

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

**THE RIDDLING TRADITION OF THE FAREFARI PEOPLE:
THE SOLENGIREGA**

PATRICK ATANGA ADUKO

(8160260009)



A THESIS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF GHANAIAAN LANGUAGES EDUCATION
FACULTY OF GHANAIAAN LANGUAGES EDUCATION, SUBMITTED TO THE
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION
WINNEBA, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
AWARD OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN GHANAIAAN LANGUAGE
STUDIES (GURENƐ) DEGREE

DECEMBER, 2018

DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

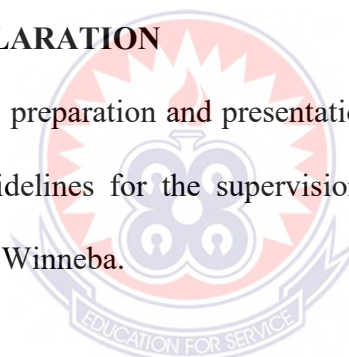
I, PATRICK ATANGA ADUKO, declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which I have duly identified and acknowledged, is entirely my own original research work and that it has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

SIGNATURE :

DATE :

SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I, hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for the supervision of thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.



NAME OF SUPERVISOR: DR. J. A. N. SAANCHI

SIGNATURE :

DATE :

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I extend my heartfelt appreciation and sincere thanks to my supervisor, Dr. J. A. N Saanchi. Notwithstanding his busy schedule at the Linguistics Department of the University of Ghana, Legon, he devoted time and read through this thesis and corrected all the mistakes. He equally gave useful suggestions which went a long way to enable me work harder and to finish the work within the stipulated time. I will forever be grateful to him. Sir, I pray the almighty NAAŋMEN, will continue to protect you and your endeavors to continue to extend such benevolence to every human soul that comes to you for guidance.

I would like to appreciate the brotherly love and support I benefitted and continue to benefit from Dr. S. A. Atintono, Prof. Avea Nsoh and James A. Ababila, all of the Gur-Gonja Department for their varied support and contributions to the successful completion of this research work which I initially entertained fears of not being able to cope with but for their prompting. To them I say, may the almighty God keep you and fuel your academic flame so that many doors may continue be opened to you. “N SUURŌ, TU YAABEDUMA, TINGANA LA NDUGEMA NAAWINE WAN KÃ“ARA SŌŌLEGO BASERA YA ZUTO”

To the Principal, my head of department and my colleagues of the Gurene Unit of the Languages Department of St John Bosco’s College of Education, I say thanks to you for holding the fort and providing me with all the time and information that enabled me achieve this enviable success of a proud scholar with two master of philosophy degrees in the language and culture of the Farefari people.

The two renowned storytellers I contacted and gathered the information on Gurenɛ riddling deserve tons of commendation. They took time to provide me with all the information I sort from them and I really got educated and inspired by their depth of knowledge despite that they are unlettered. To you I say, “Ya fara fara n sukpe”ema, n wan le lebe na zamese pa”ase”. „Thank you very much; I will come again to learn more”.

Finally, to my wife Ayinsurebisa and our three lovely daughters, Mboo, Awinnɔɲema and Awinlooya, I say thank you for the prayers and the moral support during my long absence from home. God willing, we shall enjoy the fruits of our labour.



DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my beloved Mother-Mboo Ayane, of Blessed Memory. She single-handedly brought me up and saw me through both the Traditional and the Western forms of education.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

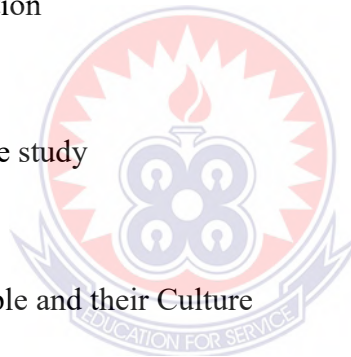
CONTENT

PAGE

Declaration	ii
Acknowledgement	iii
Dedication	v
Table of contents	vi
Abstract	x

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

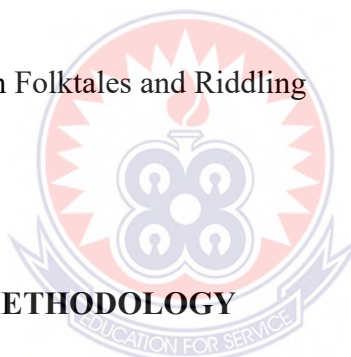
1.0	General Introduction	1
1.1	Background to the study	2
1.2	The Farefari People and their Culture	4
1.3	Statement of the Problem	15
1.4	Purpose of the Study	16
1.5	Objectives of the Study	16
1.6	Research Questions	17
1.7	Limitations	17
1.8	Delimitations	18



1.9.	Significance of the Study	18
1.10	Organization of the Study	19
1.11	Conclusion	20

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0	Introduction	21
2.1	Works of Gureɛ Literature	21
2.2	General Works on Folktales and Riddling	23
2.4	Conclusion	31



CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.0	Introduction	32
3.1	Research Design	32
3.2	Population of the Study	33
3.3	Sampling Method	34
3.4	Data collection Procedure	34
3.5	Data Collection Instruments	36
3.6	Observation	36
3.7	Elicitation	37
3.8	Ethical Consideration	38
3.9.0	Informant Consent	38

3.9.1	Objectivity	39
3.9.2	Data Analysis	39
3.9.3	Transcription and Translation	40
3.9.4	Theoretical Framework	41
3.9.5	Socio-cultural Background of the two Principal Storytellers	43
3.9.6	Style and Techniques of Narration	48
3.9.7	Conclusion	52

CHAPTER FOUR: THE GURENE RIDDLES

4.0	Introduction	53
4.1	Riddling among the Farefari People	54
4.2	Types of Farefari Riddles	58
4.3	The Simple/Universal Riddle	59
4.4	The Tone/Rhyming Riddle	61
4.5	The Song Riddle	65
4.6	The Problem/Puzzle riddle	67
4.7.	The Characteristic of the Gurene riddles	70
4.8	Common Themes in the Gurene riddles	72
4.9	The Composition of the Gurene riddles	73
4.10	The Context of Performance	78
4.11	The Socio-cultural and Educational Values of Riddles	83
4.12	Conclusion	91

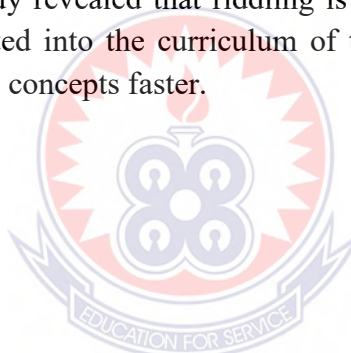
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0	Introduction	92
5.1	Summary	92
5.2	Conclusions	95
5.3	Recommendations	96
	References	99
	Appendix A- Simple/universal Riddle	105
	Appendix B- Tone/rhyming Riddle	107
	Appendix C- Puzzle/Problem Riddle	109
	Appendix D- Song/Call and Respond Riddle	111



ABSTRACT

The study is about the Gurenɛ riddle which precedes the narration of the folktale in most instances, among the Farefari people in the Upper-East Region of Ghana. The study examined the types of riddles, their themes, characteristics, composition and performance, and their functions as it pertains during the narration of the folktale and riddles. The riddle is an oral genre performed among the people of the Farefari society. Riddling serves as a major form of entertainment among the Farefari people and was performed formerly only in the evening as a means of entertainment at the homes of members of the community who are storytellers and also at social gatherings such as at the funeral celebrations of elderly people. The riddle is reputed to portray the culture and tradition of a people. Its performance invokes a sense of wisdom, moral teachings, and oneness in cultural issues. It entertains, educates, and generally transmits a people's culture. Its recitation also serves as an effective tool in the Farefari society for members as they use that medium to educate, socialize, and equally criticize the wrong doings of members of the community. Riddling promotes a healthy competition of ideas leading to a peaceful coexistence among members of the community. The study revealed that riddling is an effective communication tool that when fully cooperated into the curriculum of the basic schools would enhance learners' ability to grasp concepts faster.



CHAPTER ONE

1.0 General Introduction

In African societies storytelling and riddling is a means by which the people entertain themselves during the evenings after the day's work. In most African societies, riddles are a form of art. They are simple and elegant ways to communicate a lot of meaning in a few words. Riddles play an important role in the tradition of African speech and conversation. In a similar vein such as proverbs, African riddles are mostly brief and are based on the observation of nature. Unlike proverbs, in the case of riddles, the listener is expected to guess an answer to a question or the meaning of a statement. Riddles make an important contribution to children's full participation in the social, cultural, political, and economic life of African communities by fostering critical thinking and transmitting indigenous knowledge. Riddles are used mainly for entertainment and stimulating thinking and some are not presented implicitly as questions but as true statements of something the listener has to catch, interpret, and locate in its proper context.

The study examines the Gurenɛ riddle as it precedes the folktale narration among the Farefari people. In this study, the types of riddles, the recitation, and the responses as they pertain during the narration of the folktale and at other occasions will be looked at. The socio-cultural values of the riddle would be examined. The riddle is an oral genre performed among the people of the Farefari society. Riddling serves as a major form of entertainment among the Farefari people and was narrated formerly only in the evening as a means of entertainment at the homes of members of the community who are storytellers and also at social gatherings such as at the funeral celebrations of

elderly people. This study considers the themes, characterization and composition style of the riddles among the Farefari people in their culture.

1.1 Background to the study

The literate world has inherited a comprehensive body of knowledge from the pre-literate world of verbal communication (Nalusiba, 2010). This compendium of oral tradition from whatever ultimate origin, Nalusiba noted, is practically universal in character both in time and space. The importance of oral tradition globally and particularly in Africa, cannot be over emphasized. The African society has been labeled with phrases such as an oral society or a society that lacks the culture of reading (Mulindwa, 2001 cited in Nalusiba, 2010). She stated that traditional educators were great narrators of oral traditions which they voiced loudly accompanied by demonstrations. She mentions that, books and libraries are often seen as redundant in societies that are mainly based on oral traditions and practices. In such societies the people derive more pleasure from the oral and performing arts like talking, riddling, singing, and dancing and as a result, the oral mode remains prevalent. Oral tradition as one of the major ingredients in the struggle for asserting self-identity also has a strong patriotic content.

Obiechina (1975: 32) refers to oral tradition as a situation in which cultural transmission is carried out by word of mouth through direct contact between individuals depending largely on memory and habits of thought, action, and speech for cultural continuity. The significance attached to oral tradition is demonstrated by our annual celebrations of festivals. However, oral tradition can hardly meet the interests of the changing generations unless its social function is broadly defined,

interpreted, and presented to the consumers with embellishment. With the general recognition in many circles of African studies as a worthwhile field of research, an increasing number of local scholars are turning to a detailed and serious analysis of their own oral literature and are beginning to find some measures of encouragement.

Finnegan (1970), oral literature is a medium for transmitting historical knowledge and it has a timeless quality because it reflects truths of all time of a particular historic moment. In recent times, changes in the social structure of traditional communities due to urbanization and westernization have adversely affected some traditional forms of oral art. Verbal art is transmitted through someone who narrates and reaches the audience and may be seen as the full power of continuous memory at work in the process of dealing with the account of events, situations, transmission of cultural tradition and norms. The verbal art of a people is by nature a dynamic literature and riddling is one of them. Hart (1964) mentions that riddles are found in oral traditions among Americans, Indians, Chinese, Russians, Hungarians, Dutch, Philippians, and Africans.

According to Scott (1965), riddles as a folk literary genre has been in existence since 400 AD. Riddles advise and guide both the young and the old. Riddles serve as a foundation block for the reflection of one's life. They educate, entertain, stimulate the people's mind and motivate their observations and thinking through the natural environment. For instance the riddle: *Beni n boi ni kɔ'ɔm ɛɛra dee zɛɛra a yire? Kakute-, Torbise*: "What is it that, wherever it goes, it goes with its house". This riddle advises the Farefari people that, in life anything can happen to us and as such

there is the need to always prepare oneself against any mishap that may come ones way.

1.1 The Farefari People and their Culture

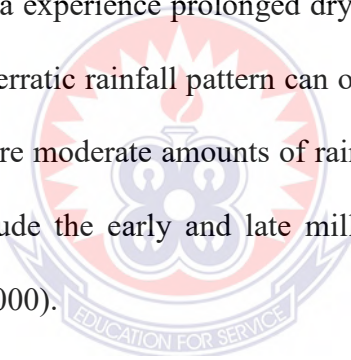
One needs a fair grasp of the culture and geographical location of the Farefari people in the Upper-East Region of Ghana to understand and appreciate the relevance of the riddling and its cultural and social significance as it is narrated among them. This chapter is an exposition of the geographical location and the historical background of the Farefari as a people. Their language and cultural practices would be examined. Also, their socio-political systems, such as the institutions that govern them, their cosmological view of the world and their religious practices would be discussed here. The chapter ends with the examination of the various economic activities that the people are engaged in for a living. These activities include the traditional ones such as rearing of ruminants, rope making and weaving of baskets and hats. The introduction of dry season farming has also become an economic activity highly patronized by people living around the small dams in the Farefari communities. The Farefari people are found in the extreme North-Eastern part of Ghana. They share borders with the Kusaasi to the East, the Mamprusi to the South, the Republic of Burkina Faso to the North and the Bulesa and Kasena-Nankana to the North-West.

The Farefari people are said to have migrated from different parts within the North such as Mamprugu and the Northern parts of Burkina Faso to settle in their present location.

Those living in and around Bolegatana, the regional capital of the Upper-East Region and its environs including most parts of the Boonjo district are said to have migrated from a town called Zẽkɔ in the Southern part of Burkina Faso. These are the group referred to as the Guresi and the dialect they speak is Gurene. A second group is a section of the Talensi and Nabadam who are said to have migrated from Nalerigu in the Northern Region. This group are descendants from a famous son of the Naayire (the overlord of the Mamprugu kingdom) called *Monsour*. They are commonly known and called *Monsuorbiisi* “Descendants of Monsuor” (Fortes and Evans-Prichard 1970).

Another section of the Talensi are said to be the original settlers who according to oral traditions, descended from the popular and most revered rock enclave and shrine called Tenzug. They hold the view that, they are the original Talensi and that the Monsuorbiisi came to Tɔŋɔ as a result of quarrels among the children of the king of Mamprugu, over chieftaincy succession. The people of Boonjo Township are said to have come from Mamprugu just like the Talensi. This assertion is confirmed by the common practice of occupancy of the two paramountcies of Boonjo and Tɔŋɔ and the celebration of fire festival, which are residues of the traditions of the Naayire of Mamprugu. These people speak Boone a dialect of Farefari but which is closer to Mampruli. The last group of the Farefari people is the Nankana who speak *Nankare* a dialect very close to Gurene but which has been heavily influenced by Kasem due to proximity, religious and economic reasons. They are a mixture of Gurene and Kasena speaking people who together migrated from Zẽkɔ and other parts of neighbouring Burkina Faso to settle in the present locations.

The vegetation of the area is made up of savanna grassland with trees of varied species scattered all over the land. Most of these trees are drought resistant and are of immense economic value to the people. Common among these trees are the baobab, shea, dawadawa and kapok. The fruits of these trees are eaten. They are processed into other products for domestic use and for export. For instance, the softer parts of the shea fruits are eaten when they are ripe and the nuts are processed into butter. The periods for harvesting are times for community members to meet and share their joys including telling stories. The land is semi-arid due mainly to the inadequate rainfall, which ranges between fifty and one hundred and twenty millimeters per annum over five months. These rains start in April/May and end in September each year. As a result, the area experience prolonged dry season in a year stretching from October to March. This erratic rainfall pattern can only support the growth of annual cereal crops which require moderate amounts of rainfall and have a shorter maturing period. Such crops include the early and late millet, guinea corn, maize rice and groundnuts (Awedoba 2000).

The logo of the University of Education, Winneba, is a circular emblem. It features a central shield with a book and a torch, surrounded by a wreath. The text 'UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA' is written around the top inner edge of the circle, and 'EDUCATION FOR SERVICE' is written around the bottom inner edge.

Land in the Farefari area is owned by the community but entrusted in the care of the clan head and in turn is distributed to the male members of each clan according to seniority. The people generally appreciate the art of communal labour and would usually group themselves during the farming season to work on their farms in turns. It is during these periods of farming and its related activities that a lot of folklore, including the folktale and riddling which is of interest to us, is practiced in the evenings after the day's hard work as a means of relaxation.

Geographically, the speakers of the language are located in the Upper-East Region of Ghana. The Farefari dialects are spoken in five out of the nine districts. These are Bolegataŋa, Boonjo, Talensi-Nabedam and Nankana areas of the Kasena-Nankana central and west districts in Navrongo. In the year 2000, the Population and Housing census results put the number of speakers at a little over 500,000 (Ghana Statistical Service Census report 2002)

The Farefari people were a group of people who lived without a centrally recognized authority for the whole of the society (Fortes 1945). This notwithstanding, they had kindred groupings that segmented the whole society into lineages and clans with their respective heads as leaders. In each community they had a spiritual head called the *Tindaana* “earth priest”. He was not only the spiritual head of the community but performed other social and political functions in the society. For example, the earth priest was called upon to settle disputes between clans. He gave out land for new settlements and marked out places for the burial of itinerant persons.

In addition the society is organized and built on the system of patrilineal inheritance. It is the basic mode of recognizing kinship. Membership of the society is determined by one’s filiation tie which should be traced through the father. Inheritance of the property of a dead relative who is a man and the holding of a traditional office within a clan is exercised by this same filiation tie of the father. The society is made up of lineages or members of an agnatic kin who trace their descent to a common apical ancestor called the *Yaaba* “Great grandfather”. These lineages are headed by lineage heads selected on the basic principle of seniority in terms of the age of the individual concerned and the generation within which he emerged. As heads of lineages, their

social roles included ensuring unity among members of their lineages and the general society. During social and ritual gatherings such as marriage and the performance of sacrifice the lineage heads oversee this. It is even more so if the lineage heads are to perform sacrifices to the lineage *Tingane* “earth shrine”. Another socially binding ritual that brings lineage members together is when they meet during funeral ceremonies of a member. Every lineage has the most senior male member as the head called the *buuri kiima*, “lineage elder”. Each lineage is subject to the authority of the lineage elder who by virtue of his seniority has this authority conferred on him. In a lineage, the head has moral and ritual authority of his co-members. For instance, a head of a lineage may invite his co-members to weed for him. The clan elder was the principal representative of the lineage. He enforced unity, identify and co-operation among members. (Fortes,1945).

