social and cultural values, no doubt. Here the different binary sets are described with its own features:

4.2. Rural vs. Urban

Every folklore has a function of cultural maintenance, through the scales of time and space. Due to the growing trends of urbanization and globalization, where differences are being erased with international, human-centered standards, the indigenous cultures are faced with a threat of cultural loss. In order to resist or at least to be aware of the situation, this variety of oral tradition, serves in its own way. The rural way of life, their worldview, simplicity, values, etc. are reinforced in these riddles. naturi paloinda nataike kalyanam (moonlight)²² is a perfect example for this type.

Another example is *oru mani nellozndə ara nirayum* (flame of a lamp)²³. Riddles like these uphold the values with its own figurative language, and philosophical perception.

The transition from agrarian to capitalist society is well reflected in some riddles. Eg. *toppikka:ran cantakk u po:yi* (areca nut)²⁴. It is certain that this riddle raises from an agrarian society, whereas, riddles like *itta:l prinnini nellinə po:yi* (coin)²⁵ is coming from the diametrically opposite direction, i.e., from a market oriented society, where people even have to purchase paddy for their food.

4.5. Modernization

It is very interesting to note that a major share of the riddles that are in vogue today is about new technological objects and processes. "Riddles that refer to processes of social change, or to contact with alien cultures, are interesting examples of how they can be used to mediate between different categories of concept, person or object. New and alien ideas or institutions appear to be reclassified through a transformation that brings them into relationship with familiar experience or traditional knowledge" (Hamnett 1997). Thus, the folk psyche recognizes and internalizes every modern object with their native logic. There may not be proper reasoning behind all these, however, they tend to perceive the new world and try to accommodate as far as possible from their part.

Eg. ilayilla: valliyil pu:po:loru ka:ya (electric bulb)²⁶ kokkilla:kko.ji malake:ri ku:vi (shooting with a gun)²⁷ va:yilla:tto:n kasa:yam kuţiccu (blotting paper)²⁸

Here are some objects that came as answers for riddles of this type: Camera, match stick, pants, torch light, bus, watch, train, loudspeaker, typewriter, motorcycle, radio, etc. It is also curious to observe that these modern technology has not only invoked the folk mind to internalize them in native terms, once doing that, they were seen trying to apply this new objects in their own native atmosphere. Examples are here:

cețiya balu:nil nețiyari nițaye (brinjal)²⁹

muttattundoru po:li:se:to: kajavum teti natakkunnu (cock)³⁰

doktar vannu kuttivaccu ka: suvannate po:yi (mosquito)³¹

In all these examples, it is clear that this genre of culture, is instructive on the one hand to introduce and establish innovations in technology and on the other to resist the blind growth of urbanization.

4.3. Culture vs. Nature

As in the previous section, the binary opposition of nature and culture is a prime area of concern for structural anthropologists like Levi-Strauss. One cannot see in riddles the subversive force against this one sided, privileging culture/nature duality. Nevertheless, the binary division has affected the folk mind to think and speak in terms of the same. The point of view in these riddles are from both the ends, from culture as well as from nature. The unfamiliar nature can be made familiar in terms of culture. Riddles like *karttilundoru piti padayari* (termite)³² are perfect example for this standpoint, where as riddles like *karttupullo virttu sabhayil* (grassmat)³³ are perceiving things from the angle of nature. There are a good number of riddles which utilizes the binary division between nature and culture.

4.6. Caste reference

As told already, riddles are agencies to reinforce the existing social value system. According to Williams(1963) 'it canalizes social conflicts into harmless channels and teaches rules of social conduct'. Proverbs are usually used by a society to canonize and reinforce its values. The basic difference between a proverb and a riddle is that proverb metaphor is invoked to clarify something, while the riddle image is invoked to confuse. What ever may be the peripheral function of a riddle, it unconsciously takes strength from a hierarchical social structure, in which caste difference plays a dominant role. The caste reference a riddle uses is no innocent pass-bye remarks, instead, it establishes the hierarchical power structure. The caste references seen in this analysis range from Brahmin to most backward caste, *parayan*. However, the polyphonic nature of a riddle speaks itself about a past where the caste difference was only a horizontal division of labour where no hierarchy was maintained. Castes like black smith, carpenter, gold smith, etc. are used profusely in Malayalam riddles.

