

ANDREAS TIETZE

Analysis of a Turkish Multiple Riddle

When Tadeusz Kowalski published his first study on the Turkish riddle (*Zagadki ludowe tureckie*) in 1919, there was no collection of the Ottoman riddles he could refer to apart from I. Kúnos's work. Today, a bibliography of the Turkish (Ottoman) riddle would have to include at least 100 items, to which can be added about 120 publications on the non-Ottoman Turkic riddle. Thus, we are today in a much better position than Kowalski was in 1919 to assess the field of the Ottoman, and, for that matter, of the Turkic riddle. This advantage is at the same time a challenge: we should not be content with collecting the material and with analysing it philologically; we have to try to develop methods of comparative analysis by which we may penetrate into greater depth and arrive at a better understanding of this variety of folklore and, possibly, even at something like its ultimate origin. This little essay, which is dedicated to the memory of late Professor Tadeusz Kowalski, demonstrates a few groping steps made in this direction.

One of the main functions of the riddle is to mislead and thus to surprise. There are riddles which are particularly puzzling because they enumerate a number of incongruous clues; the answer, then, reveals that there is a different solution to each of these clues. We may call these riddles multiple riddles.

One very common Turkish riddle of this sort is a type of usually four lines the first two of which, in the most common variant, run as follows:

*Dayda daliman,
Suda Süleiman.*

'On the mountain a 'daliman',
In the water Süleiman (i.e., Solomon)'.
The last line is often omitted.

Each line has its own solution: the one given for line 1 is some wild animal (often Rabbit), the one for line 2 is always Fish. Lines 3-4 vary, as we shall see presently. The obscure term *daliman* appears as nothing but a meaningless rhyme to *Süleiman*. There is no hagiographical explanation for the association of the Prophet Solomon with water or fish. Thus, the enigmatic clues of both lines remain obscure.

Syntactically, we have a sequence of statements without predicates: the unexpressed predicate of each line can only be *var* 'there is'. However, there are variants in which *gördüm* 'I saw' is added to each line. This leads to a syntactical problem

in line 2: here, against the rules of Turkish grammar, the direct object is a proper noun without accusative suffix. The most common two lines of the riddle thus contain both lexical, semantical, and grammatical problems.

The poetic form exhibited by the two lines of the riddle may be summarized in the following way: 1. There is parallelism in the structure of each line (each consists of two words, with two and three syllables). 2. Parallelism in the syntactical pattern (the first word shows locative form, the second constitutes the subject or, in the variants with *gördüm*, a suffixless direct object). 3. Initial alliteration (*da-*, *su-*). 4. Final rhyme (*-man*). To these four poetic characteristics may be added as a fifth constituent feature of the pattern the fact that each line has its solution.

Let us now turn to the whole riddle. It occurs in a number of subtypes among which to find the original one will be our main concern. In this our method will be a procedure of eliminating variants which do not conform to the five characteristic features of the type, established above. Hence, our method will be based on the concept of economy of invention.

Subtype 1:

Ertekin p. 1146 no. 2, from Çorum:

*Dayda eliman,
Suda Süleiman,
Arşyn aĵakly,
Burma byıykly. — Domuz, balyk, leĵlek, tavşan.*

'On the mountain *eliman*,

In the water Süleiman (Solomon).

Having legs the length of an arshin (about 27 inches),

Having a twisted mustache'. — Wild boar, fish, stork, rabbit.

The lines 3-4 have the same syllabic structure, initial alliteration, and rhyme, but the rhyme is not the same as in lines 1-2. Subtype 1, obviously, constitutes a blending of two types. The type from which the second half has been borrowed is another four-lined multiple riddle, which is widely known both in Ottoman and in Azerbaijani. One Ottoman example may suffice:

Güngör-Ozanoğlu 81 no. 247, from Kastamonu:

*Dayda tak tak,
Suda jyk jyk.
Arşyn aĵakly,
Burma byıykly. — Balta, ördek, leĵlek, tavşan.*

'On the mountain: knock! knock!

In the water: splash! splash!

Having legs the length of an arshin,

Having a twisted mustache'. — Axe, duck, stork, rabbit.

The fact that, on top of all other similarities, the lines 1-2 begin with the same words

must have invited the blending of the two types. We may even raise the question whether the type mentioned here may perhaps altogether be derived from the riddle type we are analysing. However, we cannot follow this line of thought here. For our purpose it suffices to state that subtype 1 is a secondary blending.