In the Farefari society also, the system is very strong and contributes to the different kinds of structures into which the whole society is divided. Among these are the clan-settlements which are distinguished by their peculiar names such as the children or people of this or that ancestor. Thus, we have for instance, *Atulebabiisi*, *Aba`ameŋabiisi* and *Anaafɔbiisi*. Headship to these clans is by inheritance and the most senior male member of the clan is usually the head. He being the custodian of the clan’s ancestral gods performs sacrifices to drive away misfortunes and appeal for prosperity and good health among the clan members. He may also assist the young members of the clan in times of marriage. He suggests to the male members of the clan which families they could take a wife from as well as the families that girls of his clan could marry into. In times of difficulties in settling the bride wealth, the clan

head could be called upon to help. He also settles minor disputes among male members and their dependents.

Marriage plays a vital role in the social system of the Farefari people (Radcliffe-Brown and Fortes 1950). Through marriage, members of two different lineages that had no generational ties become one. Gyekye (1996:76) stated that,

Traditionally, in many African societies, a young man who has gained employment of any kind and earns some income is expected, in fact urged, to marry. Any undue delay on the part of the young man to marry will cause his parents or elders in the lineage to worry and even interfere in his private life in order to advice and encourage him to marry.

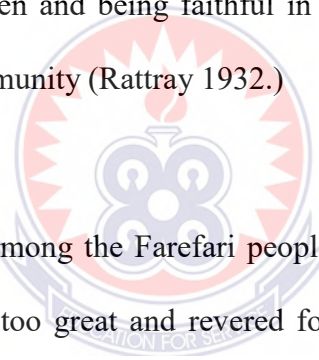
This view of Gyekye reflects prominently in the lives of the Farefari people as it was in days of the close net family ties system when the welfare of every member of the community mattered to all others, especially in the case of the elderly guiding the youth to succeed in life. The two families and for that matter the lineage and in some cases villages begin to relate peacefully. The woman then becomes a member of her husband's clan and will enjoy all the entitlements of a clan member. She will partake in all social and spiritual rites of her husband's clan. When a sacrifice is made to the clan gods she prepares the meals and has a share of it. Upon birth the children enjoy certain social rights in their mother's clan as they do of their father. They are allowed to seek favours from their maternal uncle and could even be helped by their uncle to pay the bride wealth of a woman if their own father cannot support them (Awedoba, 2007:150). People whose mothers come from the same village see themselves as one. They therefore have very strong maternal ties. They regard themselves as *mabiisi* "mother's children". Such people unite to support one another in times of need. For

instance, at a funeral performance of an elderly woman, all the male members whose mothers come from the village of the deceased regard her as their mother and will go every length to contribute to support their maternal kin. In a similar vein, all the married women from the dead woman's village will gather to bid farewell to their sister. They would therefore take up all the related activities to ensure that the funeral rites start and end well. The Farefari society therefore had very strong social and religious binding principles that kept the people together and ensured peace before the advent of chieftaincy as a political institution.

Chieftaincy which became part of the socio-political structure of the Farefari people was originally not known among them. *Na'am* "chieftaincy" has been incorporated from the neighbouring Mamprugu kingdom (Fortes, 1970). Evidence for this assertion abounds today as all paramountcies in the Farefari area trace chieftaincy to the Naayire (the overlord of the Mamprugu kingdom). He is the rightful person to enskin all paramount chiefs in the Farefari traditional area. The chief and the earth priest therefore perform Socio-polico-religious roles in the Farefari society. The earth priest is regarded more as a head and custodian of the earth shrine in each community. His duties include performing sacrifice to the earth shrine to ask for blessing upon the community. He is the only person who can give out land to an individual to settle or bury a dead person. The mode of selecting an earth priest is either by succession, by right of seniority or by choice of divination from amongst the clan's male members.

The people of the Farefari society believe very much in life after death. They therefore venerate the dead who it is believed have become ancestors. This belief in

life after death and in their dead relatives influences greatly the lives of the living. The quality of one's life here on earth will to a greater extent determine his or her chances of joining the ancestors. A man must not be wicked towards others and must be willing to marry and raise a family. The Farefari people are fully aware of this and efforts are made by every adult member of the clan to ensure that the youth succeed. A Farefari man should observe all the rules governing the belief systems of his/her people which include accepting to perform all rites related to the death of members of the community and inheriting the family property including sacrificing to the gods if he is the next in succession. A Farefari man believes traditionally that he would one day die and become an ancestor only if he observes all the norms including getting married and having children and being faithful in his/her everyday interaction with other members of the community (Rattray 1932.)



Belief in the lesser gods among the Farefari people is very common. They perceive that the Almighty God is too great and revered for a mortal being to make request directly to Him. They therefore would first acknowledge those other creations of God on earth with us to link them up to Him. These gods reside in trees, rocks, stones, and rivers and are acquired through family inheritance or by direct experience of an individual with such objects. These gods play vital roles in the life of a traditional Farefari man. Individuals resort to them for protection and prosperity. The Farefari people are mainly engaged in subsistence agriculture. They use the traditional method of tilling the same piece of land every farming season for ages. The common tool used in the cultivation of crops around the homestead is the hoe. However the use of the bullocks and donkeys for the first ploughing is now common among households. Land is owned communally and distributed to clan heads who in turn distribute it to

members of their families. A man could however, in addition to the family land, acquire a piece of land through outright sale or by friendship or even as a gift from an elderly member of the community whose ancestors happened to have settled at a place and thus claimed ownership of such land.

As stated earlier there is only one period of rainy season within a year. Farmers are therefore left with no choice but to grow those crops that require between three to five months of light rainfall to mature. Such crops include early and late millet, guinea corn and rice as well legumes such as, groundnuts, round beans, beans, and pumpkin seeds. Almost all these crops are usually intercropped on smaller pieces of plots and harvested one after the other. These crops are harvested and dried for storage towards the end of the year. Vegetables such as kenaf and pumpkin leaves are very important for the survival of the people who would usually have depleted their food stocks around May at which time they grow.

In recent times, the cultivation of maize and other fruits and vegetable such as tomatoes on large scale have been made possible due to the construction of small scale dams in most of the communities. Commonly called dry season gardening, this system of farming has brought relief to the people who no longer experience starvation as was the case in the late 1930's (Rattray 1932). The cereal rice is also cultivated on a large scale by irrigation since the Vea Dam was constructed. This crop which could only yield better with sufficient amount of water in a year now has early maturing varieties which supplement the food needs of the people during the lean season. Today, the adoptions of irrigation farming among a majority of the people enables them earn income which would otherwise be unattainable. The cultivation of tomatoes is now a major cash crop activity in the Upper-East Region including the

Farefari locality. The rearing of small ruminants such as goats, sheep, and cattle as well as birds such as chicken, guinea fowls, and ducks has been an economic activity of the Farefari people since time immemorial. The dog and the cat are also kept by families for protection. The donkey which is not among the animals used in sacrifices in the Farefari society has become an important economic animal for the people. It is used in ploughing during the planting season. Due to its brute strength it is also used in carry load especially on market days. Most households now keep the donkey for its helpful economic reasons.

One other foreign animal whose rearing had become an economic activity for the people in recent times is the pig. Due to its high rate of reproduction and growth, the pig is now found in most homes where it is kept within the compound during the planting season and released to roam about after harvest each year. The meat is processed by smoking it dry and it is sold at major cities and towns in Ghana. In the Farefari society, the rearing of livestock such as cattle and sheep are done by boys who herd them into the valleys to graze and return in the evening. Fowls are reared for several purposes such as sacrifices and as gifts. Also during festive occasions and at group work such as farming it was common to witness a fowl or two slaughtered for workers plucking groundnuts in the evening and telling stories which mostly start with riddling as precursor. On such occasions, the fowl is given sometimes to reward the creativity of the story teller who would incorporate praises of the family into the songs during the storytelling.

The women on the other hand are engaged in the processing of shea nuts into butter for domestic use and for sale. They equally help in the weeding and gathering of farm produce during the harvesting season. Women also engage in rearing of animals and birds and contribute in several ways to support the family such as going round to sell processed butter, cooked food, and dawadawa spices. A system of barter trade exists in the communities where people exchange common items. For instance, one could exchange a calabash full of groundnuts or a bowl of millet for salt, shea butter, or dawadawa spice. The economy of the Farefari society also extended to cover such economic trees like dawadawa, baobab, shea and lately the mango tree. The fruits of these trees at one time or the other within the year serve as a relief to the people. For instance, the dawadawa tree matures in and around the planting season which is between April and May. This is the period that most families would deplete the stored up food stuff and be in serious need of supplements. The fruits are eaten raw when not fully matured and also when dried. The seeds are processed into what is commonly called dawadawa spice. It is a very good high protein source of ingredient for the preparations of all kinds of dishes. The seeds are also reputed to have medicinal value. Another source of income to the Farefari people was generated from the sale of roots and barks of some medicinal plants for the treatment of ailments. In recent times, the rearing of livestock and birds has assumed a large scale with almost every family keeping a good number of animals. However, the people have not shifted much from the traditional methods of keeping animals. The livestock and birds are left to roam freely all the time and the onset of the harmattan season each year thus results in the loss of several livestock and birds through diseases. There is equally a great loss incurred due to indiscriminate movement of these animals which are sometimes stolen. Though, hardworking as they are most of the able-bodied men and women and

in some cases children, for lack of viable economic activities coupled with inadequate rainfall to support agriculture all year round in the Farefari traditional area, migrate to the Southern parts of Ghana in search of jobs. This phenomenon has a telling effect on the teaching of the culture of the people. The youth are not availing themselves to the culturally approved ways of learning morals such as was the case in the olden days when storytelling and riddling was an effective tool in shaping the lives of the youth in the Farefari society.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Riddling among the Farefari was an effective means of imparting the knowledge of the people to the youth. Riddling, just like storytelling sustained the socio-cultural lives of the people. The general principle of living at peace with other members of the society was imbued in these riddles which preceded the folktale in narration and served as education to not only the youth but to everyone in the community.

However, all the good attributes of riddling have waned due to the lack of its effective practice by the people especially as an educational tool for learning by the youth. The research is therefore aimed at collecting and studying the Gurene riddle so as to help in the promotion of its use by the Farefari people in general and as educational tool to the youth and school children in particular. The socio-cultural values of riddling among the Farefari would be examined and the good aspect of the cultural wisdom in these riddles considered for effective implementation and use by children at the basic level to enhance their academic progression.

1.4 Purpose of the study

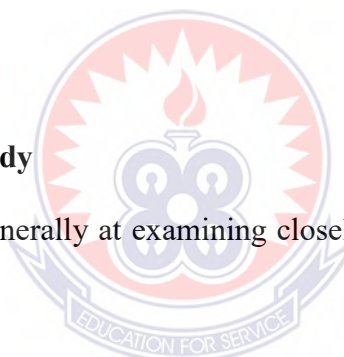
The following are among the reasons for the research to be conducted on the Gurene riddling tradition of the Farefari people.

1. To collect as many and as varied riddles as possible in Gurene.
2. To classify these riddles into types and further examine the characterization, composition and functions of thirty of these riddles.
3. To consider the socio-cultural impact of these riddles and how that could be of help in the general education of the youth of the Farefari society.
4. To suggest practical approaches to encourage the formal sector of education to mainstream riddling into the teaching of the pupils at the basic schools in the Farefari society.

1.5 Objectives of the study

The research is aimed generally at examining closely the Farefari literary genres and particularly the riddle.

- The importance of riddling to the educational needs of the youth would be carefully looked at.
- The social and cultural values of these oral genres to the meaningful living of the people thus facilitating development will be considered.
- It is also to upgrade the knowledge of the researcher in the literary genres of his culture and how effective that could be employed to enhance teaching of the language and culture of the Farefari people.
- To consider how these riddling in general can bring about effective sustenance of socio-cultural values among members of the Farefari society.



1.6 Research questions

1. What are the various types of riddles and their importance as narrated by the Farefari people?
2. What are the recognized composition and features of the riddles narrated by the Farefari people that sustain good values as it pertains in other cultures?
3. What are the educational values of riddling?
4. How effective can riddling as a socio-cultural activity enhance the values of the people to bring about peace, unity, and development?

1.7 Limitations of the study

This study does not cover all aspects of the Gurene folktale and riddling. Its focus is on the riddling processes that precede the folktale narration. However, mention has been made in this study of other oral genres in the Farefari society. This is to bring about clarity in the discussing of the riddle. Though the study is said to be in the Farefari society, it is practically not feasible to undertake a study of this nature in the whole society. Riddling which precedes the folktale performance is a special skill possessed by oral artists in parts of the society. The two principal storytellers were selected from the Boonjo and Bolega districts for two important reasons. First the researcher is familiar with that environment as admonished by (Okpewho 1992: 335). He speaks the Gurene dialect. Then again it is the Gurene dialect that is reduced into the writing system of the Farefari people and used in the first and second cycle schools, colleges, and universities. However, the study is applicable to all since there are only minor dialectal differences among all members of the Farefari society.

1.8 Delimitations of the Study

The study is centered on riddling and is specifically to examine the themes, characterization, and composition of the Farefari riddles. This is because riddling as a literary genre is performed by noted individuals in the Farefari society. The researcher confined himself to the Boonjo and Bolega districts and to two renowned storytellers who are knowledgeable in the Farefari riddles and are native speakers within the specific communities.

1.9 Significance of the Study

The study when successfully done would be of great value to the knowledge base of the Farefari people in general and to the teaching of literature and culture at the schools in particular. Due to the fast erosion of our language and cultural ways of living as a result of globalization, a document of that nature will serve as a guide to the effective source of imparting such valuable information to the youth. In the Farefari society like most other societies in Africa riddling has the main purpose of entertaining the audience. The nature of these riddles is such that certain inherent values of the society are embedded in them and portrayed during the riddling sessions. These serve indirectly to promote the cultural value systems that are upheld by the people. By listening to and participating in riddling, the youth are indirectly influenced by these cherished values which include respect, tolerance, and truthfulness. Riddling while used by the people as a tool for entertaining themselves, could be an effective means of controlling and ordering the lives of members of the community. For instance, it is a forum where the youth express themselves freely through the use of the language. By this practice they acquire the habit of using language as a tool for their socio-cultural needs.

Information on riddling, which is part of the general package of stories told among the people has several benefits. There are benefits such as getting to appreciate and value one's culture for a meaningful interaction among others in the global community. Individuals among the community members could be motivated to take up the practice of riddling as a profession and even on commercial basis.

In formal education, riddling could be an effective tool in preparing the youth adequately in the skills of listening, speaking, and later writing through the procedure of its narration. The opportunity to comment openly on related issues through riddling enables the youth to acquire the habit of appropriate use of the language and the accepted form of presenting their views both in and out of the formal school system

In riddling, members of the community come together irrespective of their differences in religious and political beliefs to entertain themselves and share in the culturally acclaimed wisdom of the society. This goes a long way to promote unity among members of the community which results in peaceful settlement of issues and an effective development of the community.

1.10 Organization of the Study

The study is organized in to five chapters. The chapter one is on the general introduction of the Farefari people and their ways of life and in particular the oral genres performed by them.

The chapter two is a review of the works of literature in the people's culture and other related works among scholars who studied African oral genre performances. Useful conclusions are drawn from these works as to how the researcher should go about the gathering of data and the subsequent processes of documenting oral art performances.

Chapter three is on the Methodology applied in gathering the data and how the data supported the general overview of the Farefari riddling procedure. The main issues of this study which considered the riddling processes, the types, and the socio-cultural relevance are captured in chapter four. The fifth chapter comprised the Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations.

1.11 Conclusion

In this chapter we introduced generally, what the riddling involves. We considered the riddles as they were narrated among the Farefari people, why its narration is declining, and the need to sustain it. We underscored the point that as part of modernity, other forms of entertainment are now preferred. Emphasis was placed on the entertainment and education through the transmission of the culturally accepted ways of life by the narration of the folktales and riddles.

The study examined the themes, context of composition and performance, and the stylistics of the Gurene tone riddle, so as to encourage its narration among members of the community and in the Basic schools. It would also inspire scholars of the language to delve more into the study of the Farefari people's culture in general and the oral traditions in particular.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

This chapter examines some of the works of literature in general but oral literature in particular, that have relationship with the present study of riddling among the Farefari people. This review was to enable the researcher to gain an inside as to how scholars went about studying this aspect of oral literature and to adopt some of these conclusions to support the study. The literature was reviewed by contacting resource persons for the primary sources of information. The researcher also contacted secondary sources such works of scholars in the language, textbooks and from the Internet and of course, his own intuition as an educated individual in the language and culture of the Farefari people came handy.

2.1 Works on Gurene Literature

Not much work has been done in the literature of the Gurene language in general and particularly with material on oral literature. The few works on the language have paid attention on the grammar. For instance, Dakubu (1996), Avea (1997), and Atintono (2004) have discussed various aspects of the Gurene grammar. Before then there were earlier anthropological works on the language by people such as Rattray (1932) and Rapp (1966). Rattray devoted a large section of his work, "Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland", to the customs and traditions of the the Farefari people which he titled 'The Nankansi'. In that work in which he was amply aided by an indigene called Victor Aboya from Wunku'ɔ, a village in the present day Talensi-Nabedam district, Rattray collected a number of folktales in Gurene with translations in the English language. These folktales were however not analyzed.

On the part of Rapp, over three hundred proverbs and expressions were collected by him as part of a grammar book in Gurene. These were however translated into German, which is not accessible by scholars who are not literate in German.

The European clerics, who started the Catholic Church in that part of the country, settled in Bolegataŋa in the early 1970s and used the language for their liturgical purposes. However, in 1972, Rev. Father Armand Lebel, a European, lived and worked in Boonjo as a priest and he collected a number of folktales. These were tape-recorded during storytelling sessions in the evenings at communities in and around Bongo, the Parish centre. Though a very good and commendable effort considering the large volume of folktales and riddles collected, transcribed and translated by him, no attempt was made to analyze these riddles in any form. A few of the riddles which coincide with what will be collected by the researcher would be considered for the purpose of looking closely at riddling among the Farefari people.

Atintono and Avea (2001) in an article titled, "Asserting the literariness of the Gurene riddle" discussed the Gurene riddle and some of the literary devices that it is imbued with. In that paper they advanced a strong case in support of the literariness of the Gurene riddle as against some scholars of African Oral literature who tend to play down on the role of riddles in oral performance. With the use of poetic techniques or devices such as rhythm, rhyme, parallelism to mention a few, they effectively demonstrated that the riddle is no less an oral genre.

Avea E. N. (2001), in another article "The exploitation of contrast for suspense by the oral artist in the solengiresi of the Farefari speakers of Northern Ghana", successfully proved that the use of contrast if properly crafted by the oral artist is capable of creating suspense that will arrest and sustain the attention of the audience throughout the period of delivery. The works of Atintono and Avea (2001) and Avea (2001), are the closest to the present work because they dealt with the literariness of the riddle. In this study the riddle and its features as well as the storytellers and the techniques of narration will be discussed. The roles of the respondent and the audience will be examined. The riddles collected will be studied to ascertain the socio-cultural values in them to enrich the folktale narration among the Farefari people.