There are also some riddles, where the unconscious wishes of the folk to resist the caste hierarchy. In this riddle,

annara:jan purattuvarumbo:la:fariccekkan tatuttu nirtti (decanding cooked rice)³⁴ the meaning can be of the wish of a low member of a hierarchy to protest against the ruler or the like.

5. Semantic ambiguity

According to Hamnett (1997), 'riddles are one form of ambiguity or ambivalence, and that they can be understood in the light of the social and cognitive function of ambiguous or ambivalent utterances, concepts and actions'. The ambiguity is attained either by multiple meanings of single word.

Eg. aninna:l etukka:n okka:tta vellitta:li (a rangoli with rice mix)³⁵. Here the ambiguity is hidden in the verb aniyuka which has both the meaning of 'wearing' and 'drawing on the floor'. In another example, the ambiguity refers to a color terminology, i.e., amma karuttittə, mo:lu veluttittə, mo:lute mo:lannati sundari (a shrubby climber "Vellila")³⁶. In this riddle, the sense of sundari is red in colour. This also utilizes the ambiguity hidden in it. Actually it is a vast area where the whole of stylistic as well as aesthetic dimensions lie.

5.2. Colour concept

As we move on to the colour concept appeared in riddles, it is interesting to note that the folk mind is leaning toward the black colour. further gradation is like this: white, red, green, golden, yellow, blue, brown and saffron. It is also noted that there is a strong sense of colour perception and visual outlook through out the riddles.

Eg. *irutţu ko:ri veyilattitţu* (gingelly)³⁷ is a perfect example. Another one is *vellakkaţalinte naţukkə karutta taṭa:kam* (eye)³⁸. These types of surrealistic imageries are very common among riddles. One can observe that the basic colour system in riddles Red-Black-White. This pattern is seen in other ritualistic performances as well. This may speak of some socio-psychological patterns of a folk community.

6. Conclusion

As we have glanced through some of the major structural layers of Malayalam language reflected in riddles, it is very obvious that, this verbal expression utilizes the creative potential of the language in question. Riddles, being part of traditional values, help to uphold the ancient rectitude that modern life is undermining (Hamnett 1997). Keeping this premise in mind, one can arrive at a conclusion that riddles are expected to be functioning as initiators to the civilized way of life. However, there are evidences from the natural resistence that can be considered like any other folk genre, a safety valve of the existing social mechanism.

This paper has attempted to address the question of how far the structure of a riddle is predictable. While analyzing the database of 650 riddles, it is found that there are only a handful of patterns that are appearing repeatedly.

Phonological properties are, the use of onomatopoetic words, articulatory tricks, rhyming, rhythm and the musical quality of the language. Morphologically speaking, riddles exploit the negative grammatical constructions in order to maintain the balance between the exaggerated metaphor and its link to the referent. Participial clauses of both adjectival and adverbial parts are also been found used to make the form of the riddle compact. As regards the copula negation, the riddles are divided into two oppositional statements, and thus hinting the qualities of the answer word. Conditional mood is also used in riddles to express the nature of an object or a process.

While analyzing the syntax of the riddles, it is found that the coordinative particle *um* has been restricted to its emphatic function. Anaphora by deletion is high with regard to the question word as well as the copula ending.

An attempt is also made to prepare a common vocabulary for Malayalam riddles. Vocabulary related to flora and fauna speaks of the pedagogic aspect of riddles. The transition from an agrarian to a capitalist society is well reflected in some of the riddles. The object taken from modern technological society clearly indicates the instructive nature of the riddles, which introduce and establish innovations and technology on the one hand and to resist the blind sides of urbanization on the other. The binary nature of culture/nature polarity is also visible in these riddles. It also addresses the caste hierarchy and value system prevalent in the society. Malayalam riddles are semantically sensitive, in dealing with the ambiguity and ambivalence of

vocabulary used in it. The colour perception of the folk psyche also reveals curious results.