Subtype 2:

Güngör-Ozanoğlu 79-80 no. 238, from Kastamonu:

Dayda dalyman,

Suda Süleiman,

Tuzsuz pişen aşı,

Köpük kusan taş. — Tavşan, balyk, helva, sabun.

'On the mountain *dalyman*,

In the water Süleiman.

Food cooked without salt,

A stone that vomits froth'. — Rabbit, fish, halva (a kind of sweet meat), soap.

An almost identical variant, F. Ş. no. 5, from Edirne, has *daliman* instead of *dalyman*, both equally obscure, and in the answers *Pelte* 'Jelly' instead of *Helva*.

Hamamizade no. 663, from Trabzon:

Dayda daliman gördüm,

Suda süleiman gördüm.

Tuzsuz pişen aşı gördüm,

Köpük kusan taş gördüm. — Tavşan, balyk, helva (reçel), sabun.

'I saw *daliman* on the mountain,

I saw Süleiman in the water.

I saw food cooked without salt.

I saw a stone that vomited froth'. — Rabbit, fish, halva (or fruit preserve), soap.

Hamamizade no. 415, from Trabzon:

Dayda daryman gördüm,

Suda sülیمان gördüm,

İatyr koja taş gördüm,

Tuzsuz pişen aşı gördüm. — Koşun balyk, peşir helva.

'I saw *daryman* on the mountain,

I saw Sülیمان (Solomon) in the water.

I saw a big rock lying about.

I saw food cooked without salt'. — Sheep, fish, cheese, halva.

Akalın no. 299, from Erzurum:

Dayda düleiman gördüm,

Suda süleiman gördüm.

*İatar gevşer daş gördüm,
Dezsuz bişer aş gördüm. — Tilki, balyk, deşirmen, helva.*

'I saw *düleiman* on the mountain,
I saw Süleiman in the water.
I saw a stone that chewed the cud.
I saw food cooked without salt'. — Fox, fish, mill, halva.

A very similar variant, with the order of the last two lines reversed, is found in Caferoğlu *Doğu illerimiz* 72 no. 3, from Kars.

Öztürk no. 16, from Çankırı:

*Dalda daliman,
Suda süliman,
Köpük saçan taş,
Tuzsuz pişen aş. — Kuş, balyk, sabun, süt.*

'On the branch *daliman*,
In the water Süliman (Solomon).
A stone scattering froth,
Food cooked without salt'. — Bird, fish, soap, milk.

Hamamizade 245, from Trabzon (the answer to line 4 is missing):

*Odada Osman,
Suda Süleiman.
Bu iatar gevşer,
O tuzsuz pişer. — Horoz, balyk, deve.*

'In the room Osman.
In the water Süleiman (Solomon).
This one lies and chews the cud,
That one is cooked without salt'. — Cock, fish, camel.

Tezel no. 302, from Istanbul:

*Dayda daliman,
Suda Süleiman,
İeşil başly kuş,
Tuzsuz pişen aş,
Köpüren taş. — Tavşan, balyk, ördek, pelte, sabun.*

'On the mountain *daliman*.
In the water Süleiman (Solomon).
A bird with green head.
Food cooked without salt.
A foaming rock'. — Rabbit, fish, duck, jelly, soap.

Caferoğlu *Kuzey-Doğu illerimiz* 89 no. 5-7, from Trabzon (a rudimentary variant):

*Dayda jördum leşmeni,
Suda jördum süleşmani,*

Duzsuz bişer aş jördüm. — İylan baluq helva.

'On the mountain I saw *leimeni*,

In the water I saw Süleiman (Solomon),

I saw food that was cooked without salt'. — Snake, fish, halva.

This subtype is widely diffused also in the folklore of the non-Ottoman Turkic tribes.

Radlov *Proben* vol. 10 p. 267 ff. no. 24, in Gagauz:

Daydan gelir daliman,

Suda suliman.

İbikleje kuş,

Köpükleje taş. — Aiy, balyk, horoz, sabun.

'From the mountain comes *daliman*,

In the water [lives] Suliman (Solomon).

A somewhat crested bird,

A somewhat frothy rock'. — Bear, fish, cock, soap.

Filonenko no. 120, in Crimean Tatar (transliteration unchanged):

Tayda Taliman kurdyk.

Suda Suleiman kurdyk.

İerde et sakaly (sic) kurdyk.

Kuneşte pişmyş aş kurdyk.