2.2 General works on Folktale and Riddling

Finnegan (1970) wrote extensively on the oral literature of Africa. Much of this work is centred on the East African countries with a small part on Akan, drawing from Nketia's work. The work is on songs, poetry, and appellations with a chapter in prose narratives. However, in her earlier works, Finnegan (1967), she undertook an elaborate study of the Limba culture including their storytelling. The Limba are a rice farming people living in communities in the Northern parts of Sierra Leone. This ethnographic study of Finnegan embraced the entire culture of the Limba as a people. She studied the language of the people which is vital to the understanding of the culture of a group of people. She tape-recorded the stories during performance by different storytellers for a considerable length of time. She recounted how she sat in and listened to most of the storytellers, thus implying she adopted the participant observation method known to be effective in the gathering of data in the study of the oral traditions of a people.

This lent credence to the fact that to understand the culture of a people; the most effective method is to be part of them during performance. In her presentation of the findings, she gave a detailed account of the life of the Limba. Her insightful study of the total way of life of the Limba impacted positively on her analysis of the folktale. The people's culture reflected in almost every tale that was recorded. Her work is of great help to this researcher who will draw from her work some of the literature needed for this work. The method of participant observation will be used, however to the current researcher, the issue of understanding the language and traditions of the Farefari people does not arise since he is not only a native but has acquired both the oral and written language and culture of his people.

Okpewho (1992) has worked extensively on the oral literary art forms of the Ibo people of Nigeria. In his book, *African oral literature, Background, Character and Continuity*, he touched on every aspect of the oral art performance. To him the oral artist such as in storytelling and riddling combines composition and performance. This means performance is effectively realized during the delivery stage and not if the artist is not fully engaged. This useful information will be tapped, to collect the data on the field since as a native Okpewho did an insightful study and documentation of these art forms. In Okpewho's work on folktales which usually come after the narration of a few riddles, he said, "Folktale narration occurs in the evening when members of a family sit relaxing and discussing the day's activities. These lively interactions and the fact that children playing around are likely to start teasing each other, may trigger off riddling as one of them may shout out the first part of a riddle to test the pulse of his colleagues."

This is usually in the form of a question that demands an immediate answer in a limited time frame with exact precision. This riddling started by children usually marks the start of storytelling as the adults members around would take it up. This procedure of starting the folktale session by beginning with riddles is common among members of the Farefari society in which the study of the riddling tradition is situated. This bears similarity with what has been described by Oyekan Owomoyela in Okpewho (1992:108) among the Yoruba of Nigeria.

After the evening meal, the members of a family gather on the porch and if there is moonlight, the younger members gather in the courtyard to play games like hide and seek. On the porch, the entertainment begins with riddles. What is it that dines with the Oba (paramount chief of the community) and leaves him to clear the dishes? A fly. What passes before the Oba's house without making obeisance? Rain flood. On its way to Oyo its face is towards Oyo, on its way from Oyo its face is still towards Oyo. What is it? A double-faced drum. After a few riddles, the tales begin.

Lusweti (1984) writing on the oral literature of African, but mainly drawing inspiration from the Kenyan culture concluded that, the issue of gathering data on oral art can create problems if not well handled. To him the issue of the arm-chair gathering of data leads to false representation of the realities on the ground. The researcher draws a lot of lessons from that admonition and will apply it in the data gathering processes on the field.

Agyekum (2013) did some work generally on the literary devices and the underlying messages conveyed by these literary pieces. He considered the structure and the use of such devices as parallelism in explaining the oral art pieces. He drew a lot of information from the Akan language and culture. This is relevant to the current study since the languages are close in terms of structure.

Giray-Saul (1984) did extensive work on storytelling among the Mossi of Burkina Faso. The Mossi call the riddles “Solem kueese” meaning “cut stories” or as we have it in Gurenɛ. “Solengiresi” which means a shorter version of the folktale that is called “solene”. Among the Farefari a riddle is called solengirega. This is loosely translated to mean a short story. This work will draw some lessons from the Mossi experience of riddling since the two groups of people share similar linguistic and cultural similarities.

Galli (1983: 13-42) and his colleagues stayed among the Ayi-Bona of Côte d'Ivoire for five years. Among the different genres of oral traditions of the people, they studied the folktale. To them, "the tale is one of the most widespread literary genres. The tale continues to be living reality, constantly used. It continues like the new social structures, to be a powerful influence for changing and creating tomorrow's society. This means the riddle in the Farefari society has been a powerful tool in the transmission of their culture. At the same time, it incorporates changes and introduces acceptable values.

The researchers tape-recorded these stories and with the help of native speakers transcribed and translated them into the English language. In their work, they gave an overview of the nature of storytelling among the Ayi-Bona of Côte d'Ivoire. Their work is insightful and has a direct bearing on the present work. Some of the procedures they used, such as sitting in to listen to and tape-record stories have been adopted for this work.

Lusweti (1984) researched and wrote on the oral literature of East Africa, particularly Kenyan communities. In his book, he devoted a chapter to the collection of oral literature. As part of the introduction he remarked that,

Unfortunately, the work of collecting oral literature is not easy. In the past field collectors had no experience at all; they were what might be called 'arm chair compilers of information. Much of what they wrote down was second hand information collected hurriedly from friends and relatives. A lot of damage was done in this way to oral literary traditions, for such collectors often distorted the information given to them, or else they gathered a lot of incorrect material (page 91).

Lusweti concluded that, his work is aimed at correcting these past errors and at the same time suggesting useful methods to be used in the onerous task of harvesting our huge treasury of oral literature. This admonition from Lusweti, a Kenyan, who was an indigene of the traditions and culture he wrote about, is worth noting. He provided the procedure for collecting material on oral literature from preparation, field methods and up to the organization of the data. He further talked about the problems of transcribing and translating works of oral literature from the local languages into a foreign language such English. He however, emphasized the need to always collect the data in the language of the people.

This useful information on the collection of the folktales will be adopted for the collection of riddles in Gurenɛ.

According to Yankah (1995), “the phenomenon of answering” in certain speech genres in Africa and black America may be argued to constitute a refraction of mediated oratory. The practice of employing a surrogate or respondent is in part a strategy for emphasizing the objectivity of the speaker’s word. In the narration of the folktale which is usually preceded by riddling, the storytellers would sometimes call the name of someone among the audience to relay his story. It is this same process of telling stories that Finnegan witnessed among the Limba of Sierra Leone, as she stated that;

“The narrator sometimes chooses a special friend and designates him as the “answerer” (bame) to reply (me) to the narration...Once appointed, this “answerer” must then interject phrases like “yes” (ndo) ”mm” “fancy that” (woi) “really” (ee) at appropriate moment and react quickly with laughter exaggerated amusement or dismay at the events related in the story. He often repeats the important point or improper names of the characters in an undertone to emphasize them or interpolates clarifying words such as the name of the character speaking or acting at the time, especially if the audience seems at all confused with reiterations of key phrases at dramatic moments, brief questions when the point is a little obscure, or prompting if the teller appears to hesitate for a name or sequence. This formal practice of “me” “replying”, often gives an extra impression of speed and intensity to the telling of a story, and though by no means universal, is one way in which a member of the audience can formally take part in the actual narration” (1967. 67).

This point confirms the ridding processes among the Farefari people. The one who acts as the proponent is as good as the respondent for the appropriate answer or response of the riddling process.

Ajayi (1990) noted that riddling constitutes an impressive moral and intellectual exercise that develops the individual's reasoning ability which is necessary when it comes to the appropriate moral judgment such as uprightness and kindness. This study seeks to confirm this notion as far as the riddling processes are involved among the Farefari people. Among members of the Farefari society, parents advise their children to be upright, kind, honest and helpful to other members of the community; they therefore go to every length in instilling these qualities to the youth in general and their children in particular through the use of riddles.

Maruka (1999), as cited in (Kihara 2013), identified entertainment, recording of history, commentary in human life, environmental and scientific education as some of the social functions of riddles. He noted that the entertainment function of riddles is the most recognized one, while the other social functions are ignored. This study shares the same view. Socially, riddles bring people together to interact, compete, and make friends with one another. Riddling creates a spirit of competitiveness among the performers and the audience. It brings about a spirit of togetherness for those who find themselves in the same group. Riddling therefore, involves two or more people on competitive or non-competitive bases. It is sometime a way of waiting for the evening meals to be prepared which enable children not to sleep without eating.

Commenting on the functions of riddles, Finnegan (1970) observed that riddles are in the special domain of children for entertainment rather than serious consideration. This researcher has a contrary view to Finnegan's assertion. It is a limited view about riddles and that assertion about riddles can result in a lack of interest in researching on riddles and could also overshadow other culturally time tested importance of riddles. For instance, among the Ga people of Ghana and the Yoruba of Nigeria, riddles may also be performed during their funeral occasions and it is mainly adults who participate in this type of riddling since it is mainly the adults who participate in the funeral rites.

Finnegan (1970) also noted that among the Chaga of Tanzania, there are riddles used to threaten, to convey secret information and to effect indirect suggestion. These are obviously for adults who use them during serious discourse. From the above, riddles just like proverbs among the Farefari people serve an important communicative aspect of conveying subtle messages and meaning of certain socially upheld norms which the adults are blessed with. For instance, there is a riddle that goes, *N suma ata boi laen*, meaning „My three round beans in a bowl“. The response to this riddle is *Dakɔpa ata boi Suen*, „There are three bachelors at *Suen*. This riddle apart from other considerations is meant subtly to advise and remind the youth that they need to get married at a point in life to avoid being addressed as bachelors which connotes laziness by the norms of the Farefari society.

Ishengoma (2005) observed that riddles are not just about amusement and entertainment only, but also they afford the young the chance to participate in the social, cultural, political and economic aspects of their society as well as helping them to develop critical thinking and exercise memorization. Apart from the amusement that riddles afford the people, riddles also constitute an impressive intellectual exercise. They are used as a medium for developing the child's reasoning faculty as well as skills in decision-making among members of the Farefari society.

2.3 Conclusion

Several works in relation to the Gurene language such as Dakubu (1996), Avea (1997), Atintono (2004), Rattray (1932) were mentioned. Other works that are on the oral literature of the language included, Lebel (1972), Atintono and Avea (2001) And Ababila (2006).

The works of known authors in African oral literature that we reviewed included Finnegan (1967, 1970, 1992), Okpewho (1982, 1990, 1992), Galli (1983) and Lusweti (1984).

We reasoned that the theoretical framework where, the researcher is present at the source of data collection, familiarize with the people and consider their world view of life is the best option to study an oral art performance. It afforded the opportunity to understand the people, appreciate their ways, and then be part of whatever activity that goes on. Guided by these principles the participant observation method was used to collect the data and the translation was done to reflect the actual narration.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology that was employed in carrying out the study and how the researcher ensured that the method produced reliable and valid data. It discussed the various strategies the researcher employed to gather the data for the study. It described the type of research design employed, population of the study, sampling techniques, data collection strategy, instrumentation, objectivity and how the data was analyzed.

3.1 Research Design

This research was purely descriptive and the qualitative approach was used. It aimed at identifying and describing the processes of narrating riddles among the Farefari people. Fifty (50) riddles were purposively selected from a recording of Gurene riddles performed by two renowned storytellers. The selection of the riddles was based on their types and characteristics. The researcher considered qualitative methodology more appropriate for the study because the analysis were purely descriptive and it provided detailed views, experiences and practices from key participants about the riddling tradition of the Farefari people. The research was to identify the riddles narrated by the Farefari people, to classify them and to consider their socio-cultural and educational benefits to the youth.

Goldstein, (1964), Patton (2002) and Creswell (2009) explained that the qualitative approach is a method of describing events or persons scientifically without the use of numerical data. They further mentioned that the processes involved are: emerging questions and procedures, data collected in the participants' setting and then analyzing it to interpret the meaning of that data. This situation became real in this study when the researcher analyzed the natural data collected and made interpretations of the meaning of the items and expressions used in the Gurenɛ riddles. The flexible nature of the qualitative approach to this type of research was another factor that motivated the researcher to select this method. It allows one to plan generally for emerging issues that may develop in the field of study.

John and James (1993) noted that whereas experimental research is carefully planned prior to commencing data collection with no possibility of change once started, qualitative research is open to change throughout the data collection process. To them this permits the researcher to adjust the direction of the inquiry based on the ongoing experience of collecting and thinking about the data.

3.2 Population of the Study

Owu-Ewie (2011) citing Best & Kahn (2006) said a population is a group of individuals that have one or more characteristics in common and they are of an interest to the researcher. In this study, the population consisted of the two principal storytellers and their groups of performers from Boonjo-Sapuuro and Bolega-Sokabiisi. The audience from these two communities who would usually be present throughout the sessions is part of the population, because most often they contributed to the success of the delivery.

3.3 Sampling Method

The researcher adopted a Purposive sampling technique in selecting the riddles for the analysis in this study. Owu-Ewie (2011) postulated that a sample is a small group of the population that is selected for observation and analysis. Sampling refers to choosing a portion of the population for research rather than studying the entire population (Biear & Gerlach, 1996). According to them the primary advantages of sampling are that it fosters feasibility and convenience during sampling.

Bailey (1994) and Fraenkel & Norman (2000) described purposive sampling as a technique where researchers use their knowledge of the population to judge whether a particular sample data will be representative of the population and choose only those which best meet the purpose of the study. It is obvious that purposive sampling offers researchers the power and logic in the selection of information rich for in-depth analysis. This explained why the researcher purposively selected the riddle to include all the types narrated by the people. Thirty (30) riddles out of over fifty (50) riddles from both the primary and secondary sources were sampled for the study based on the researcher's intuition as a native speaker.

3.4 Data Collection Procedure

Data gathering on an oral genre such as riddles demands a systematic process in which the researcher collects relevant information to achieve the research purpose and objectives (Burns & Grove, 2005).

The study naturally called for field work in which data would be collected. The researcher identified two renowned storytellers whom he called the principal storytellers. They are the group leaders of their respective groups. These groups are located at different villages in the Boonjo and Bolega districts. Each group performed at two separate sessions of storytelling and riddling at their respective villages-Boonjo Sapuurɔ and Bolega Sokabiisi on different days. On the scheduled dates the researcher and a friend of his went to them with an audio tape recorder in the evenings. At the second visit to the group at Sapuurɔ, the performance coincided with an occasion where a deity was being installed for a member of the community. We therefore converged at that spot for the performance. On each of our first visits for the narration sessions, the researcher sat with the principal storytellers. At these meetings we discussed a lot on how they became recognized in storytelling and riddling. The way forward in sustaining the culture in general and storytelling and riddling in particular was discussed with the storytellers. At the general sessions there was no restriction as to who should attend. However, the majority of the participants were the main group of about six adults and a large number of children. These people participated actively throughout the sessions.

During the sessions, the researcher was always seated in the middle and close to the storyteller who started and ended with riddles. When the tape rolled and everything was normal the researcher joined in the singing that occurred intermittently. He was also alert and watching the storyteller and the audience as he listened to interpolations and general comments from them.

3.5 Data Collection Instruments

Observation, elicitation, and interviewing the two artists before the sessions were the main instruments used to gather the information on the study.

3.6 Observation

Observation is a method in the data collection procedure used by field workers in obtaining data by looking from the outside and describing the situation as it is (Goldstein, 1964). He further explained that observation is not limited to visual aspects of the situation only; it also includes the sensual experiences such as hearing, feeling, smelling and tasting.

The researcher used the participant observation technique as an instrument of data collection in gathering data for this study. The data was gathered through the careful observation and recording of the riddles as the performances went on at the respective homes of the storytellers. The researcher observed the events and activities in the riddling sessions among the riddlers and riddlees which enabled him to obtain first-hand information about the narration. For instance, the researcher observed closely the use and manipulation of language among the riddlers in an attempt to confuse the riddlees. It was also observed that, when the riddlees were unable to answer a riddle, the riddler gave the answer and continued to give a riddle until such a time that someone among the audience is able to answer it rightly. The person who answered the riddle rightly takes over to give a riddle and in that order. Participant observation, as a type of observational method was the one that was employed by the researcher in this study to collect data for the study.

Brinkerhoff (1988) cited in Owu-Ewie (2011) defined participant observation as an instrument of research which consists of three elements: observing, participating and recording. Participant observation allowed the researcher in this study to be part of the event to experience, observe, and get a clear and comprehensive understanding of the riddling sessions. He also acted as either a riddler or riddlee from time to time while observing the behaviour of other participants and making field notes on complexities of the riddling activities. The researcher was actively involved in all the activities while doing the recording with a sound phone recorder. This method was suitable to the researcher because apart from grasping the content of the riddles it also helped him to make valid statements about the data collected. As a native speaker and scholar of the Farefari language and culture and being familiar with the environment, the researcher was able to establish a closer rapport with the participants and the community members during the riddling sessions.

3.7 Elicitation

Elicitation as an instrument of data collecting strategy was also employed in this study. An elicitation is a way of doing or saying something which makes other people respond or react to it. The objective of using elicitation in collecting the data was to enable the researcher get more information and also to verify certain terminologies in the riddling processes. Matters that did not come to mind during the time of planning the work eventually surfaced through the additional information given by the respondents. For instance, when a riddlee was not able to give the correct response to a riddle he said responded by saying, „*N zi*“, which literally means I have no idea or I don't have the response, implying that the respondent did not know the answer and therefore, permitting the riddler to provide the answer and to continue to call out

another riddle. The researcher enquired from the renowned storytellers, the significance of the expression, „N zi“ and was told it is the stock phrase used to denote a genuine feeling of not being able to give the appropriate response.

3.8 Ethical Consideration

The researcher assured the storytellers of anonymity and confidentiality of the interviews he conducted with them on their personal upbringing and subsequently their performance. This was to make sure that their privacy was respected and protected. The information given to the researcher was used solely for the purposes of this research. The researcher avoided using any kind of enticement for the purpose of obtaining information. However, an amount of money was given to the whole group as cola in tune with traditional demands of such occasions on the last day of the recordings. Throughout the period of the study, it was crucial that ethical issues were taken into consideration to ensure reliability and accuracy of data.

3.9 Informant Consent

Participants were informed orally about the procedures of the study and they made their decision to participate. The researcher provided information on the purpose of the study, expected duration of performance and procedures to be followed. As part of the ethical issues, the researcher had to seek the consent of the participants and also had to inform those participants who were willing to participate that their involvement in the study was purely voluntary. The researcher assured the willing participants that the information they provided would not be exploited during and after this research.