Thus, the structural predictability of riddles enables us to arrive at the generative principles of this genre. Freud (1960: 215) has clearly stated, "riddles are counterparts of jokes". He explains this point thus:

In a certain kind of riddle, the technique is given as a precondition and the wording has to be guessed; while in jokes the wording is given and the technique is disguised (1960: 31. n.6)

In this way, the field is open for one to inaugurate a new enquiry into the question of "riddle and their relation to the unconscious".

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NOTES

¹ It will close with 'appam' and not with 'ada'. (ans.- lips)

² Leader in 'lahala', follower in 'vela'. (ans.- the letter 'la')

³ There is enough light to see an elephant, but hardly no fire to light a beedi. (ans.- torchlight)

⁴ There is enough cloth to cover the body but it is hardly enough to cover the feet. (ans.- cockfeather)

⁵ It has writings, but it is not a book, it has pictures, but it is not a wall, it is in round, but it is not a wheel. (ans.- a round coin)

⁶ Which is the upswept courtyard? (ans. – sky)

⁷ This silver wedlock cannot be taken when it is wore. (ans. – a rangoli with rice mix)

⁸ A black creeper without leaves without flowers without fruits. (ans. – hair)

⁹ Comes having seen by no one, goes having seen by no one. (ans. – wind)

¹⁰ Single line, thousand debts. (ans. – saw)

¹¹ To tell fact silently, placed the mask on the bottom. (ans. – pen)

¹² Can roll and ride, but can't take. (ans. – eye)

¹³ Has eye but can't see, Has ear but can't hear, Has mouth but can't eat. (ans. – doll)

¹⁴ Which is cut inside and known outside. (ans. – jackfruit)

¹⁵ "Tring", when dropped, has gone for purchasing paddy. (ans. – coin)

¹⁶ Becomes a bandit when entered in. (ans. – alchoholic liquor)

¹⁷ Feet – rock, middle – pillor, head – twigs. (ans. – vam)

¹⁸ Water in a round pond had dried up, subsequently parrot also died. (ans. – stand lamp) ¹⁹ Sometimes it stands ahead, sometimes it stands behind. (ans. – shadow)

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²⁰ The dog of 'X' has tail ahead. (ans. – grater)

²¹ Eight boned Kuttappan is single legged. (ans. – umbrella)

²² With a glass of milk, wedding for the whole village. (ans. –moonlight)

²³ A granary can be filled with a single paddy. (ans. – flame of lamp)

²⁴ Hat wearing guy went to the market. (ans. – areca nut)

²⁵ "Tring", when dropped, has gone for purchasing paddy. (ans. – coin)

²⁶ Flowery fruit in a creeper sans leaves. (ans. – electric bulb)

²⁷ Beakless cock, climbed up the rock, and cooed. (ans. Shooting with a gun)

²⁸ Mouthless one drank astringent juice. (ans. – blotting paper)

²⁹ A small balloon full of short rice. (ans. – brinjal.)

³⁰ There is a police in the courtyard, who is always engaged in investigating some robbery. (ans. – cock)

³¹ Doctor came, gave injection and went without charging fees. (ans. – mosquito)

³² There is a handful of old rice in the woods. (ans. –termites)

³³ Wild grass in home stage (ans. – grassmat)

³⁴ When the lord of rice attempts to come outside, the carpentar lad stops him. (ans. – decanting cooked rice)

³⁵ This silver wedlock cannot be taken when it is wore. (ans. A rangoli with rice mix)

³⁶ Mother is black, daughter is white, daughter's daughter is a charming beauty. (ans. – a shrubby climber "vellila")

³⁷ Drew darkness and dropped in sunshine. (ans. – gingelly)

³⁸ A black lake at the center of a white ocean. (ans. – eve.)