Kubuk kuskan taş kurdyk. — Aju, balyk, xoros, xarbuz, sabun.

'We saw *Taliman* on the mountain.

We saw Suleiman (Solomon) in the water.

On the ground, we saw one with a beard of flesh.

We saw food cooked in the sun.

We saw a stone that vomited froth'. — Bear, fish, cock, watermelon, soap.

Radlov *Proben* vol. 7 p. 385 no. 156, in Karaim Turkish:

Dayda dal iaman gördüm.

Suda Süliman gördüm.

Et sakally er gördüm.

Kuşaşa pişken aş gördüm.

Köbük kuskan taş gördüm. — Aju, balyk, xoros, ayak, sabun.

'On the mountain I saw *dal iaman*.

In the water I saw Süliman (Solomon).

I saw a man (should be: bird) with a beard of flesh.

I saw food cooked in the sun.

I saw a stone that vomited froth'. — Bear, fish, cock, foot (or leg), soap.

Xuluflu no. 263, in Azerbaijani:

Dayda dilejman,
Suda Sülejman.
Ayyr düşmüş daş,
Duzsuz bişmiş aş. — Aiy balyg, ölü və halva.

'On the mountain *dilejman*,
 In the water *Süleiman* (Solomon).
 A heavy, fallen rock,
 Food cooked without salt'. — Bear, fish, dead man, halva.

Zeinally no. 639, in Azerbaijani:

Suda Sülejman gördüm,
Dayda Dülejman gördüm.
İatar göjšär daş gördüm,
Duzsuz pişmiş aş gördüm. — Balyg, aiy, дәjirmän, halva.

'I saw *Süleiman* (Solomon) in the water.
 I saw *Dülejman* on the mountain.
 I saw a stone lying and chewing the cud.
 I saw food cooked without salt'. — Fish, bear, mill, halva.

Gurbanov 100, in Turkmen:

Suvda Sülejman gördüm.
Dayda dalaıman gördüm.
Suvsuz bişen aş gördüm.
Duzsuz bişen aş gördüm.
Gaınap duran daş gördüm. — Balyk, daş goçy, gozurga, semene, noıba.

'I saw *Süleiman* (Solomon) in the water.
 I saw *dalaıman* on the mountain.
 I saw food cooked without water.
 I saw food cooked without salt.
 I saw a stone that kept boiling'. — Fish, mountain,
 goat, roasted wheat, malt halva, beans.

Türkmen halk matallary 108 no. 54, in Turkmen (a very similar variant is found in Gurbanov p. 249):

Dayda dalaıman gördim,
Suvda Sülejman gördim.
Gävüşäp duran daş gördim.
Duzsuz bi'en aş gördim. — Kejik, balyk, degirmen, semeni.

'On the mountain I saw *dalaıman*.
 In the water I saw *Süleiman* (Solomon).
 I saw a stone that kept chewing the cud.
 I saw food cooked without salt'. — Gazelle, fish,
 mill, malt halva.

Aryfyi no. 11, in Uzbek:

Suvda süläimanny kördim,

Köçädä gädaïmanny kördim.

İumalap iatyan taşny kördim.

Be tuz pişkän aşny kördim. — Balyq, tavıq, qavyn, sümläk.

'I saw Süläiman (Solomon) in the water.

I saw *gädaïman* in the street.

I saw the stone that kept rolling.

I saw food cooked without salt'. — Fish, chicken, melon, malt halva.

Amanžolov-Žanūzaqov 159 no. 2, in Kazakh:

Qyrdan qyraïman kördim.

Sudan süleïmen kördim.

Qaiıyrylyp turıan tas kördim.

Tüzsyz pişken as kördim. — Diïrmen men ün.

'I saw *qyraïman* from the fields.

I saw Süleïmen (Solomon) from the water.

I saw a stone that kept turning.

I saw food cooked without salt'. — Mill and flour.

We have thus listed 16 variants of subtype 2, 8 from the Ottoman-Turkish area and 8 from other Turkic languages. 4 of the Ottoman and 6 of the non-Ottoman variants contain the recurrent predicate 'I saw' (or 'we saw'), the others don't. Both these forms must be quite old. All variants can be divided into two rhyme systems: the first two lines show the rhyme pattern in *-man* (all but the Uzbek and Kazakh variants have the standard two lines already familiar to us), whereas the remaining two (sometimes, three) lines are characterized by a rhyme system in *-ş* (usually, *-aş*). Also the fact that some of the variants are composed in five lines instead of four points to a blending. Furthermore, the clues in the second part of the riddle all have a distinct character which is different from that of the first lines: each line is the description of some paradoxical creature or object. Food cooked without salt (or water), a bird with a fleshy beard, a stone that produces froth or chews the cud (with a foaming mouth, supposedly), etc. All these reasons make it seem likely that subtype 2, in spite of its wide diffusion, is a composite type: to the two lines rhyming in *-man* another, probably 3-lined, multiple riddle was added. This other riddle has come to us also as an independent riddle type.