3.10 Objectivity

The data was gathered from the different sources and environments. It was also done at different times, using varied methodologies in checking to ensure that the data collected was objective and of high quality. The data was carefully analyzed. This was to eliminate prejudice and inaccuracies to ensure that it was true and credible. The researcher constantly checked and verified questions and other information gathered during the process of data collection to ensure completeness and accuracy. This involved constant editing of the data and results to ensure there was a minimal incidence of error. The researcher ensured that the data collection instruments also provided suitable findings for the study by ensuring that during the collection of the data the participants had a clear understanding of what they were being asked to do.

3.11 Data Analysis

The method of data analysis was purely descriptive and the focus was on the composition and context of performance in which the riddles are used in relation to the Farefari people's way of life. Riddling is a form of communication to members of the Farefari community who understand and appreciate the language and culture. As a result, the study considered the descriptive method as the most appropriate method for looking at the study.

According to Fraenkel & Norman (2000), a person or a group of persons, conscious and unconscious beliefs, their ideas and values are mostly made manifest when such persons and groups are engaged in communication. The riddles were recorded in the evenings which are regarded the natural settings during which time riddling sessions are held.

The performances were done in the early evenings between the hours of 7:30pm to 9:30pm. The riddles were recorded using a sound recorder. A sound recorder was used due to the fact that it was available and its features work just as other known sound recorders such as the sound camera recorder. The recording gadget functions as an auditor limiting the researcher's role to a visual observer. This allowed the researcher to concentrate on the activities of seeing with less attention being paid to sound matters.

3.12 Transcription and Translation

The researcher had follow up discussions with the principal storytellers and their main respondents. This was to seek clarifications on certain cultural issues as well as the expressions used. The cassette tapes were played and listened to on several times over during this exercise. Though the researcher's familiarity with the Farefari language and culture is an asset in this regard, the Gurene Dictionary and Glossary (2007) edited by Dakubu, Atintono and Nsoh was handy in the identification of certain terms such as the names of birds and animals in the bush and trees of different species in the Farefari culture and language.

In translating these riddles, the researcher was guided by what Okpewho (1990a: 114) quoting from Horsts, reasoning on the translation of oral narrative performance.

It is clear that a translator must bring sympathy and understanding to the work he is to translate. He must be the original author's most intimate, most exact, in short, his best reader. But he must do more than that. He must attempt to see what the author saw, to hear what he heard, to dig into his own life in order to experience anew what the author experienced...The translator must be creative.

The researcher, is from the same cultural background and experience as the storytellers and can also read and write the Gurene language. This, it is hoped will go a long way to enhance quality of data collected. Not less than two private visits each was paid to the two principal storytellers at their homes. During these interactions, the researcher had a firsthand impression about the personalities of these storytellers. For instance, the elderly storyteller had a bit of difficulty in the flow of his thoughts. Questions directed at him had to be rephrased severally, for him to give the expected response during the personal interactions the researcher had with him in his house probably due to old age.

Over fifty riddles were collected. However; thirty of them were carefully selected based on the types, themes, composition, and the cultural items used in the narration during riddling. These riddles were transcribed from the cassettes and then translated from Gurene to English for the study. The translated texts were rechecked with the taped recorded versions to ensure that they reflected what went on at the sessions.

3. 13 Theoretical Framework

This study would adopt the model of the functional perspective that consists of the two ethnographic approaches. These are the naturalist and phenomenological approaches. Both approaches propose for the qualitative method to be used in the gathering of data. The Naturalist proposes that as far as possible, a social world should be studied in its „natural“ form. As such to understand a group of people’s behavior and ways of life one needs a closer interaction and in some instances participation in the performance of the particular oral genre that is being investigated.

This approach will enable researchers to gain an insight into the meanings that informed certain behaviors of the people concerned. By this approach, we are therefore interested in what the narration of the riddles does to the socio-cultural life of the Farefari people as it is part of their lives. (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995).

The phenomenologist approach deals with the understanding of human behavior through the performer's own frame of references. Human behavior, such as what a group of people say and what they do are viewed by the phenomenologist as products of how such people view and interpret their world. By the qualitative method of collecting and describing data, the phenomenologist sees the world in the eyes of the people being studied. (Bodgan and Taylor, 1975: 1-7).

This study is also positioned within the general procedure of the study of oral literature and oral performance as espoused by (Finnegan 1977) and (Okpewho 1992). The basic tenets of this procedure is aimed at analyzing any oral art form taking into account the context, the audience, the occasion and the performance itself. In the collection of data of the Gurenε riddles, it is important to consider the occasion, context, the audience, and the performance. The study of the folktale and riddling, just like any other oral art form cannot be effectively studied devoid of performance, audience and/or context. Okpewho (1992: 42) in support of this theory described oral performance in Africa as an...“art form created in the warm presence of an audience as against a cold privacy of the written work...”

3.14 The Socio-cultural Background of the two Principal Storytellers

In oral performance, the background, context, and the mood of the individual performer count very much to its success. Finnegan (1992:42) emphasizes this when she remarks that;

To play down on the social context and mode of performance of oral literature is to give a truncated picture of the nature and essence. Even with written literature, to ignore the social background and public to which it is addressed gives a misleading view of its significance. And with oral literature, the import of a particular piece can scarcely be discovered from the textual context alone without some attention to the occasion, audience, local meaning and the individual touches by the performer at the moment of delivery and so on.

The issue of the performer is very central to oral performance and for that matter the Fafari storyteller who performs the riddling as well. As observed by Finnegan above, the performer, in our case the narrator of a riddle counts very much to its successful delivery, its ability to entertain and please the audience and then the message that the riddle should contain. In storytelling and riddling, the narrator's ability to create and dramatize the events of the story during riddling would largely depend on his experience in issues of his culture, his ability to manipulate the language and his personal disposition as a member of the community. The two principal narrators that were interviewed are Azulema-Nia and Abugebire, alias Gaana Bugii. Azulema-Nia is an elderly man of about sixty-five years from Namuen in the Boonjo district. He did not get formal education but thinks formal education would have placed him in a better position than he is enjoying now. However, he had travelled extensively during his youthful days to various parts of the southern sector of Ghana, where he engaged in manual jobs such as working on the cocoa farms and

the later became a watchman. He is widowed with three children, two daughters and a boy. When he returned from the south in the early 1990s, he worked as a painter in Bolegataŋa. Later he settled in the village, where he combined farming with painting and building to earn a living.

He is currently the clan head and is often consulted on issues bordering on the traditions of his clan in particular and the community in general. He is a devoted ancestral worshipper, but thinks of becoming a Christian one day. He did not undergo any form of training to become a storyteller. As a child, he was always present where stories were told and would listen keenly to every detail. At home he memorized what he heard and tried thinking out and arranging these thoughts in his own understanding. This way, he was able to build on the experiences of others to become a storyteller. Though a good singer, he concentrates on storytelling. He talked fondly of how his appearance at funeral grounds has been discouraged by the elders because people would normally stop whatever they are doing to listen to him, thus disrupting the processes of the rites being performed. He and his all-male group of performers had performed during a cultural show at the Centre of National Culture held in Bolegataŋa in 2004. He bitterly lamented the attitude of the youth of today who shun their culture but are ready to embrace anything coming from outside in the name of modernity. They are not prepared to learn from experienced individuals like him, he lamented. By that attitude, they despise the very societal norms that should train them to be morally upright when they grow up.

He and his group do not charge a fee for their performance. However, at public gatherings the audience would normally show their appreciation by rewarding them in cash and other forms such as fowls and groundnuts. He thinks storytelling involving riddling is an important oral genre of the people and should be encouraged. According to him it teaches morals, wisdom, and respect of one's culture.

Abugebire, alias Gaana-Bugii, is forty-seven years of age. He was born into a relatively rich family with several cattle at a suburb of Akayɔɔŋa called Sapuuro, in the Boonɔ district. Abugebire is married to three women and together they have eleven children. He is a farmer who engages in the seasonal farming of cereals, and also does a lot of dry season gardening at a dam located about five hundred meters behind his house. Though not a clan or family head, he worships his ancestors, which he stated with some air of importance. He had no formal education which he thinks would have sharpened his skills and projected him as a world class oral artist.

However, he has been successfully trained as a night-school scholar with a certificate to boast of. He had taken seriously to educating his children and his first boy completed his education at the University of Ghana, Legon. He regards himself as a problem solver in his community and is respected by all. He is a noted *baambaana* “a praise singer” and always plays the role of a *baamputa* “a lead singer” during farming and related activities. He sings the verses whilst playing the *piteŋa* “the castanet”, usually fitted on his right thumb and the middle finger, with such a rhythmic sound that everyone is fired up. At funeral grounds he sings with a group which he had organized several years ago.

In the community, they usually sing and tell stories when the elders and other members gather to perform communal sacrifices and to install a god for a community member, in the evenings. They are called upon at the homes of newly married couples to perform. The group called *Gaana-Bugii-Duma* is well known in the Boonjo district and is often invited to perform during public occasions. The annual Azambeene festival celebrated by the people of Boonjo, counts much on them every year for a display of cultural songs, music, and storytelling which usually begin with riddling as a curtain raiser.

Abugebire became a renowned storyteller through constant observation and interaction with the elders of the community. He used to sit by and listen to public conversations by elders who used to gather at his father's compound to drink pito. Sometimes this takes place at funerals and when they gather to perform sacrifices. His ability to create interesting jokes and humour among his peers is a motivating factor that urges him on to always think out new ways of pleasing his audience before and during performance.

According to him, there is a downward trend in the general cultural observance of the Fafari people, including their language and literature. He lamented that, *la de la nereba la n teeri dee dagi tiŋa n teeri*. "It is the human beings who are changing their ways, but not the world". This he thinks, is due mainly to the infiltration of foreign cultures projected by the print and electronic media. This is aided by individuals, groups and some non-governmental organizations who advocate for the wholesale abolition of certain cultural practices.

They do this without either coming up with effective alternative measures to replace the positive aspects of these practices, or encouraging the youth to do what is socially acceptable. That would have helped in curbing the moral decadence in the society, he added. Due to the low level of education, coupled with lack of parental guidance and the strong desire to imitate foreign culture, the youth of today cannot decipher which cultural practices are helpful in their upbringing.

He concluded that, new and innovative ways of doing things should be put in place for the modernization of these cultural practices to suit the present acceptable forms and not to advocate for a complete eradication of a people's way of doing things. For instance, the widowhood rite where the widow is made to bathe outside the house should now be done in an enclosed area with only one or two close relatives of hers present. He added that the proper upbringing of the youth in general and formal education in particular, which is the responsibility of every adult member of the community, could become effective if storytelling and riddling in particular is taken seriously, since parents of today have little time to sit their children down and advise them. This way the language and cultural values of the Farefari people will be maintained and then transmitted to their youth.

3.15 Style and Techniques of Narration

Agyekum (2013) explained performance as the enactment or the way and manner a performer presents an oral piece before an audience. He added that performance is the major task of the performer and it is his/her responsibility to entertain, educate, capture, and sustain the attention of his/her audience. This is to say that the full realization of the impact of an oral performance anchors firmly on the oral artist's manner of delivery. The personal disposition of the performer to the particular art form being performed enables that art form to be fully exhibited and in turn be appreciated by the audience.

It is on the basis of this that Bauman (1977:11) remarked thus about performance;

Performance, as a mode of spoken verbal communication consists of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative competence. This competence rests on the knowledge and ability to speak in socially appropriate ways. Performance involves on the part of the performer an assumption of accountability to the audience for the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential point".

This usually calls into plays the performer's knowledge of what the audience expects, in terms of his communication skills relating to the sociocultural norms and values, his ability to dramatize episodes in the narrative events and be well versed in the language she/he uses.

The storyteller or narrator is known in the Gurene language as *solensɔna*. The term *soolum* means “to announce or give information by calling out to the receiver from a distance”. It was a common and effective medium of communication among the Farefari people in the olden days. On the other hand, the expression *solene* means “a story”. The term *solensɔlena* is probably a coinage of the noun *solene* the verb *soolum*. The verb *soolum* in its habitual form will be pronounced *sɔɔlena*. It is therefore the compounding of the noun *solene* and the habitual form of the verb *soolum* which is *sɔɔlena*, which gives us the compound name *solensɔlena*-the narrator of folktales/storyteller. The narrator of folktales or storyteller in the context of the Gurene language refers to one who gives or passes on what he had heard and experienced in his culture and environment in the form of stories in a dramatic fashion, to other members of the community. It is similar to the process of ordinary communication where the communicator transfers some message to his listeners. Unlike the simple act of passing on information from one person or a group to another, sometimes without the recipients’ physical presence, the narrator in the case of storytelling and riddling, has a lot of responsibility during the performance towards the audience who are usually present, watching and listening to him/her. The Gurene storyteller is usually well aware of his prime role of entertaining and educating his audience, through an effective means of communication that will capture and sustain their interest and attention. This, he does by making effective use of the language during the narration and winning over the audience to his side by the use of other nonverbal devices such as the mimicry of the animal characters, gesticulations and dramatization. It is on the basis of this that Gyekye’s remark is apt here.

Quality, significance, and manner of narration are the aesthetic qualities sought in the literary art of epic, lyrical poetry and storytelling. Pleasure and entertainment are equally important as part of his delivery. Effective delivery includes dramatic gestures, skillful voice modulation, and abrupt but well-timed breaks and pauses in the narrative flow. A good storyteller uses these techniques to highlight the significance of the roles of the various characters and to make the theme of the tale appear plausible in real life. Also, the extent to which a storyteller can hold the attention of the audience and then generate the audience participation is usually best effected through songs sung by both the storyteller and the audience that bear on the theme, mood, and moral of the tale (1996:129).

The Gurene storyteller, being aware that the role he plays is more than information giving, normally undertakes to do it in a dramatic way that attracts and retains the audience's emotions throughout the narration. The manner of the narration is very essential in the sense that what may be regarded as the frame of the story is in the culture and known by the audience. The storyteller's role is to expand and embroider this „frame“ by the use of various language skills and techniques available to him.

A skillful storyteller and riddler would do this by accompanying his narration with appropriate expressions and sometimes movements of parts of the body in a lively attempt to demonstrate delight, anxiety, fear, and the behaviours of various characters in the narration.

Okpewho (1992:45) quoted the recordings of Smith and Dale of the narrative performance among the Ile people of Zambia as follows;

It would need a combination of phonograph and cinematograph to reproduce a tale as it is told. One has to listen to a clever storyteller, as was our old friend Mungalo, from whom we derived many of these tales. Speak of eloquence! Here was no lip mumbling but every muscle of face and body spoke, a swift gesture often supplying the place of a whole sentence. He would have made a fortune as a raconteur on the English stage. The animals spoke each in his own tone; the deep rumbling voice of Momba, the ground hornbill, for example, contrasting vividly with the piping accents of Sulwe, the hare. It was all good, too impossible to put on paper.

This corroborates the fact that during storytelling and riddling, the narrator does much more than just passing on information and this cannot be adequately described by words. In the riddles transcribed, the storytellers, especially the one from Sapuuro who is the younger of the two and who narrated the song riddles, relied so much on the use of songs and the vivid description of events to the admiration of all the audience gathered. In the community, the description and use of the body parts as part of the narration is observed. Usually, there would be people with some of these bodily features such as a protruding forehead and/or eyes. Such people could even be part of the audience including the main performers. During riddling, such individuals would not begrudge the storyteller on the spot or any time later for use of certain parts of the body to create a riddle. Such comments are usually understood as jokes and do not contain any hidden agenda to hurt any one's feelings. For in oral performance there is always enough room for the use of such phrases and expressions that will create

laughter and serve as entertainment to the audience. These utterances may sometimes be affecting a member of the community directly but the fact that it is done indirectly at a social gathering especially during storytelling and riddling makes it an issue for entertainment and fun. One other technique that is frequently used by storytellers is putting themselves in the narration as the main characters. This is to assert their authority of authorship in the community and also to urge the audience to accept their style of crafting the events of the story. On a more aesthetic note, such narrators usually are out to prove their ability to undertake certain dramatic events as they narrate them to the audience. It is a way of being part of the successes and achieving self-gratification that such stories often portray at the end. In these stories, some storytellers are young men in their thirties and they are usually out to make a name for themselves, using the opportunity of narrating a tale and riddling.

3.16 Conclusion

This chapter dealt with the methodology of the study of riddling among the Farefari people. The data was gathered by contacting two renowned storytellers in two communities-Bølega Søkabiisi and Booŋo Sapuurø. Observation, elicitation, and interviews were the instruments used. The descriptive method was used in analyzing the data. The storytellers had to communicate their responses by describing the events and incidents that would usually urge them on to narrate riddles and the significance of that. The Gurene version of the riddles recorded was transcribed and translated in to the English language for the write-up. The naturalist and the phenomologist approach to studying riddling among the Farefari people was adopted for the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE GURENE RIDDLE

4.0 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to examine the Gurene riddles in relation to the types, themes and characteristics, composition, and context of performance.

This study sets out to do a general overview of the riddling tradition among the Farefari people in the Upper-East Region of Ghana. The researcher will consider the types and composition of these riddles as discussed by Okpewho and then look closely at the Farefari culture to see if these types exist as is the case in most African societies. The themes and characteristics of a selected number of riddles will be considered for discussion.

It is therefore, appropriate to explain a riddle as a verbal puzzle in which a statement is posed in challenge and another statement is offered in response either to the hidden meaning or to the form of the challenge. Riddling is seen as a word game in which the elements of intellectual exercise and verbal skills are combined (Okpewho 1990).

The structure of the Gurene riddle could be seen in the same light as explained above. In some cases, there could be more than one word rhyming within a riddle and its response. For instance, in the riddles below, the question and the response both have an equal number of words that rhyme thus, *N suma atã boi laen* “I have three round beans in a bowl-being the query and *Dakɔpa atã boi Suen* “There are three bachelors who live at *Suen*” being the response. The question and the response, are, “*atã n boi laen*” and “*atã n boi Suen*”.

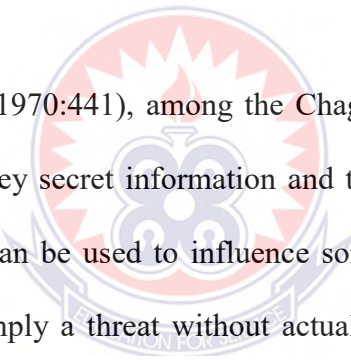
In some cases, the question or query is usually short but the answer or response is very long. For instance there is a riddle that goes; “*N wagesaga*” “My sound *wagesaga*”. „*Sela n ze*“ *de saazuon wa lui na, ka dam papi, tole isege zoi, dee ka piise tuba*. “Something fell from the skies without sounding papi, it then got up and run away without cleaning its ears.

4.1 Riddling Among the Farefari People

The expression „to riddle“ originated from the Old English word „*raedel*“ which meant „council“, „opinion“, „conjecture“, „discussion“ and „imagination“ (Digan, 2011). From the foregoing, one could conclude that riddles were used in the pre-medieval age to educate the members of a particular society on the mores of that particular society for a peaceful coexistence among the members.