Sılacı 69 no. 4, in Ottoman-Turkish (for an identical variant, see San s. v. *Horaz*):

Bir ajaib düş gördüm:

Et sakally kuş gördüm.

Köpük kusan taş gördüm.

Tuzsuz pişen aş gördüm. — Horoz sabun, kahve.

'I had a strange dream:
I saw a bird with fleshy beard.
I saw a stone that vomited froth.
I saw food cooked without salt'. — Cock, soap, coffee.

Xuluflu no. 412, in Azerbaijani (other variants in nos. 411 and 413):

İatar gövşär daş gördüm.
Duzsuz bişmiş aş gördüm. — *Däğirmän, halva.*
'I saw a stone lying and chewing the cud.
I saw food cooked without salt'. — Mill, halva.

Gurbanov p. 113, in Turkmen (for a fragmentary Turkmen variant, see Gäldiev no. 41):

Duzsuz bişen aş gördüm.
Gävşäp duran daş gördüm. — *Semene, degirmen daşy.*
'I saw food cooked without salt.
I saw a stone chewing the cud'. — Malt halva, millstone.

Amanžolov-Žanūzaqov 108 no. 1, in Kazakh (also, Ljūtsh 17 no. 80):

Qaınap žatqan tas kördim.
Tüzsyz pisken as kördim. — *Diürmen men ün.*
'I saw a stone that kept boiling.
I saw food cooked without salt'. — Mill and flour.

Amanžolov-Žanūzaqov 57 no. 5, in Kazakh:

Susyz pisken as kördim.
Domalanıyan bas kördim. — *Qauyn.*
'I saw food cooked without water.
I saw a rolling head'. — Melon.

Filonenko no. 86, in Crimean Tatar:

Kumdä pişkän aş,
Kuskan taş.
Bu nä dyr ? — Kavun, sabun.
'Food cooked in the sand,
A stone that vomits,
What is that?' — Melon, soap.

Baskakov 196 no. 2, in Nogai:

Küngö biskän as kördüm.
Köbük qusqan tas kördüm. — *Qarbyz.*
'I saw food cooked in the sun.
I saw a stone that vomits froth'. — Watermelon.

The area of diffusion of the type more or less coincides with the area of subtype 2. Many of the variants of the two types are closely related. As a result, subtype 2 cannot be regarded as representing the original version of our riddle.

Sub type 3:

There is only a single record of this subtype.

Kúnos 1889 no. 107, in Ottoman-Turkish:

*Elde Elekman,
Suda Süleiman,
Kavakta kollar,
Söjütte söyler. — Elek, balyk, iyilan, bülbül.*

'In the hand *Elekman* (?).

In the water *Süleiman* (Solomon).

On the poplar (or, aspen) it lies in ambush.

On the willow it sings'. — Sieve, fish, snake, nightingale.

Here again we have a distinct dichotomy: after the first two lines with the rhyme in *-man* (for *Elekman* in line 1, may I refer to *eliman*, in the example under subtype 1) there are two lines with a different rhyme pattern. They, too, have a total of five syllables each (but 3 + 2, not 2 + 3), locative form of the first element, and initial alliteration. These similarities in the poetic structure may account for the blending of two types. The second part of the riddle exists as an independent type.

Elçin no. 61, from Manisa:

*Kavakta kavlaian,
Söjütte söyleien. — İylan, kuş.*

'On the poplar (or, aspen) one whose skin is peeling off.

On the willow one who sings'. — Snake, bird.

Güngör-Ozanoğlu 106 no. 462, from Kastamonu:

*Kavakta kavlaian gördüm.
Söjütte söyleien gördüm. — Karga, düdük.*

'On the poplar (aspen) I saw one whose skin was peeling off.

On the willow I saw one who sang'. — Crow, whistle.