According to Okpewho (1992:249) “a riddle or short tale is a verbal puzzle in which a statement is posed in challenge”. Riddling is common among the Farefari people especially children when they play in the evening. As the name suggests, a riddle is a shorter version of the folktale. It is the curtailed nature of the riddle that makes it possible for children to use and enjoy its performance. A more complex form of the nature of the riddle could be found in the dilemma stories of the Farefari people, where there is a call on the audience at the end of the narration to think critically and state how they would have handled a problem presented. It is an effective communication tool that sharpens the minds of children due to its demand for immediate and precise response to the question posed. It usually sets the pace for a full scale storytelling among the Farefari people when they gather in the evening to tell stories.

The Farefari people regard riddling as a game of entertainment for the young people though adults are also known to be active participants. Sometimes, adults perform riddles with children during the riddling session where the adults share their riddles with the children. Adults may also engage in the art. Riddles are also performed and transferred among the youth as they practice these riddles when they are together engaging activities such as weeding or harvesting groundnuts. By practicing this oral art when they are together, the youth help to pass on the oral tradition of the people. This is regarded by the Farefari people as an effective means of transmitting knowledge in the society.

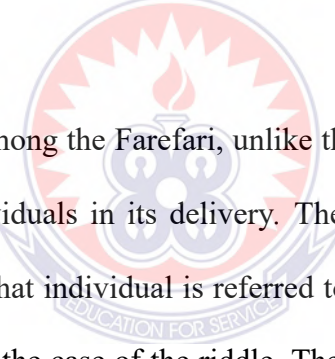


According to Finnegan (1970:441), among the Chaga of Tanzania, there are riddles used to threaten, to convey secret information and to affect indirect speech. Among the Chaga also, riddles can be used to influence someone's action through irony or indirect suggestion, to imply a threat without actually stating it or to convey secret information. This kind of usage somewhat resembles that of proverbs and seems more usual with the complex forms than with the more simple riddles mainly used by children. Like proverbs, riddles represent a concise form of conventionally stereotyped expressions. In some ways riddles can be regarded as a relatively minor and crude form of art, which are meant for children, they have some relevance for the general literary background. Riddles are closely connected to other literary forms such as proverbs and praise names. The imagery and poetic comments of even the simple riddles are clearly part of the literary culture.

The knowledge and insights into the nature of a people's behavior can be expressed in a poem or story or in a riddle. A paradox can be conveyed vividly in the brief words of a riddle as illustrated from the Hausa „A Prince on an old mat“-A kola nut“, In this riddle, we are given a vivid picture of the way the beautiful pink or white kola-nut which is so valued a commodity are exposed for sale in the market on a piece of old matting. This means that, these riddles are obviously unique literary pieces and are used by adults. This supports the view that adults take part in riddle performance in the Chaga culture which is similar to what pertains among the Farefari people of Northern Ghana.

Among the Farefari people the expression for a riddle is *solengirega*. The term is composed of two words coming together, thus a compound. In the expression *solengirega*, the root word is *solene*, which means a story or a tale in the Gurene version of the Farefari culture and language. There is the second part of the expression which is *girega* which is short. This type of compound is a noun and adjective compounding. The word *solene*, is the noun and the *girega* is the adjective. The term *solene* may have originated from the idea of broadcasting information in the traditional method. In the olden days, information was passed on to members of the community by climbing to the rooftop during the evening to announce it by calling the heads of members of particular households and telling them the exact information and equally urging him to endeavor to pass it on to other members of the community. The expression for a singular act of announcing information on the rooftop was referred to as *soleŋo* in the noun form and *soolum* in the verb form. It is from this thinking of the people that inform the coinage known as *solene*, which is a story or a tale.

This is because, just as it happens with the giving of information to members of the community by announcing, the Farefari storyteller announces the events of the story to the audience as they gather to listen. It is common to hear from a gathering who sat around in the evening making the remark that „*Tu solum solema*“ meaning let’s start the act of telling stories or let us tell tales. The second part of the expression for a riddle in Gurene which is *girega* is an adjective describing the riddle as being short in nature. This is because those riddles that require short responses are composed with a few words in most cases, thus its shorter nature and these usually precede the longer version. The *Solengirega* is therefore the shorter version of a story, which in this context is referred as the folktale called *Solenwoko*-the longer version in Gurene.



The process of riddling among the Farefari, unlike the folktale, could be performed in the presence of two individuals in its delivery. There is usually one who composes and calls out the riddle. That individual is referred to as the *solensolena* generally but specifically, the *sokera* in the case of the riddle. The *sokera* refers to one who asks or demands a response upon asking a question. That individual is regarded as the riddler. The other individual in the context of riddling is referred to as the *lebesera/bukera*. This expression refers to the one who responds to a question or the one who chooses the appropriate answer from a variety of choices. That individual is therefore the answerer to a riddle and could be referred to as the riddlee.

Among the Farefari people, the riddling process is usually a keen contest between and among contestants. The performance requires the riddler (challenger), the riddlee (respondent) and an audience if any. It is the riddler who would usually start to call out or ask, "*Beni n boi*....", "What is it that"... , then follows the question. The riddlee or answerer is then required to answer giving the appropriate response to the riddle posed.

4.2 Types of Farefari Riddles

Okpewho (1992:242-5) surveyed and documented different forms of oral genre including riddles among societies and communities in Africa. He however, centered the discussions on the various authors who worked on Oral literature in Africa and the different forms of riddles in their works. He first made mention of the division offered by (Doke 1947) who classified riddles into the simple riddle, the problem riddle, and the song riddle. Though Okpewho dismissed this division by Doke as being elementary, he explained that what Doke meant by the simple riddle was the situation where there is usually a prefacing of a storytelling session by some riddle.

Okpewho stated that simple riddles are in the minority because in most African cultures, riddling constitute sessions on their own. However, this assertion by Okpewho on simple riddles did not reflect in the over fifty riddles collected by this researcher. From the thirty riddles selected for this study, over ninety percent of them are in the category of simple riddles. Okpewho added that, there are also town-story type riddles in which a contestant or respondent who fail is required to give up a town. This was however, not recorded, or observed during the riddling sessions among the Farefari people. Another form is the tone riddle in which the riddlers

lay emphasis on the manipulation of the tone. These were among the highest number of riddles collected by the researcher. It was among these riddles that the use of expressions and items which are foreign but have become loan words and used by the people was pronounced. The last according to Okpewho's review of riddling in Africa is the song-riddle. In this type of riddling, the lead singer poses and answers the riddle.

There is also the type of riddles which are puzzles or require an elaborate explanation of how a problem can be solved. These usually, do not require a straight forward response but it rather demands the stating of one's opinion which should be carefully thought out and convincing to the audience. It is usually posed in a way to elicit varied responses based on the answerer's point of view of certain socio-cultural issues. It is obvious that the responses to this type of riddles are not fixed. The winners in such contests are usually people who are very skillful in the art of public speech and can convince not only the riddler present but also all the audience around and listening. Such riddles as shown above usually solicit the views of members of the community in tackling complex problems that come up in their everyday life endeavours. May be, that explains why it has no one particular response, for in the wisdom of the people, knowledge does not reside in one person's mind.

4.3 The Simple/Universal Riddle

There are riddles in the Farefari language and culture, which could be referred to as the simple or universal riddles. The simple riddle consists of a phrase or statement referring to some well-known object in a more or less veiled language (Okpewho, 1990).

Among the Thonga of East Africa, there is a simple riddle that says “Little things that defeat us” and the response is “Mosquitoes”. The Fulani who are mostly herders of cattle and survive mainly by relying on the milk they get from the cows have a riddle about the milk. “Be born; come morning, give birth” and the response is “Fresh milk”. This is because; milk is left overnight before it is used to make butter. The Shona of Southern Africa would put a riddle across by saying “The little wildcat in the long grass” and the response to this riddle is “Scissors”. Lastly, the Lamba says “The house in which one does not turn round” and the response is “The Grave” (Doke 1947).

According to Yankah (1985-89-90), there is usually a metaphorical correspondence between the problem and the solution in most of these simple riddles. In this type of riddling, there is always a question and a response, which must bear a metaphorical relationship to the query or question. We proceed to look at examples of such riddles as is often narrated among the Farefari people and which were recorded during the data gathering.

1. Riddle: *Beni n boi yire puan ya “nuure dee ka muna di?*
“There is something in the house whose mouth is always open and never closes”
Response: *Bɔ’ɔ* “A traditionally built room that is roofed with rafters and mud”
2. Riddle: *Beni n boi tara zuure dee ka mela di?*
“What is it that has a tail but does not wag its tail?”
Response: *Sampane*
“Wooden paddle used to compress and compact gravel when women are cementing the floor to make it firm.

3. Riddle: *Sela n boi, fu san tum e ti a ta tum tuune la, a kan le lebe na*
“What is it that when you send it to perform an activity for you, it will go but will not return after the work is done”?

Response: *Doore.*
“a stick/stone”

4. Riddle: *Beni n boi ηwɔna la neresala dee dagena neresala?*
“What is it that looks exactly like a human being but is not a human being”

Response: *Foote* “a photograph of a human being”.

One outstanding feature of these simple riddles is that the question could be very long and the response remains short. The riddle below is a good example.

“Three people stood near a river they have to cross. The first one, after a closer look around, crosses it. The second one looks at the riverbank and at the water, but does not cross it. The third one does not see the river and does not cross it. Who are the three? – The one who saw the river and crossed it was a woman. The one who saw the riverbank and the water but did not cross it is the child the mother carries on her shoulders. The one who has seen nothing is the baby the woman carries in her womb.”

4.4 Tone/Rhyming Riddles.

According to Awedoba (2000) tone riddles appear to occur in most of the languages of Gur cultures across the Savanna belt of West Africa and other African communities. In many Gur cultures including the Farefari culture, these types are used to initiate folktale session.

There is usually a tonal fit between the query and the response or a tonal correspondence between the query and response. Among the Luvale of Zambia, the Luba and Luluwa of Zaire and the Ibibio-Efik group of Southern Nigeria, the tone is reflected in the resemblance of rhythm between the question and the answer. Since these riddles occur in languages in which tonality is a significant feature, the question and answer are marked by identical tonal patterns. The Ibibio tone riddles are mainly characterized by their erotic allusions. The riddles mostly contained some references to vagina, penis, clitoris, or coition (Simmons 1958).

The tone riddles collected bear striking similarities with those of the Ibibio of Southern Nigeria in the case of their erotic allusions. For instance, among the Farefari culture, such riddles are narrated by the people. One of them is:

N butilegeveka biim

“The broth of a billy goat with a curved face”

Pene ka tari nyina ti yo 'ore sina zeena.

“It is because the vagina has no teeth, the penis always go in there to play around.”

According to Maruka (1990), the tone riddle is one in which the challenge and the response have identical tonal and rhythmic patterns marked by syllables correspondence. The tonal correspondence between the question and the answer reflects prominently among the Farefari people as they narrate these types. Consider the following tone riddles in Gurene.

5. Riddle: *N Kutɔnkɔ má 'ásúm*

“My anthill’s shade”

Response: *Dɔba vii ti fu nari bua zá 'ásúm*

“You be squatting there hoping to drink the broth of a goat”.

6. Riddle: *N burema yóóré*

“My pot containing the residue of extracted shea nut oil”

Response: *Ita fiifii ti tu pae Dawalega bééré*

“You should be economical in your ways so that we can get to the month of April, when there are shortages of foodstuff and water”.

7. Riddle: *N talati – my sound that makes „Tabtí”*

Response: *Isige la fu bayetí*

“You gossip, get up, and go away”

8. Riddle: *N nagedene bókó*

“My hollow ground in the cattle yard”

Response: *Nuure wuu pitã lókó*

“Your mouth like a quiver that costs thirty pesewas”

9. Riddle: *N konkonko*

“My sound konkonko ”

Response *Fua ka nae la deesunko*

“The blind person do not deserve a spoon”

10. Riddle: *N tãataaᵋ*

“My sound tãataaᵋ”

Response: *Zuo wuu Tamale pãaᵋ.*

“Your head like a loaf of bread bought from Tamale”

11. Riddle: *N Halemahaka*

“My sound that, halamahaka”

Response: *Zuo wuu da'á maneka*

“Your head like that of a grinding mill at the market square.”

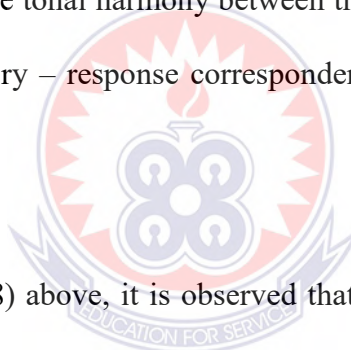
12. Riddle: *N bileete*

“I have a blade”

Response: *Mam de la solema sipeeta*

“I am the inspector in storytelling.”

Okpehwo (1992) emphasized on the tonal correspondence between the query and the response, he acknowledged the non-correspondence in some case. However, even in the case of the non-tonal correspondence, there is usually an overall matching in the musicality of the query and the response. In the Gurene tonal riddles outlined above there is almost a complete tonal harmony between the query and the response. This is a typical case of the query – response correspondence of tone in the tone riddles in Gurene.



From the riddles (5) – (8) above, it is observed that there is tonal correspondence in both the query and the response. The expressions, ma^ˈasum, yoore, talati and boko which are found in the query aspect of the riddles (5) – (8) are in harmony in terms of tone with the expressions in the response aspect. The expressions in the response from riddle 5 – 8 are; za^ˈasum, beere, bayeti and loko. As such one can easily relate the question and response in terms of the tonal correspondence as follows:

Question: *Ma^ˈasum, yoore, talati and boko*

Response: *Za^ˈasum, beere, bayeti and loko*

The Expression that starts the question in all the four examples is „N“. This is a relative pronoun used by the riddler who asked the question. From the examples we can deduce that the „N“ which means „I“ in this context, is used deliberately to create tone harmony and music in these riddles among the Farefari people. However, a collection of a variety of these tone riddles would either confirm this assertion or otherwise.

4.5 The Song/Call and Respond Riddle

The third type of riddles is what is called song-riddles. Among the Farefari people this form is not common these days due to the complex nature of reciting. It requires an instant recall of what to say next after the first expression. They are usually in the tone of a song and the narration comes in a string of queries and responses. Usually, there is an opening formula, which serves as an initial statement from the respondent.

The one doing the query then begins to ask related questions based on the response given on each line.

Among the Makua of Tanzania, the recitation of the song-riddles is similar to the Farefari context. The precedent and the query are both proposed and responded to by the same person-the reciter. The song-riddles are mostly recitals and their form is more fixed than the other three discussed in this study. In the Farefari tradition song-riddles have each of the lines related to the other through a string of words mentioned and the ending word is repeated as the root of the next line. Let's consider two example of the song-riddling among the Farefari people.

The beginning statement is: Asoree, Asore, guma

1. Riddle:	Response:
<i>Ani n gum?</i> “Who has gum?”	<i>Agumatiisi</i> „The tortoise”
<i>Ani n ti?</i> “Who has ti?”	<i>A tiyaarum</i> “A personal name”
<i>Ani n ya?</i> “Who has ya”	<i>Ayaazɔɔsi</i> “Expression?”
<i>Ani n zɔ?</i> “Who has zɔ”	<i>Azɔa parum mɛ</i> “Azɔa lied”
<i>Ani n parum?</i> “Who has parum”	<i>Aparumbiire</i> “A personal name”
<i>Ani n bi?</i> “Who has bi”	<i>Abiisilega</i> “A personal name”
<i>Ani n si?</i> “Who has si”	<i>Asiinɔɔɔɔ</i> “A personal name”
<i>Ani n nɔm?</i> “Who has nɔm”	<i>Anɔngelega</i> “A personal name”
<i>Ani n gɛ?</i> “Who has gɛ	<i>Agɛembɛɛla</i> “A personal name”

The song-riddle is based on several factors. One must not only be alert but have the ability to instantly formulate a sound that corresponds to the question. Unlike the other types, in the song-riddle the response initiates the next line of question.

This is so because the question usually repeats the central syllable or sound that the respondent supplied from the previous line. For instance, from the song-riddle above, the prominent syllable in the expression “*agumatiisi*” is the “*tiisi*”. That then constitutes the next question.

For instance the example above *-yaa*, *-zɔɔ*, *-bii*, *-nɔɔ*, *-gɛ* and *-bɛɛ* are used as the stem expressions in the question and these expressions were all initiated by the respondent.

2. Mbia Akatenyane

Riddle and Response: *Mam bia Akatenyane, lebe na selese*
Akatenyane nyai
N sɔ daa yele la leɲa leɲa

Lagebɔberama yele beem

Mma daa yele la leŋa leŋa

Lagebeberama yele beem

Ayelebeema kum me boi deon

Damena ŋwunam ŋwunam

A boi deon damena ŋwunam ŋwunam

Anyanɛ, nyanɛ nyanɛ. Anyanɛ nyanɛ nyanɛ.

The number 2 type of song riddling is mostly performed at the end of narrating a folktale. Here, the storyteller is expected to sing and mention names as well as praise the names of people, places, and even spirits. At the end of every complete line, the respondent shouts “N zi” meaning „I don’t know“ for the singer/riddler to continue.

4.6 The Problem/Puzzle Riddle

The fourth type of riddles narrated among the Farefari people is the problem riddle. Okpewho classified these under what he called „Dilemma tales“. The performance of these types of riddles usually end with a question or a problem that require the audience to take turns to debate constructively in an attempt to resolve the dilemma posed. Among the Farefari, some of these riddles have carefully thought out approach to solving the puzzle, while others do not have definite responses but are left to the ingenuity of the respondents.

The Ila of Zambia has such puzzle like conundrum riddles. For instance, there is a puzzle that goes like “A man, his wife and their two mothers, are to cross a river. However, only three people could be ferried across. Who should be left to perish among them?” After each possible combination was found to be unacceptable, the final answer is that they all had to sit by the bank of the river and perish together. Below are three examples of these problem riddles narrated among the Farefari people.

1. *Budaasi sitã n boi lagum lægera pøgeyiŋa. Daare diyima ti budaasi la kayima nyaa dike bisega ti a bise saazuon sa, nye ti ba zeba la ki me. A daa yele a taaba la me, ti ayima kɔ'òm dike suŋɔ ti ba gã" aæ bini ti beere yilege ti ba siŋe kuure la. Ba yuum ta pikera nini la ti ba boi la ba zeba la yire. Kayima me kɔ'òm dike a zuure luse ko'òm puan nyaa yae va" aæ kum la zuo ti pugela isege nɛ'em bala fabebubuu dee bo ba zaare! Sokere: Budaasi sitã wa, ani n nari ti a di pøka wa?*

“There are three suitors who were courting one lady from a distant land to marry. On one evening, one of them looked into a mirror and realized that the lady had died and he immediately informed his colleagues. The second man spread a mat and invited his colleagues to sleep on it, so that they go to the funeral the next day. They slept and woke up to realize they were at the funeral grounds. Then the third man brought out a whisk, soaked it in water, and sprinkled the water on the dead lady. Instantly she woke up, stood up, and welcomed the three men. Now which one among these three men deserves the lady as a wife and why?”

2. *Nera n boi tara saseŋa, bua la yaama bɔta ti a tari yake kulega. Ɖɔreŋɔ la n boi kulegan la puan la wan ta"amze la lɔgerɔ tuyi ma"ayake. Budaa wa san loe saseŋa ti a yake, bua la kan base yaama la ɔbega. A me san dike yaama la yakera, sasega kan base bua la ɔbega.*

Sokere: Fum puti"iɛ puan, fum ti"iɛ ti budaa wa wan iŋɛ la ŋwani ta"an yake la ka lɔgerɔ wa ti daaŋɔ kan bɔna?

“A man had to cross a river carrying a goat, a hyena and fresh baobab tree leaves. The canoe at the river side can only carry two items to the other side at a go. If the man decides to carry along the hyena, the goat will eat the fresh leaves. If he carried along the leaves, the hyena will eat up the goat. How will the man cross the river at the end of the day with all the three items?”

3. *Pɔgesi sitã la si kɔma batã n siŋɛ ta pae kulega nuuren ti ba yake kiŋɛ zi"an. Pɔgesi la ka oberi taaba. Kɔma la me ka oberi taaba amaa pɔgesi la ober i si taaba kɔma me. Ba n pae la ti ɔreŋɔ la n boi kulegan la wan ta"am ze la nereba bayi bayi ma'a yake kulega la. Ba me ka tari fole gaŋɛ ba zã" a dooseɔreŋɔ la zuo yake kulega la.*

Sokere: Fum n bise la ba wan iŋɛ la ŋwani ta"an yake kulega la dee ti pɔgesi la kan obe ba taaba la kɔma la?

“Three women who are witches are to cross a river with their three children. Each woman had a child among the three children. These women will not bewitch and eat up their own children but will quickly bewitch and eat up one another"s child if left unattended to. If the canoe can only ferry two people across at a go, how will the women and their cross safely to the other side of the river”

4.7 Characteristics of Gurene Riddles

Riddles have both language specific and general features. Okpewho identified two general features of riddles which appear to cut across many languages. These include semantic fit between query and answer and the query response structure. Among the Farefari people, simple riddles are those that mostly have the query and response in a question form always have a semantic fit between the question and the answer. For instance;

Riddle: *Beni n tari zuure dee ka mela?*

“What is it that has a tail but does not wag it”?

Response: *Sampane* “A wooden paddle used to compress floors”. The tails of this device is compared with the tail of an animal such as a cow.

Another feature is the presence of the parties that is composed of two opposing persons or groups depending on the culture as observed by Okpewho. There is usually a lot of excitement generated by the challenges thrown from the opposing parties. This unique feature of the riddle where the opposing parties engage in entertainment by asking and responding to varied questions makes the riddle different from the proverb. However, among the Farefari people, the situation where one person proposes and responds was observed in the narration of the song-riddles. It is usually among two people or groups of people at storytelling sessions but it is mostly the storyteller who calls out and provides the appropriate response. There were no strictly two opposing parties competing during riddling as is done in other cultures. Among the farefari people, all members gathered during storytelling and riddling have equal opportunity to narrate and answer to riddling irrespective of opposing parties.

One other observable feature of the riddle is the structure. In most cases, among the Farefari people as observed in the riddle above, it comprises two parts. Atintono and Avea (2004) identified them as “query” and “response”, while Okpewho called them “question” and “answer” and (Harris 1971) called them “precedent” and “sequent”. Riddles are very brief. They have short poetic structure that makes them amenable to memorization. This makes it easier to be presented in the form of “question and answer”. In terms of their brevity, riddles are similar in structure to proverbs.

According to Awedoba (2002) riddles unlike proverbs and folktales are patronized more by children. Their brief structure and contestable nature explains why children are easily able to engage in riddling than with the other oral genres. Among the Farefari, there is no restriction regarding the use or mention of body parts that are unmentionable in everyday conversations when they are engaged in the art of storytelling and riddling. This to children is an avenue to express themselves freely without the fear of being sanctioned by adult members of the community and thus, rekindle their interest in it.

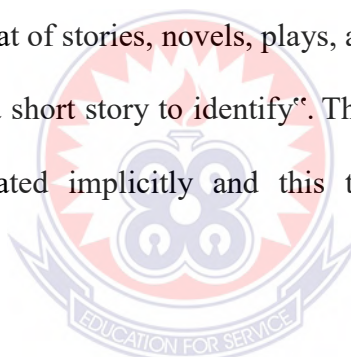
In a similar vein the use of insulting expressions are not restrained during riddling among the Farefari people because it is understood to be part of entertainment process. For instance, there is a riddle that says *N zete fu zete* meaning, „this stock of late millet is mine, is it yours?“ and the response is *Fum n di zea fuma wa fu yire* meaning “As you have eaten to your satisfaction, is this house yours?” These vulgar expressions, together with the idiophonic sounds create some interest in children as they contest in riddling.

Riddles are culture specific. The creation of some riddles, especially the tone riddles tend to take the sound pattern and the morphology of such languages into account.

Among the Farefari, there is no restriction regarding the use or mention of body parts that are unmentionable in everyday conversations during riddling. This to children is an avenue to express themselves freely without the fear of being sanctioned by adults and thus, their interest in it. In a similar vein the use of insulting expressions are not restrained during riddling among the Farefari people.

4.8 Common Themes in Gurenɛ Riddles

According to Agyekum (2013), „a theme is a major dominant or central idea of a work of literature, including that of stories, novels, plays, and poems. The theme may be the most difficult aspect of a short story to identify“. This means that the themes in most stories are normally stated implicitly and this therefore gives room for many interpretations.



There are several kinds of themes in the Gurenɛ riddle. These themes mostly reflect the world view of the people their socio-cultural background and their belief systems. Schott (1993:9) collected and classified Builsa folktales into categories based on the principal actors of the tales. He further categorized the tales and classified them into major themes of morals teaching, sex, and wisdom. However, he agreed that most of the stories could not be exclusively classified due to the several themes that they represented. In this study we will highlight the major themes in some of the riddles gathered for the study. The issue of moral teachings runs through most of the riddles narrated among the people of the Farefari traditional area.

There are also a number of themes that Gurene riddles reveals in their performance. The compositions of certain riddles are meant to create social awareness among members of the community. Sometimes, these subtle admonitions are targeted at particular members of the community. For instance, in the riddle about two bachelors at Suen, the theme is essentially marriage and procreation. The central message in the riddle is the comparison of the “three round beans in a bowl “to” three bachelors in a village (Suen)”. This when said creates interest in the ears of listeners but equally expresses a message. The message of the need to marry at a point in one’s life is re-echoed here for the youth to take home.

There are several kinds of themes in the Gurene riddle. These themes mostly reflect the world view of the people, their socio-cultural background, and their belief systems. We will concern ourselves in this study with the major themes in the Gurene folktales. The issue of moral teaching runs through most of the riddles narrated among the people of the Farefari traditional area. The common themes that are found in the riddles collected transcribed and translated include the following: love and protection, posterity, witchcraft spirituality and unity

4.9 Composition of Gurene Riddles

The view held about some oral literature genres in African has been that riddles are meant for children. This may be true to the extent that it is children who participate mostly in riddling.

Giray-Saul (1984), writing on the composition of riddles, reported that the Mossi informants were of the view that it is impossible to create tone-riddles. This assertion from the Mossi informants, suggest that it is studied through the mentoring of individuals. Among the Farefari people, though children are said to be the frequent users of riddles due to the simple nature of their structure, it cannot be said that children are the composers. Riddles such as the ones that precede the folktale are usually composed and performed by renowned storytellers within the specific communities and it is only the children who sit by to listen that are able to repeat and perform such riddles at their play time. While it was confirmed among the Farefari people that children do not create riddles, the assertion that tone riddles are a special creation of the culture and are therefore not easily created in the everyday interaction of the people was not observed by this researcher. Among the Farefari people all types of riddles could be created at the spur of the moment just as it is done with other oral genres of the language. The creativity and alertness of the oral artist narrating the folktale and riddling is what varies from person to person. This is usually evident in the selection and use of expressions and or items which are foreign to the culture of the people.

For instance, in Gurenε there are example of riddles that are composed using expressions and items that are foreign to the language and culture of the Farefari people. This is a clear evidence that the composition of riddles is first done by the adult members of the society in their everyday life experiences and later taken up by the children who sit through during folktale and riddling sessions. Let us consider a few examples of such riddles which are also tonal in nature.

1. Riddle: *N tãataano*
“My sound tãataano”
- Response: *Zuo wuu Tamale pãano.*
“Your head like a loaf of bread bought from Tamale.”
2. Riddle: *N Halemahaka*
“My sound halamahaka”
- Response: *Zuo wuu da'an maneka*
“Your head like that of a grinding mill at the market square.”
3. Riddle: *N bileete*
“I have a blade”
- Response: *Mam de la solema sipeeta*
“I am the inspector in charge of storytelling.”

From the tone riddles 1 – 3 collected from the riddlers among the Farefari people, it is realized that the items used in response are not indigenous to the language and culture of the people. In the riddles, (1) and (2), the items used are not from the culture of the Farefari people. This probably explained the reason why the riddlers had to create imaginary sounds to rhyme in harmony with the new item used as the appropriate response of the riddles. Thus, the *taataano* rhymes with *paano*, while the expression, *halamahaka* also rhymes with *maneka* considering the *ka* sound at the end. The expressions *taano* and *paano* have a tonal relationship just as it is with the *halamahaka* and *nekaneka*.

Culturally, *paano* „a loaf of bread“ and *maneka* „a grinding mill“ are not part of the people’s ways of life in the olden days. This confirms the fact that for the tonal riddles in Farefari, their creation is not limited to a particular time in the past as was reported by the Mossi informants (Giray-Saul 1984).

In the riddle (3), the items used for both the question and response are relatively new to the culture. The items *bileete* and *sipeeta* are not known to the people in the olden days. This probably, could be due to the fact that these items were foreign to the language and culture of the Farefari people. However, with the advent of modernity the people now live and work with these items and even creatively use them to communicate artistically. This is enough evidence that among the Farefari people riddles are not created and used solely by children but they are rather created and performed by experienced oral artists in the society. Children only get used to narrating and enjoying riddles due to the simple and musical nature of most of them. It is even common with children who have stayed with adults and learnt how to narrate them.

From the three universal riddles as stated above there is enough evidence of what can be seen as semantic fit between the query and the response. In the riddle (1), the „*ya*“ *nuure* and the *bo’o* constitute a semantic fit. In this riddle the literal meaning of *ya nuure*” is to keep the mouth open continuously. A human being opens and closes his mouth occasionally. However, the context of the opening of the mouth of a human being is similar to the entrance of the traditional room *bo’o* which opens continuously. Thus, the expression „*ya nuure dee ka muna*“, “opened consistently without closing or forever”.

Culturally, the traditional room of the Farefari people which is called *bɔ̃ɔ̃* is central to the construction of a new compound in the community. This room is said to be the abode of the ancestral spirits of the family. It is usually the first to be built together with the kitchen among the people. Its position at any home stead is so conspicuous that anyone entering into the house for the first time meets it squarely. The location of this room and its socio-cultural and spiritual relevance to the Farefari people is the reason why it readily comes in to mind and used in this riddle.

In the riddle (2) above, the handle of the wooden floor firmer is similar to the tail of an animal such as a dog. Both stick out at the back side. In the case of the dog, its tail is used to wag for several reasons. One of such uses is to show love, affection, and sometimes appreciation to its owner. In the case of the wooden handle it is that part of the item that enables the workers to handle the firmer and to hit on the ground. Without that part of the wooden firmer, it cannot be used for the purpose for which it was made. Both “tails” therefore have uses. However, in riddling, where there is need to ask questions and provide responses, and then it is appropriately used. The difference is the fact that, the tail of the wooden firmer cannot wag. This is where there is a semantic fit of both items being tail-like but with one being mobile and has different uses from the other which cannot move and has no life in it. As such it is the only appropriate response in the context of the question posed. The riddle (3) had the expression *sela n boi*-there is something, which carries a similar meaning as *beni n boi*? what exists. The act of throwing a stone is compared with sending a child to perform an activity. However, unlike the child the stone can be sent to kill a bird or pluck a fruit but will not return to the sender.

For this riddling type, there are usually opposing persons. The first part of the riddle posed by the contestant is usually marked off with a question marker. The precedent is often long whilst the sequent or answer may be one word.

In Gureɛ, the Farefari version of riddling, the interrogative marker is the phrase *beni*. *Beni* is a question marker in the Gureɛ language and can be used to elicit response on its own during normal intercourse.

4.10 Context of Performance

The Farefari riddling performance has an opening procedure to introduce the individuals into the riddling session. For instance, in the evening while they are seated and waiting for the meals to be prepared and served and to keep the evening lively and possibly lessen the spangs of hunger, one of the adults may start riddling by saying; *beni n boi... tara zuure dee ka mela?...* Meaning what is it that... has a tail but does not wag it? One of those around would then give the response and also ask a riddle or if no one is able to respond, the stock phrase, *N zi*, which means I am not able to respond is said with all sincerity. The function of the opening formulae is to establish the contextual situation for the exchange of riddles to be effectively competed in. It lays emphasis on the processes for the performance of this genre among members of the Farefari communities. Among the Farefari when the riddlee is not able to answer the riddle or do not know the answer, they say to the riddler *N zi*, literally, “ I am not in the known” but it is used here by the riddlee to mean I do not honestly know or remember the response to this riddle.

The performance of riddles among the Farefari people is guided by rules which the participants are familiar with. For instance, riddles are mostly performed around the evening after the farm work as a form of entertainment and an effective social control so that time is not wasted between the time to wait for the evening meals and to subsequently go to bed early. This holistic traditional approach to training the children helps them to follow time-lines in their daily activities. This instills in them the ability not to forget other given chores and to be conscious of the use of time. However, riddles and folktales can be performed during the day time when people are engaged in light work such as harvesting of beans, groundnuts or the shelling of maize.

There is turn-taking in the riddling session among Farefari people. During a contest, one riddler presents a series of riddles which must be responded to by the respondents present. It becomes the turn of another riddler if the respondents who are seated failed to give the appropriate response or answer. The rules of the game do not allow a riddler to lie, to hide part of the truth, or to change the conditions of the contest to enable him win the contest.

Among the Farefari people, riddling was exclusively performed in the evening. In most instances, riddling was a prelude to the telling of folktales. In some few instances, riddles are used during and after telling a folktale to conclude the long story. The interval and duration normally devoted to the narration of riddles is often shorter as compared to storytelling because the folktales are usually regarded by many of the people as being more interesting and exciting to capture the audience than riddles. For instance, most of the folktales in the Farefari culture have songs that are sung in between. Since most of the audience can take part in singing these songs,

they are usually intrinsically motivated. Taboos in riddling are customary in many traditional societies in Africa and the Farefari society is not an exception. Among the people, children are told that it is a taboo to perform riddles during the day time. This same prohibition is extended to the narration of the folktale. Folktales and riddles are closely related and perform similar functions such as education and entertainment and as such, the restrictions placed on the folktale performance apply directly to riddling. The prohibition on daytime riddling and telling of stories seems to preempt the likelihood of work time being wasted on riddles and folktales by idling youth. However, among the Farefari when people are engaged in light work during the day time such as the shelling of maize or groundnuts riddle performance is allowed in recent times.

The Kilba folks use riddling as a game to entertain, test knowledge and aid minor works in the evening like shelling of groundnuts. This explanation is also supported by what prevails in some other cultures such as the Venda people of Zambia (Blacking, 1961).

Of recent times, the Farefari people, especially a few of the children perform riddling and narrate folktales at any given time of the day thus ignoring the long held taboo of its narration. However, there could not be any guarantee of the continuous narration of the riddles since most adults have lost interest in their cultural source of entertainment. This result in the loss of interest in riddling as its narration diminishes, leaving the youth and especially younger children with a less varied source of entertainment in the evening which usually engages their attention before the time they go bed.

Most of the riddles in Farefari language and culture are rather short in their syntactic structure and also concise in meaning. These are mostly descriptive as they are the ones that usually start with the stock phrase, *beni n boi...*, „what it is that... According to Okpewho (1992:92) “an ideophone is a stylistic technique that relies on sound”. Quoting Enock Mvula, in his discussion of the narrative performance among the Chewa of Malawi, Okpewho wrote,

Chichewa as a language of storytelling is rich in ideophones. The storyteller exploits the advantage and employs ideophones which vivify his speech, lend him eloquence, completes his thought and help him to create a fresh picture of an event, and to convey contrasting images... You can hear the sound of a person walking on dry leaves (*tswaturatsura*), a hunter walking in water chasing an antelope which runs (*suyosuyo*), and the thunder storming and flashing (*gulugulu* and *ng‘aning‘ani*). The images created by using ideophones help the audience to see, hear, feel, smell, touch, and of course enjoy the narrative.

There is the type one riddle which is referred to as the universal riddle. A common feature of this type as observed by Yankah (1985-89-90) is the metaphorical correspondence between the problem and the solution. In this type of riddling, there is always a question and a response. Let’s consider two of such riddles among the Farefari people.

Riddle: *Beni n boi yire puan ya ‘nuure dee ka muna di?*

“There is something in the house whose mouth is always open and never closed”

Response: *Bɔ’ɔ* “A traditional built room”

Riddle: *Beni n boi tara zuure dee ka mela*

Response: *Sampane* “Wooden paddle use to firm floors”

Riddle: *Sela n boi, fu san tum e ti a ta tum tuune a kan lebe na?*

“What is it that when you send it to do something for you, it will not return”?

Response: *Kugere* “a stone/stick”

From the three universal riddles as stated above there is enough evidence of what can be seen as semantic fit between the query and the response

In riddle (2), the handle of the wooden board used to hit the gravel to make the floor firm is similar to the tail of an animal such as a dog. Both stick out at the back side. In the case of the dog, its tail is used to wag for several reasons. One of such uses is to show love and affection to its owner. In the case of the wooden handle it is used as the handle. Without that part of the wooden firmer, it cannot be used for the purpose for which it was made. Both “tails” have uses however, in riddling, where there is need to ask a question and a respond then it is appropriately used. The difference is the fact that, the tail of the wooden firmer cannot wag. This is where there is a semantic fit of both being tails but one being mobile and the other not able to move. As such it is the only appropriate response in the context of the question posed.