Sub type 4:

Tezel no. 303, from Istanbul (with Ögel no. 24, a variant from Erzurum):

*Dayda daliman (Ögel: daraman),
Suda Süleiman.
Askeri (Ögel: esgeri) iješil,
Kendi alaman. — Tavşan (Ögel: aslan), balyk, yaprak kiraz.*

'On the mountain *daliman* (*daraman*).

In the water *Süleiman* (Solomon).

Its soldiers are green,

Itself is flaming red'. — Rabbit (var., lion), fish, leaves, cherry.

Balcıoğlu no. 55, from an unspecified location in Anatolia:

Dayda dalaman,

Suda Süleiman.

Askeri yeşil,

Kendi alaman. — Kyzyljyk.

'On the mountain *dalaman*,

In the water Süleiman (Solomon).

Its soldiers are green,

Itself is flaming red'. — Cornelean cherry.

The last word of the riddle, *alaman*, cannot be translated here with its usual meaning, 'German'; since it contrasts with 'green' in the previous line, it has to designate a color and was therefore translated as 'flaming red', as a derivative of *al* 'flaming red' along the pattern of *karaman* ~ *kara*.

In subtype 4, unlike the subtypes treated before, the rhyme *-man* is taken up again in line 4, so that the rhyme pattern here has become aaba, so widely employed in Turkish folk literature. We also have an interesting innovation in the second variant: the riddle has only a single answer. The riddle has ceased to be a multiple riddle. This transformation has been made possible by two factors: 1. Lines 3-4 constitute a riddle by itself with its two answers both closely connected and contrasted with one another. 2. The unrelated lines 1-2 are now regarded as a mere introduction without meaning (in Turkish folklore, this kind of meaningless introduction is called *tekerleme*). This transformation, which is so obvious in the second variant, also holds for the first variant, although there the two answers (Leaves, Cherry) conceal it somewhat.

Subtype 4, which bears the marks of secondary transformation, can thus not be the original form of the type. Its last lines may derive from an independent two-lined riddle (perhaps in a dialect where *yaşyl* 'green' rhymes with *qyzyl* 'red' picturing an army in which, in paradoxical contrast to the well-known Shiite tradition, the soldiers wear green caps and the leaders red turbans. However, no record of such an independent riddle has come to my knowledge.

Subtype 5:

Kúnos 1889 no. 89:

Dayda dalaman.

Suda Süleiman.

Evde Osman.

Kapuda arslan. — Tazy, balyk, köpek, süpürge.

'On the mountain *dalaman*,

In the water Süleiman (Solomon).

In the house Osman.

At the door a lion'. — Greyhound, fish, dog, broom.

An identical Ottoman-Turkish variant, published by Smirnov and quoted by Filonenko (p. 49), has only one answer: Dog. This answer is obviously inspired by line 4. The answer Dog to line 3 in Kúnos's variant seems rather unsatisfactory. Furthermore, the rhyme in line 4 is inadequate. There are, however, other Ottoman variants:

Aşkun vol. 1 p. 193 no. 16, from Sivas (for an identical variant, equally from Sivas, see Halil no. 4):

Bajada batman.

Odada Otman.

dayda daleiman.

Suda Süleiman. — Loγ, ateş, geñik, balyk.

'A batman (i.e., a weight varying from 5 to 22 lbs.) on the smokehole (chimney).

In the room Otman.

On the mountain *daleiman*.

In the water Süleiman (Solomon)'. — Stone roller
on the flat dirt roof, fire, deer, fish.

Akalın no. 101, from Erzurum:

Bajada batman.

Odada gatman.

Dayda Süleiman. — Taş, sandyk, tavşan.

'A batman on the smokehole (chimney).

In the room *gatman*.

On the mountain Süleiman (Solomon)'. — Stone, chest, rabbit.

Also the variant Sılacı 17 no. 3, though somewhat corrupted, has to be mentioned here:

Day balabany.

Dere süleimany.

Köñ imamy. — Aiy, balyk, horoz.

'Huge, heavy fellow of the mountain.

Süleiman (Solomon) of the stream.

Imam (prayer-leader) of the village'. — Bear, fish, cock.

Another variant, Balcıoğlu no. 59, shows blending with the type discussed under subtype 1:

Dayda takyldy,

Suda bykylty.

Arşyn aıakly.

Mahlede kizir,

Çarşyda batman. — Tüfek, balyk, jeñlan, köpek, karpuz.

'On the mountain a knocking noise.

In the water a wriggling movement.

Arshin-legged.

In the *mahalle* (town quarter) the assistant to the headman.

In the market a *batman*'. — Gun, fish, gazelle, dog, watermelon.

Even if we disregard the last-mentioned two variants, there are many obscure points in the texts. We propose to discuss them in the order of Aşkun's variant, since this variant appears to be the best in regard to rhyme (*-man*, all the way through) and initial alliteration.

Bajada batman. — Loy / Taş.

'On the smokehole (chimney) a *batman*'. — Stone roller / Stone.

The 'stone roller' is a stone cylinder which is kept lying on the flat roof and which is used to smoothen the surface of the dirt roof after heavy rainfall. The term *batman* depicts it as a heavy object, in the same way as the watermelon is described as 'a batman in the market' in Balçıoğlu's riddle. The five characteristic features of our riddle can be observed in this line, with the sole difference that its five syllables are divided as 3 + 2, not as 2 + 3.

Odada Otman. — Ateş.

'In the room Otman'. — Fire.

The obscure word *gatman* in Akalın's variant seems to have been elicited by the rhyming word *batman*. Its first syllable is associated with *gat* 'fold', and the idea of folding things and putting them away may be held responsible for the answer Chest. Kúnos's variant, on the other hand, appears totally unacceptable: *evde* 'in the house' has to be rejected as spoiling both meter and initial alliteration; *Osman*, the modernized and standardized form of the name *Otman*, is definitely the poorer choice again for metrical and alliterative reasons; finally, the answer Dog is poorly established and unmotivated (in an Islamic environment, dogs do not belong inside the house) and also resembles the answer of line 1, Greyhound, in an awkward way. Another variant, which had *Odada Osman* with the answer *Horoz* 'Cock', recorded by Hamamizade, had been mentioned above under Subtype 2, but there, too, the answer is lacking motivation. Aşkun's variant has none of these defaults: it is a perfect match of the previous line in every respect. Let me especially point to two additional features: 1. *Otman* is a male name of the Islamic tradition just as Suleiman. 2. The alliterating elements *od-*, *ot-* already suggest the answer 'Fire', since *od*, *ot* is the pan-Turkic word for 'fire' (now obsolete in Ottoman).

A strange parallelism is, thus, evident between the lines *Suda Süleiman* 'In the water Süleiman' and *Odada Otman* 'In the room Otman', and we can ask whether the original form of the latter was, perhaps, **Odda Otman* 'In the fire Otman', which, when the term *od* became obsolete, was restyled *Odada Otman*, but with 'Fire' still being the answer. Does each line, perhaps, describe a person, or legendary figure, connected with one of the elements?

We need not dwell on the remaining two lines of Aşkun's variant, which show the usual form. The result of our analysis of the Ottoman material, which we have exhausted with Subtype 5, is that this subtype, and in particular Aşkun's variant, give the purest form of our riddle type to be recorded in the Ottoman folklore material. Its poetic form can be sketched by means of the following formula (the order of the lines is adjusted to that of the majority of variants):

Da.. da da.. man
Su-da sü..man
Ba..da ba..man
Od..da ot-man

The riddle is a multiple one. The answer to line 1 can be a variety of — mostly wild — animals (rabbit, bear, deer, sheep, wild boar, fox, lion, greyhound). Line 2 has the answer Fish, line 3 the Stone Roller, line 4 Fire.

In order to test our hypothesis that Subtype 5 is the one closest to the original form of the type, we have to search for parallels outside the Ottoman area. The examples below show that its area of distribution is about as large as that of Subtype 2.

Gurbanov p. 75, in Turkmen:

Dayda dalaıman,
Suvda Süleıman,
Oıde heleıman.
Gumda tezekçi,
İakada kesekçi. — Aıy, (vars.: day goçy, iolbars, kejik), balyk, elek, tomzak,
galtak.

'On the mountain *dalaıman*.

In the water *Süleıman* (Solomon).

In the house *heleıman*.

In the sand a dung-worker.

On the shore an adobe-maker'. — Bear (variants have instead: mountain goat, panther, gazelle), fish, sieve, beetle, *wheel-barrow*.

Other variants: Gurbanov p. 22, in Turkmen:

Dayda dalaıman,
Suvda Süleıman,
Kentde kesekçi,
Çölde tezekçi. — Bulut, iüzük, tomzak.

'On the mountain *dalaıman*,

In the water *Süleıman* (Solomon).

In the village an adobe-maker.

In the steppe a dung-worker'. — Cloud, fingerring, beetle.