The riddle (3) had the expression *sela n boi*-“there is something”, which carries a similar meaning as *beni* “what”. The act of throwing a stone is compared with sending a child to perform an activity. However unlike the child the stone can be sent to kill a bird or pluck a fruit but will not return to the sender.

For this riddling type, there are usually opposing persons. The first part of the riddle posed by the contestant is usually marked off with a question marker. The precedent is often long whilst the sequent or answer may be one word. In the Farefari people's version of riddling, the interrogative marker is usually the phrase *beni*. *Beni* is a question marker in the Gurene language and can be used to elicit response on its own.

4.11 Social-cultural and Educational Values of the Riddle.

Riddling among the Farefari people, which usually is used to serve as curtain raiser for the narration of folktales during story telling plays significant roles in the Socio-Cultural and educational lives of the people, especially the younger generation. In the olden days the most effective vehicle for conveying the culture of the people and the proper upbringing of the youth from one generation to another was through riddling and storytelling. The primary function of the riddle which precedes the folktale is to entertain the audience. However riddling is a fertile ground for the unearthing of potential oral artists and for the sustenance of the culture and history of a people.

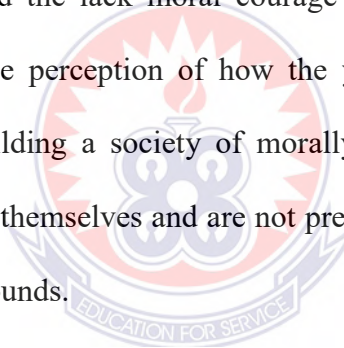
Scheub who studied Xhosa storytelling was cited by Okpewho (1992:108) to have commented as follows.

Entertainment is one of the chief aims of both the storyteller and the performer. The storyteller seeks to entertain mainly by producing little more than an objectification of the core-image, allied with relatively unsophisticated stylistic devices. The performer goes beyond that, but in her efforts to do more than merely entertain the members of her audience, the fact remains that she still entertains them. She seeks to externalize the core-image, to evoke it, to give it a pleasing form. We can deduce certain structural patterns of the tradition from the production of both the storyteller and the performer, but aesthetic principles, while they do exist in rudimentary form in the works of the storyteller can be found fully realized in the works of the performer.

In oral art performance, the overriding purposes are to entertain as emphasized by Scheub. However, in the course of entertainment while the audience in general is made to feel the aesthetic experience, the youth learn a lot about their culture and also acquire skills of communication. By watching and listening to the oral artist, the youth are unconsciously being taken through an informal training to become future oral artists and by extension to be knowledgeable members of their culture, language, and traditions.

Riddling is an effective oral art form of preparing the mental faculties of the children to be able to embrace formal education. In the formal school system, children are expected to listen keenly to their instructors and to ask questions. They are also expected to memorize what they learnt and to respond orally and in some instances in the written form to questions from their teachers. These exercises require the cognitive development of the children's minds at an early age. In riddling which demands immediate and appropriate response, this helps to sharpen the thinking skills of the children. They are taught during riddling to listen attentively, thus acquiring the skills of listening which is vital for the school situation as well. Since the children are usually part of the audience and are also engage in riddling, they get the opportunity to ask questions on issues of narrating of a folktale as well as riddling. This implants in them the ability to think critically when faced with a problem in life, before attempting to solve it. They are also able to argue logically while learning to listen to and to accept opposing views if such views merit it. Riddling in effect is an effective tool for the development of the language skills of members of the community; especially the youth who are better placed to learn faster.

In the process of riddling, the youth learn a lot of socially appropriate ways of communicating and generally conducting themselves in public. For instance, when a riddle is posed the child is expected to think critically and to respond. If for any reason the answer is not immediately remembered the child has to respond by saying. “N zi” meaning “I have no response or I don’t know the answer:” By admitting that he/she has no response, the child is learning to be honest and truthful in his interaction with other members of the community. Being honest in life is a value system that every person in the community must acquire. It is honesty that will enable an individual in the community to live peacefully with his neighbours. A careful consideration of the youth in the Farefari society today reveals a serious lack of communicative skills and the lack moral courage to speech the truth at all times. There seem to be a false perception of how the youth view themselves and their contribution towards building a society of morally upright individuals. The youth assume certain status for themselves and are not prepared to be truthful to themselves and their humble backgrounds.



Through riddling, the Farefari people are able to define who they are in a collective sense. The people try to explain nature and the way events occur in their own understanding by the way they craft the language and idioms of their culture through riddles. The creation and narration of riddles is based on the critical observation of the environment in which the people of the society find themselves in. The environment includes the physical, the spiritual and the human society and how it is organized. The interaction between the human and the supernatural all come into play in the riddles created and performed by the Farefari people.

Galli (1983) remarked that “one of the tale’s most important sociological functions is to deal with and solve publicly, under the cover of allegory, the individual and collective conflicts latent in the society”. This assertion is very true especially in the narration of those riddles that the storytellers are psychologically involved and sometimes put in their life experiences or those of other members of the community. They are able to relieve themselves of any burden as this seems a good opportunity for them.

Riddles are performed for variety of purposes which include teaching of values, proof of intelligence, and a way of socializing and introducing the child into the poetics of his/her society. Scholars study riddles as a form of literary expressions by members of a society because riddles reflect the environment and the people’s intellectual dexterity.

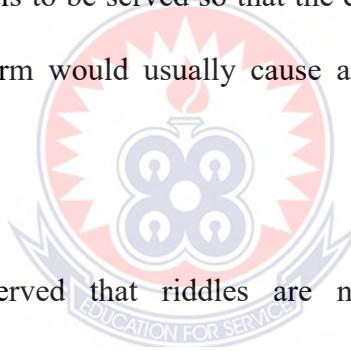
Riddles play an important role in the holistic development of young people. Riddles do not only performed social and educational functions but also they include moral and cultural functions in the society. Traditionally, riddling among the Farefari people provide them with a strong sense of upholding certain cultural values such as unity, respect and honesty. These values are important elements in the proper development and education of the youth.

Among the Farefari people, some riddles are instructive; they may mention names or make reference to historical events. Undoubtedly, riddles develop a sense of observation and creativity in the people's mind. As explained by one of the renowned storytellers I interacted with, riddles have an advantage of being a tool with which its users explore the Gurene language to the benefit of the society in general and the youth in particular. Riddles by their content are educational in nature and this is based on the experiences and the observation that is gathered over the years. The educational value of riddles is even more evident when it comes to their cultural content which is needed for the proper upbringing of the younger members of the society.

Riddles particularly train the children in the art of memorization. For a child to reasonably provide solutions to a number of riddles posed at a contest it requires a deeper and quicker thinking. This means that the riddles narrated among the Farefari people are an effective means of testing and improving the listener's ability to think very fast and provide the accurate response when the need arises.

Ajayi (1990:502) noted that riddling constitutes an impressive moral and intellectual exercise which develops the individual's reasoning ability and this is key to good moral judgment on issues of morals such as uprightness and kindness. This study collaborates what Ajayi found out about riddling among the Yoruba. For instance, among the Farefari people, parents train and instruct their children to be upright, kind, honest and helpful to other members of the community and will therefore spare no time in instilling these qualities into their children through the narration of folktales and riddles in which these moral lessons are embedded.

Maruka (1999), cited in Kihara (2013), identified entertainment, recording of history, commentary in human life, environmental and scientific education as some of the social functions of riddles. He noted that the entertainment function of riddles is the most recognized one, while the other social functions are ignored. This study shares the same view. Socially, riddles bring people together to interact, compete, and make friends with one another. Riddling creates a spirit of competitiveness among the players and also a spirit of togetherness for those who find themselves in the same riddling community or group. Riddling therefore, involves two or more people in a competitive or non-competitive basis regardless of their social and religious background as was the case. It is also a way of keeping the children awake while they wait for the evening meals to be served so that the children could eat before sleeping since the pressure of farm would usually cause a delay in the preparation of the evening meals.



Ishengoma (2005) observed that riddles are not just about amusement and entertainment only, but also they afford the young ones the chance to participate in the social, cultural, political and economic aspects of their society as well as helping them to develop critical thinking and to exercise the art of memorization. Apart from the amusement the people get from riddling, they also constitute an impressive intellectual exercise. They are used as a medium for developing the child's reasoning faculty as well as skills in decision-making among members of the Farefari society.

Riddling among the Farefari people, mostly emphasized the recall of associations. The art of recall is a salient feature of riddling which goes beyond the mere recollection of the appropriate or an acceptable response. It is an important contribution to a child's educational performance and a good knowledge in his culture. The riddles in the Gurene language and culture, just like in other cultures of Africa function as a task of wits. Many of the riddles are instructive; they usually contain names of items and places and or make reference to events of the past. These riddles develop in people in general and the youth in particular, a sense of observation and later a meaningful commentary on happenings around them. This is probably due to fact riddles often contained an elaborate and rich linguistic forms of the language.

The Gurene riddles therefore, serve as educational tools since their contents involved the youth getting to study their cultural ways by experience, observation, and participation. Riddles help to increase the store of vocabulary of the children as they get involved in learning and acquiring the skills needed to manipulate the Gurene language. Below are examples of riddles in Gurene where items in the culture which are familiar to the youth of today form part of the structure. For instance;

Riddle: *Bāare wa n ze wa, kuga bii si*

„This barn that stands there, is it containing stones or millet“

Response: *Fum n leeli kunkone dune wa, nɔjere bii nimmbaalega*

„As you kissed the leper's knee, is it out of love or pity“

Riddle: *N kinkāseka lem bu'ɔ*

„My millet stock that stood by the mushy land“

Response: *A ka tari ligeri daana n diŋe da" a*

„The man who has no money on him is the first to be at the market

square“

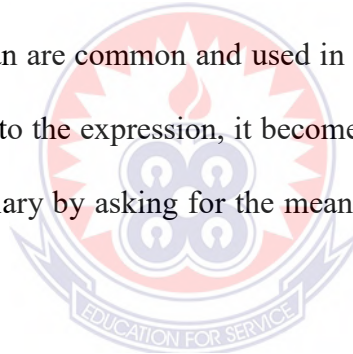
Riddle: *Kopɛɛlega wa n peɛ la n nyu*

„This clear clean water, should I ask for it before drinking“

Riddle: *Pɔgesuɲa wa n gue la n bile*

Response: “Should I marry this beautiful lady before I can have an affair with her”?

In the above examples, there are some words and expressions which are not immediately familiar to children but with time they learn them. Riddles are effective means of testing and improving the listener's ability to think very fast and accurate. This helps children to make quick decisions in their future life. Expressions and words such as; *kinkāsika*-stock, *bu'ɔ*-mushy land, *gue*-to court and marry a woman and *bile*-to have sex with a woman are common and used in everyday conversation. When the children sit in and listen to the expression, it becomes the beginning point for to learn and acquire new vocabulary by asking for the meaning and context of usage of these expressions.

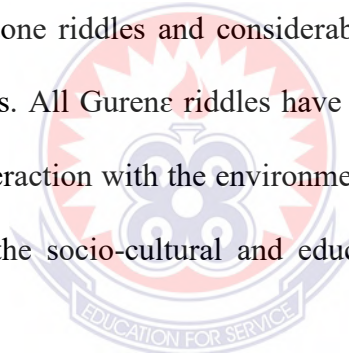


Finally, Burns (1976) identified six occasions for riddling; namely riddling embedded in songs and narratives, in courting, in rituals like death and initiation, in educational encounters, riddling in leisure time and in greetings. According to him, these occasions show the significance of riddles in societies. Riddling takes place during leisure time and at some minor works such as the shelling of maize and groundnuts. Another important function of riddles among the Farefari people is that, they are employed to start a story-telling session. This is to alert the participants and prepare their minds and to get them to search their memories in order give off their best to the full benefit of all the members present and especially the youth.

4.12. Conclusion

This chapter is the fourth and the major part of the study, looked at the riddle as it is narrated among the people of the Farefari society. The chapter recounted briefly, the process of narrating the Gurene riddle. The types of riddles narrated among the Farefari people were examined and it became clear that there are four distinct types. These are the simple or universal, the tonal or rhyming, the song and the problem riddles. These are commonly narrated by the Farefari people of the Gurene speaking dialect.

The characteristic features of the Gurene riddle were realized to include its brevity in case of the simple and tone riddles and considerable long nature in the case of the song and problem riddles. All Gurene riddles have themes that relate to the people's world view and their interaction with the environment to their narration. A major part of the chapter was on the socio-cultural and educational relevance of the Gurene riddle.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This final chapter is a summary of the essential issue that this thesis is about, from the general introduction to the fifth chapter. The major findings on the Farefari as a people, the oral genres in Gurene and the performance of the folktale and the riddle have been recapped. Recommendations on the study have been provided to serve as a guide to those who would like to research into the varied oral genres of the Farefari people. The chapter ends with the concluding remarks on the study.

5.1 Summary

The chapter one is the general introduction of the Farefari people, their socio-cultural relationship with one another and the oral genres such as the folktale and riddles that they engage in. In this chapter a brief historical background of the Farefari people was looked closely at. A large section of Farefari people speak Gurene. It is a major dialect among others such as Talen, Nabit, Boone and Nankare. Apart from the fact that Gurene is the dialect widely spoken in the Farefari traditional area, it is also the dialect that has been developed into a standard writing system.

It became clear that before the advent of colonial rule its attendant introduction of the centralized governance system through chiefs; the Farefari people did not have a centralized ruler. They were guided by the *Tindaama* “earth priests” and *Yizuo Kiinduma* “clan elders” at the community and clan levels respectively. The leaders took care of the peoples’ social and spiritual needs and performed sacrifices for them for good health and prosperity. The people are engaged in subsistence farming on

small plots of land around the homestead. They grow mainly cereals which require less amount of rainfall to mature. Other economic activities are the rearing of small ruminants and dry season gardening. Economic trees such as the dawadawa and the shea are equally important in the lives of the people.

In chapter two the major oral genres of the Farefari people were discussed. It was noted that the performance of the folktale would naturally involve other genres such as songs, proverbs and riddling. The folktale is an important oral genre in the African communities. We realized that characterization in storytelling encompasses the people's world view. It is done by the use of animate and inanimate things in the environment of the people.

We considered several works in relation to the Gurene language such as Dakubu (1996), Avea (1997), Atintono (2004), Rattray (1932) were mentioned. Other works that are on the oral literature of the language included, Lebel (1972), Atintono and Avea (2001) And Ababila (2006). The works of known authors in African oral literature that we reviewed included Finnegan (1967, 1970, 1992), Okpewho (1982, 1990, 1992), Galli (1983) and Lusweti (1984).

We reasoned that the theoretical framework where, the researcher is present at the source of data collection, familiarize with the people and consider their world view of life is the best option to study an oral art performance. It afforded the opportunity to understand the people, appreciate their ways, and then be part of whatever activity that goes on. Guided by these principles the participant observation method was used to collect the data and the translation was done to reflect the actual narration.

It became evident that the roles of the respondent and the audience are as essential as the narrator for the narration of folktales and riddles to be realized. While the respondent is regarded as an ardent helper of the storyteller, he and the audience are both critics of the storyteller's manner of the delivery. In prompting the storyteller, the respondent and the audience share in the community resources being used by him. It therefore becomes a collective responsibility to ensure effective delivery, thus their interventions at every stage.

The chapter three dealt with the methodology of the study of riddling among the Farefari people. The data was gathered by contacting two renowned storytellers in two communities-Bolega Sokabiisi and Boono Sapuurɔ. Observation, elicitation, and interviews were the instruments used. The descriptive method was used in analyzing the data. The storytellers had to communicate their responses by describing the events and incidents that would usually urge them on to narrate riddles and the significance of that. The Gurene version of the riddles recorded was transcribed and translated in to the English language for the write-up. The naturalist and the phenomologist approach to studying riddling among the Farefari people was adopted for the study.

The fourth chapter explored the circumstances surrounding the narration of the riddle among the Farefari people. Traditionally, storytelling and riddling take place in the evening, however, stories are told at other times of the day such as in schools by children.

We looked at the types of riddles, the themes, and the nature of composition and narration of the riddles as an essential oral genre among the Farefari people. It was used as a tool for entertaining and educating the younger members of the society. At the social gatherings of the people, the riddle played a useful and communal role. Its performance in the society we noted is declining and there is need to revive and promote it.

5.2 Conclusions

The study revealed that the folktale and riddling is an embodiment of the oral traditions and language of the Farefari people. This makes its narration an effective way of transmitting the cultural values of the people from one generation to another. Informally the use of the riddles serves as a knowledge transmission bridge between the old and the young, where traditional knowledge and skills are imparted. In formal education, the riddle is an effective tool in the sense that it prepares the youth adequately in the skills of listening, speaking, and later writing through the pattern of its narration and the habits of appropriate use of language and the accepted form of presenting their views both in and out of the formal school system.

The cardinal purposes of the folktale and the riddling narration which is entertainment for the community members was vital as it afforded unity in diversity among the people. The performance of the oral genres such as the riddle on radio stations of late is laudable as it provides education, entertainment, and income to the oral artists.

It is the hope of this researcher that the work will encourage the use of the mother tongue at home and in schools, by teachers, parents, oral artists, and all concerned individuals to sustain, preserve, and promote our language and culture. Stakeholders in education and institutions such as the traditional council and interested individuals will also find this document useful.

5.3 Recommendations

The study has revealed that the folktale and riddling is an integral part of the oral traditions of Farefari people in their society. It was used as an effective tool for the propagation of culture of the Farefari people. We will strongly recommend the revival of storytelling and riddling, first at the community levels. At that level efforts should be made by the traditional councils and individuals interested in the promotion of the culture to identify oral artists and bring them together to compete for some token rewards. These youth groups already exist and are sometimes engaged in farming, dancing and even sporting competitions.

Again the chiefs and people of the Farefari communities should consider integrating storytelling and riddling as part of the programmes for their annual thanks giving festival celebrations. The planning committees of these annual programmes should arrange and include these competitive storytelling and riddling sessions to precede the grand the grand durbars of such festivals as Azambene, N-Daa-Ko-Ya, and Golog. Winners should be determined by their effective and culturally appropriate use of the respective dialects of the Farefari people.

The teaching of the Gurene language and culture should be well balanced to embrace the rich oral traditions of the people. The district education offices should collaborate with the Municipal and District Assemblies for support to produce more language materials for the teaching of Gurene language and culture in all the schools. The Assemblies should set aside an amount of money from developmental funds for the development of language in terms of providing language and culture teaching materials to schools. The Assemblies should collaborate actively with those non-governmental organizations that are into education to support the teaching of the language and culture in the schools. Resource persons such as renowned oral artists and knowledgeable individuals from the communities should be identified, given some refresher courses and made to handle aspects of the oral literature occasionally on basic schools.