Gurbanov p. 108, in Turkmen:

Kertde kesekçi,
İolda tezekçi.

Gumda galaıman,

Suvda Süleıman. — Alaka, tomzak, ıylan, balyk.

'On the mountain slope an adobe-maker.

On the road a dung-worker.

In the sand a *gulaıman*.

In the water Süleiman (Solomon)'. — Marmot (rat), beetle, snake, fish.

Türkmen halk matallary 102 no. 23, in Turkmen (fragment):

Obada porhan. — It.

'In the village a shaman'. — Dog.

Pantusov no. 46, in Neo-Uigur:

Bayda bulaıman,

Suda Sulaıman,

Küldä Külaıman. — Bülbül, balyk, kömäş nan dur.

'In the garden *Bulaıman*.

In the water Sulaiman (Solomon).

In the ashes *Külaıman*'. — Nightingale, fish, bread baked in the ashes.

Malov p. 122 no. 71, in Neo-Uigur:

Suda Sulaıman.

İolda xiraman. — Börä.

'In the water Sulaiman (Solomon).

On the road one who walks swaggeringly'. — Bear.

Isänbät no. 270, in Kazan Tatar:

Suda Söläıman. — Sölek.

'In the water Söläiman (Solomon)'. — Leech.

Isänbät no. 1393, in Kazan Tatar:

Türdä Tütmän.

Bazda Batman.

İšek töbendä Gabderaxman. — Tüşäk, borça, seberke.

'In the corner opposite the door (i.e. where the guest of honor sits) *Tütmän*.

In the storage pit *Batman*.

Right behind the door *Gabderaxman*'. — Pillow, flea, broom.

Isänbät no. 1394, in Kazan Tatar:

Tür başıynda Tüşämän.

İšek töbendä Gapteri.

Miç başıynda Maısärvär.

Miç eçendä Bildämän. — Tüşäk, seberke, tagarak, ikmak.

'On the seat of honor *Tüşämän*.
 Right behind the door *Gapteri*.
 At the oven *Maışärvär*.
 In the oven *Bildämän*'. — Pillow, broom, trough, bread.

Isänbät no. 1395, in Kazan Tatar:

Išek töbendä Gabderaxman.

Bazda Batman.

Türdä Türeäiman.

Ildä Iläiman.

Kyrda Kyraiman.

Suda Söläiman.

İirdä İiräiman.

Küldä Küläiman.

İulda İulaiman. — *Seberke, borça, tüşäk, iläk, kyrly kuraı, sölek, ielan, jikän, iomran.*

'Right behind the door *Gabderaxman*.

In the storage pit *Batman*.

On the seat of honor *Türeäiman*.

In the hand *Iläiman*.

In the steppe *Kyraiman*.

In the water *Söläiman* (Solomon).

On the ground *İiräiman*.

In the lake *Küläiman*.

On the road *İulaiman*'. — Broom, flea, pillow, sieve, a kind of plant, leech, snake, reed, marmot.

Miras no. 275, in Bashkir:

Ildä iläimän.

Qyrda qyraiman.

Hyvda höläimän. — *Iläk, quraı, hölök.*

'In the hand *iläimän*.

In the steppe *qyraiman*.

In the water *höläimän* (Solomon?)'. — Sieve, a plant, leech.

Not all of the above non-Ottoman material fits smoothly into the pattern of Subtype 5; one of the Kazan Tatar variants (Isänbät no. 1394) shows some free development at the end of the lines, but, more important, the Turkmen variants, although the concept of the riddle is the same, have an altogether different rhyme scheme in two of their lines and hence could be treated as a separate subtype. In the last mentioned Kazan Tatar variant the pattern of Subtype 5 appears richly developed to a length of nine lines.

In many of the variants, the initial alliteration is based, not so much on the combination of two words, but on a partial repetition of the first in the second: *küldä*

Külaıman, gumba gulaıman, türdä Türäıman, and so on. The second element is an artificial formation without meaning. Often the spelling shows that it is regarded as the name of a person. In other cases, it actually is a name. All these names, just as Süleiman and Otman (Osman), belong to the Islamic tradition (Gabderaxman, Gapteri, Maisärvär).