A general reawakening call for the revival of our culture through storytelling and riddling should be mounted and pursued vigorously. Radio and television presenters should be given refresher courses on the need to use the local language appropriately on air. The help of competent members of the community should be solicited to give talks on the general cultural practices of the Farefari people and the way forward for the refining and maintenance of the valuable aspects these practices. Those aspects that are of no help to the people in the present circumstances should be replaced. Emphasis should be on new and innovative ways of doing things as a people with a cultural heritage and not a complete eradication of what we have and practice. The district offices of the Centre for National Culture can be of immense help in this direction.

Finally, students and researchers of the language should intensify their studies and research into the oral literature of the Farefari people. The oral genres of the Farefari people are so varied and culturally rich that the research and documentation of these would impact positively on the revival and sustenance of the cultural values of the people as a whole and serves as a store of culturally updated knowledge for the youth and posterity.



REFERENCES

- Agyekum, A. (2013). *Introduction to Literature* 3rd ed. Accra: Adwinsa Publication (Gh) Limited.
- _____ (2005). „An Akan Oral Artist. *The Use of Proverbs in the Lyrics of Kwabena Konadu*“. In *the Journal of the Institute of African Studies. Research Reviews*, NS 21.1:pp1-17, Legon. Ghana. Historical Society of Ghana. University of Ghana, Legon.
- Ajayi, B. (1990). Riddles and the Yoruba child. *International Journal of Moral and Social Studies*. 5. 5: 251-261 .
- Atintono, A. S. (2004). A Morpho-Syntactic study of the Gurene Verb. Unpublished Mphil Thesis. Department of Linguistics; University of Ghana Legon.
- Atintono, A. S, and Avea E. N. (2001). „*Asserting the Literariness of “Riddles”*: The case of solingiresi of Farefari in Northern Ghana“ In *Cashiers du CERLESHS* p192 –206.
- Avea E. N. (2001). *The exploration of contrast for suspense by the oral artist in the solingiresi of the Farefari speakers*. Department of Ghanaian Languages Education. University of Education, Winneba.
- Avea, Fusheini and Ababila (2010). *Aspects of oral literature in Ghana. With illustrations from selected languages*. LAP LAMBERT. Academic Publishing.
- Avorgbedor, D. (1990). *The Preservation, Transmission, and Realisation of Song-texts: A Psycho-musical Approach*. In Okpewho I (ed) (1990) *The Oral performance in Africa*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Awedoba, A. K. (2000). *An Introduction to Kasena Society and Culture through Their Proverbs*. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America.
- _____ (2000). *Social Roles of Riddles, with reference to Kasena Society*. Research Review, New Series. Vol.16.2. Legon, University of Ghana.
- _____ (2007). *Culture and Development in Africa with special reference to Ghana*. University of Ghana, Logon.
- Azounye, C. (1990). *Kaalu Igirigiri an Ohafia Igbo Singer of Tales*. In Okpewho I (ed) *The Oral Performance in Africa*. Ibadan: Spectrum Book Ltd.
- Bascom, W. R. (1949). “*Literary Style in Yoruba Riddles*.” *Journal of American Folklore*, 62, 1–1.

- Bendor-Samuel, J. (1989). *The Niger-Congo Languages: A classification and description of africa's largest language family*. University Press of America.
- Biear, R. J. & Gerlach, J. G. (1996). *Educational Research: A Practical Approach*. New York: Delmar Publishers.
- Blacking, J. (1961). *The Social Value of Venda Riddles*. *African Studies*, 20(1), 1–32.
- Bodgan, R. and Taylor, S. K. (1975). *Introduction of Qualitative Research Methods: A phenomenological Approach to the Social Science*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Bottomley, Jane et al. (2003). (ed). *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary*.
- Burns, T. A. (1976). Riddling: Occasion to act. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 89 (352), 139–165.
- Burns, N. & Grove, S.K. (2005). *Understanding Nursing Research Conduct, Critique and Utilization*. (5th ed.). London: WB Saunders.
- Creswell, J.W. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. (3rd ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Dakubu, M. E.K. (1981). *One Voice: Linguistics Culture of an Accra Lineage*. Leiden: African Studies Center.
- Dakubu, M. E. K. (1996). *A Grammar of Gurenɛ*. Language centre, Legon.
- Dakubu, M.E.K., Atintono, S.A., and Avea, E. N. (ed) (2007). *Gurenɛ–English Dictionary and Glossary*. University of Ghana, Legon, Linguistics Department.
- Dakubu, M. E. K. (1990). *Why Spider is King of Stories: The Message in the Medium of a West African Tale*. In *African Language and Cultures* 3 pp33-56
- _____ (1988). (ed). *The Languages of Ghana*. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Digan, L. (2011). Aspects of vocabulary in selected old English Riddles. M.Phil Thesis. Department of English Language, University of Glasgow. Retrieved: 26/08/2015. Website: <http://thesis.gla.ac.uk/2943/>.
- Doke, C. M. (1947). *Bantu Wisdom-Lore*. *African Studies*, 6, 101–120.
- Evans, D. (1976). *Riddling and the Structure of Context*. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 89 (352), 166–188.

- Finnegan, R. (1970). *Oral Literature in Africa*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
- _____ (2012). *Oral Literature in Africa*. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers.
- _____ (1967). *Limba stories and storytelling*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Fortes, M. (1945). *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Fortes, M. and Evans-Prichard E.E. (1970). *African Political Systems*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Fraenkel, J. R. and Norman, E. W. (2000). *How to Design and Evaluate research in Education* (4th ed.). San Francisco: McGraw-Hill Companies.
- Galli, Silvano (1983). *Story Telling Among the Ayi-Bona*. In AYidoho, K. Avorgbedor, D. Domowitz, S. and Giray-Saul (ed) *Cross rhythms*. Bloomington Indiana: Trickster Press pp 13-42.
- Giray-Saul (1984). *A West Africa rddling tradition. The solem-kueese of the Mossi of Upper Volta*". In AYidoho, K, Avorgbedor, D. Domowitz, S. and Giray-Saul (ed) *Cross Rhythms*. Bloomington Indiana: Trickster Press pp 68-86.
- Goldstien, K. S. (1964). *A Guide for Field Workers in Folklore*. Hatboro: Folklore Associates.
- Gyekye (1996). *African Cultural Values. An Introduction*. Accra-Ghana: Sankofa Publishing Company.
- Hammersley M. & Atkinson P. (1995). *Ethnography: Principles and Practice*. Second edition. London: Routledge.
- Harries, L. (1971). "The Riddle in Africa." *Journal of American Folklore*, 84 (3), 77–93.
- Hart D. (1964). *Riddles in Filipino Folklore: An anthropological analysis to Genre Definition*. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 4:31-53.
- Ishengoma, J. M. (2005). *African oral traditions: Riddles among the Haya of Northwestern Tanzania*. *International Review of Education*, 51.
- John, W. B. & James, V. K. (1993). *Research in Education*. (7th ed). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

- Kankam G. and Weiler J. (2010). *A Guide to Action Research for Colleges of Education and Universities*. Accra: Readwide Publishers.
- Kihara, C. P. (2013). *On Mchongoano and Riddles in Kenya*. The Journal of Pan African Studies. V 6. 100–121.
- Lebel Arnold (1972). *Collection of Folktales and tone riddle* (ms). Bongo: Bongo Parish. *Literatures*. 37.2: 34-42.
- Luwesti, B.M. (1984). *A Handbook of Oral Literature for Schools*. London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press.
- Maruka, O. (1990). *Encounter with Oral Literature*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.
- Maruka, O. (1999). *Studying oral literature*. Nairobi: Acacia Publishers.
- Naden, T. (1988). *Language, History, and Legend in Northern Ghana*. Tamale: GILLBT.
- Nalusiba, P. (2010). *Strategies for the Development of a Reading Culture in Uganda*.
- Noss, P. A. (2006). *Gbaya riddles in changing times*. *Research in African Literatures*, 37(2), 34–42.
- Obiechina, E. (1975). *Culture, Tradition and Society in West African Novel*. London:
- Okpewho (1992). *African oral literature; Background, character and continuity*. Bloomington Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Okpewho, I. (1999). *Once Upon a Kindom: Myth, Hegemony, and Identity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- _____ (1982b). *Africa and the Oral Narrative Theory. A Critical Survey. From Myth in Africa*. Ibadan University.
- _____ (1990b). The Oral Performer and his Audience: A Case Study of the Ozidi Saga. In Okpewho I (ed) (1990). *The Oral Performance in African*. Ibadan: Spectrum Book Ltd. Pp 160-184.
- _____ (1977). *Oral Poetry. Its nature, significance, and social context*. Bloomington Indiana: University Press.
- _____ (1990). (ed). *The Oral Performance in Africa*. Ibadan. Spectrum Books Ltd.

- _____ (1990a). *Towards a Faithful Record On Transcribing and Translating the Oral Narrative*. In Okpewho I. (ed) (1990). *The Oral Performance in Africa*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd. Pp 111-135.
- Owu-Ewie, C. (2011). *Learn to do Research: An Introduction to Research Methods. Primary Schools: Case Studies of four Selected Universal Primary Education Schools in Kampala District*. MSc Thesis. (Unpublished) Makerere University, Kampala. Retrieved: 26-08-2015. Website: <http://www.jstor.org/stable>.
- Patton, M. C. (2002). *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. (3rd ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Radcliffe-Brown and Fortes (1950). (ed) *African Systems of Kingship and Marriage*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Rapp, L.E. (1966). "Die Gurene-Sprache in nordghana". Veb Verlag Enzyklop7die. Leipzig 240.
- Rattray, R.S. (1932). *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland*. Vol. 1. Oxford University Press.
- Schott, Rudger (1993). (ed). *Bulsa Sunsuelima. Folktales of the Bulsa of Northern Ghana*. Germany: Munster.
- Scott, C. T. (1965). Persian and Arabic Riddles: A Language-Centered Approach to Genre Definition. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 31.4.
- Sekoni Ropo (1990). *The Narrator, Narrative–Pattern, and Audience Experience of Oral Narrative-Performance*. In Okpewho I. (ed) (1990) *The Oral Performance in Africa*. Ibadan: Spectrum Book Ltd. Pp 139-159.
- Simmons, D. C. (1958). Cultural Functions of the Efik Tone Riddle. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 71(280), 123–138.
- Simmons, D. C. (1961). *Efik Tone Riddles and Anang Proverb-Riddles*. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 74(293), 245–246.
- Taylor, A. (1951). *English riddles from oral tradition*. Berkeley and Los Angelos: University of California Press.
- Tracy, S. J. (2013). *Qualitative research Methods: Collecting Evidence, Crafting Analysis, Communicating Impact*. London: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publication. Website: <http://www.jstor.org/stable>.

Yankah, K. (1984). "From loose Abuse to Poetic Couplets: the Case of Fante Tone Riddles" in *Meledicta*. The International Journal of Verbal Aggression, Vol7, 165–177.

Yankah, K. (1995). *Speaking for the Chief: Okyeame and the Politics of Akan Oratory*. Bloomington Indiana, University Press.



APPENDIXES

A

SIMPLE RIDDLES

- Riddle: Beni n boi yire puan ya“ nuure dee ka muna di?
“There is something in the house whose mouth is always open and never closes”
- Response: Bɔ̃ɔ̃ “A traditionally built room that is roofed with rafters and mud”
- Riddle: Beni n boi tara zuure dee ka mela di?
- Response: Sampane “Wooden paddle use to hit the gravel when the women are cementing the floor to make it firm.
- Riddle: Sela n boi, fu san tum e ti a ta tum tuune la, a kan le lebe na
“What is it that when you send it to perform an activity for you, it will go but will not return after the work is done”?
- Response: Doore “a stick/stone”
- Riddle: Beni n boi nwuna la neresala dee daga neresala?
“What is it that looks exactly like a human being but is not a human being”
- Response: Foote “photograph/shadow”
- Riddle: Bãare wa n ze wa, kuga bii si?
„This barn that stands there, is it containing stones or millet“
- Response: Fum n leeli kunkone dune wa, nɔ̃ɔ̃ere bii nimmbaalega
„As you kissed the leper’s knee, is it out of love or pity“
- Riddle: N kinkāsika lem bũɔ̃
„My millet stock that stood by the mushy land“
- Response: A ka tari ligeri daana n diɛ dãa

„The man who has no money on him is the first to be at the market square“

Riddle: Kopelega wa n peje la n nyu

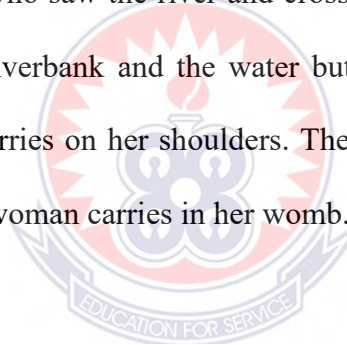
„This clear clean water, should I aks for it before drinking“

Riddle: Pøgesuŋa wa n gue la n bile

Response: „This beautiful woman should I marry her before I can sleep with her“

Riddle: Three people stood near a river they have to cross. The first one, after a closer look around, crosses it. The second one looks at the riverbank and at the water, but does not cross it. The third one does not see the river and does not cross it. Who are the three?

Response: The one who saw the river and crossed it was a woman. The one who saw the riverbank and the water but did not cross it is the child the mother carries on her shoulders. The one who has seen nothing is the baby the woman carries in her womb.



B

STONE RIDDLES

Riddle: N tãataano

“My sound tãataano

Response: Zuo wuu Tamale pãano.

“Your head like a loaf of bread bought from Tamale.”

Riddle: N Halemahaka

My sound halamahaka

Response: Zuo wuu da“an maneka

“Your head like that of a grinding mill at the market square.”

Riddle: N bileete

“I have a blade”

Response: Mam de la solema sipæeta

“I am the inspector in charge of storytelling.”

Riddle: N Kutonko ma“asum

“My anthill shade”

Response: Doba vii ti fu nari bua zã“asum

“You squat there hope to drink the broth of a goat”.

Riddle: N burema yoore

“My pot containing the residue of extracted shea nut oil”

Response: Ita fiifii ti tu pae Dawalega beere

“You should be economical in your ways so that we can get to the month of April, when there are shortages of food and water”.

Riddle: *N talati* – my sound that makes „Talati”

Response: *Isige la fu bayeti*

“You gossip, get up, and go away”

Riddle: *N nagedene boko*

“My hollow ground in the cattle yard”

Response: *Nuure wuu pitã loko*

“Your mouth like a quiver that costs thirty pesewas”

Riddle: *N konkonko*

“My sound konkonko”

Response: *Fua ka nae la deesunko*

“The blind person do not deserve a spoon”

Riddle: *N tãataano*

“My sound tãataano”

Response: *Zuo wuu Tamale pãano.*

“Your head like a loaf of bread bought from Tamale”

Riddle: *N Halemahaka*

“My sound that is halamahaka”

Response: *Zuo wuu da'ã maneka*

“Your head like that of a grinding mill at the market square.”

Riddle: *N bileete*

“I have a blade”

Response: *Mam de la solema sipeta*

“I am the inspector in charge of storytelling.”

C

PUZZLES/PROBLEM RIDDLES

Below are three examples of these problem riddles narrated among the Farefari people.

1. *Budaasi sitã n boi lagum legera pɔgeyiŋa. Daare diyima ti budaasi la kayima nyaa dike bisega ti a bise saazuon sa, nye ti ba zeba la ki me. A daa yele a taaba la me, ti ayima kɔ'òm dike suŋɔ ti ba gã"æ bini ti beere yilege ti ba siŋe kuure la. Ba yuum ta pikera nini la ti ba boi la ba zeba la yire. Kayima me kɔ'òm dike a zuure luse ko'òm puan nyaa yae va'ase kum la zuo ti pugela isege ne'em fabebubuu dee bo ba zaare!*

Sokere: nereba batã wa, ani n nari ti a di pɔka wa?

“There are three suitors who are courting one lady from a distant land to marry. On one evening, one of them looked into a mirror and realized that the lady had died and he immediately informed his colleagues. The second man spread a mat and invited his colleagues to sleep, so they go to the funeral the next day. They slept and woke up to realize they are at the funeral grounds. Then the third man brought out a whisk, soaked it water and sprinkled it on the dead lady. Instantly, she woke up, stood up, and welcomed the three men.

Now which one among these three men deserves the lady as a wife and why?”

2. *Nera n boi tara saseŋa, bua la yaama bɔta ti a tari yake kulega. Ɖɔreŋɔ la n boi kulegan la puan la wan ta'amze la lɔgerɔ tuyi ma'ayake. Buda wa san loe saseŋa ti a yake, bua la kan base yaama la ɔbega. A me san dike yaama la yakera, sasega kan base bua la ɔbega.*

Sokere: Fum puti''iε puan, fum ti''iε ti budaa wa wan iηε la ηwani ta''am yake la ka lɔgerɔ wa ti daaηɔ kan bɔna?

“A man had to cross a river carrying a goat, a hyena and fresh baobab tree leaves. The canoe at the river side can only carry two items to the other side at a go. If the man decides to carry along the hyena, the goat will eat the fresh leaves. If he carried along the leaves, the hyena will eat up the goat. How will the man cross the river at the end of the day with all the three items?”

3. Pɔgesi sitā la si kɔma batā n siηε ta pae kulega nuuren ti ba yake kiηε zi''an. Pɔgesi la ka oberi taaba. Kɔma la me ka oberi taaba amaa pɔgesi la ober i si taaba kɔma mε. Ba n pae la ti ɔɔreηɔ la n boi kulegan la wan ta''am zε la nereba bayi bayi ma''a yake kulega la. Ba me ka tari fole gaje ba zā''a dooseɔɔreηɔ la zuo yake kulega la.

Sokere: Fum n bise la ba wan iηε la ηwani ta''am yake kulega la dee ti pɔgesi la kan obe ba taaba la kɔma la?



D

SONG/CALL AND RESPOND RIDDLES

The beginning statement is: *Asoree, Asore, guma*

1. Riddle:

Response:

Ani n gum? “Who has gum?”

Agumatiisi „The tortoise”

Ani n ti? “Who has ti?”

A tiyaarum “A personal name”

Ani n ya? “Who has ya”

Ayaazɔɔsi “Expression?”

Ani n zɔ? “Who has zɔ”

Azɔa parum me “Azɔa lied”

Ani n parum? “Who has parum”

Aparumbiire “A personal name”

Ani n bi? “Who has bi”

Abiisilega “A personal name”

Ani n si? “Who has si”

Asiinɔɔɔɔ “A personal name”

Ani n nɔm? “Who has nɔm”

Anɔngelega “A personal name”

Ani n ge? “Who has ge

Agɛembɛɛla “A personal name”