We also notice that the line about the Sieve in K ú n o s' s riddle (see Subtype 3), which appears as a completely isolated variant within the Ottoman material, is sustained by many parallels in the non-Ottoman material (in Turkmen, Kazan Tatar, and Bashkir). Other sporadic correspondances are Ottoman *Bajada batman* with Kazan Tatar *Bazda batman* and the line *Dayda dalaıman* in most of the Ottoman and some of the Turkmen variants. But the backbone of the riddle clearly is the line about Sulaiman in the water, with the answer Fish. It appears in (variants of Subtype 2 are here included): Ottoman, Gagauz, Crimean Tatar, Karaim Tatar, Kazan Tatar, Bashkir, Azerbaijani, Turkmen, Uzbek, Kazakh, and Neo-Uigur, or, in short, throughout the area of Islamized Turkic tribes. There are, furthermore, only very few variants both in the Ottoman and in the non-Ottoman material in which this line is missing. The line, and with it the entire type, are so wide-spread that we have to regard it as very old.

How old can it be? The key line of the type, with the Islamic name Sulaiman, limits its age to the beginning of our millenium, the period when the Turkic tribes were converted to Islam. But, there remains the possibility that the name Sulaiman only replaced some other name or word of a pre-Islamic version.

There are, in fact, certain vestiges of a pre-Islamic water spirit whose name may have been similar to that of the Jewish-Islamic prophet. In a shaman prayer recorded among the Islamized Kazakhs (I n a n p. 135; the source is not indicated; a translation of the first part, until line 81, can be read in R a d l o v *Proben* vol. 3 pp. 60—66) the following passage is found:

*Su basynda Süleıman,
Su aıayy Er Qurqut.*

'At the head (source) of the water: Süleiman.

The water's foot (lower part): *Er Qurqut*'.

On the other hand, the southern tribes of the Yakut know of an evil spirit called *Solbon* (*P e k a r s k i i Slovar* vol. 2 p. 2266: *solbon* 'einer der unersaettlichsten bösen Geister des Südens'; according to N. P o p p e *Jakutische Etymologien*, Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, vol. 33, 1961, p. 139, the Iakut form is borrowed from Mong. *šolmon*, etc., which itself is derived from Sogd. *šmnū* 'demon, evil spirit'.

This philological material is, however, too sparse and too inconclusive to base our argument upon it. Let us, rather, look around for non-Islamic forms of our riddle type. In the folklore of some of the pagan Turkic tribes riddles have, in fact, been recorded which clearly belong to the same type.

Domozhakov no. 103, in Khakas (also: *Khakassko-ruskii slovar'* p. 32 s. v. *aryγ*):

Pilde Pidet,

Aryyda Adat,

Xyrda Xyzart. — Püür, xozan, kiik.

'On the mountain pass *Pidet*.

In the grove *Adat*.

On the ridge *Xyzart*'. — Wolf, rabbit, goat.

The artificial second words are understood as names, just as in the Kazan Tatar material, for instance. Their formation is based on initial alliteration and rhyme. Three animals are described in parallel statements as three persons (or beings), each one with his typical abode. A rather specific topography is indicated: mountain pass, grove, ridge. Water is not mentioned. The only correspondence with some of the variants quoted above is found in the word *xyr* which occurs as *kyr* and *qyr* in the Kazan Tatar and Bashkir variants. But there are also Khakas variants which speak of the water:

Radlov *Proben* vol. 9 p. 317 (text), p. 291 (translation), no. 241, in Khakas:

Suyda suydur pičik. — Palyx xarayy.

'In the water a watery letter (or writing)'. — A fish's eye.

Karatanov no. 13, in Khakas (published only in translation):

'In the water the watery one (*suxaizy*) lives'. — Fish.

Here, only single lines are recorded. Among his Tuvan material, K a t a n o v twice lists successive single line riddles which, apparently, each form one unit as multiple riddles:

Radlov *Proben* vol. 9 p. 123 (text), p. 104 (translation), nos. 892-893, in Tuvan:

Suyda sūk mögä.

Čärdä čärzi mögä. — Päl, kajrakan.

'In the water a watery (slippery) hero.

On the ground (land) a hero smelling of earth'. — Kind of fish (Salmo Taimen), bear.

Radlov *Proben* vol. 9 p. 123 (text), p. 105 (translation), nos. 897-899, in Tuvan:

Čärdä čärgä lama.

Suyda surtul lama.

Tayda tadaı lama. — Kar körtüü, kara kuškaş, kat kadyry.

'On the ground a soft lama.

In the water a wet lama.

On the mountain a horizontal (?) lama'. — Snow flake, black little bird, blowing of the wind (?).

I have added question marks where the translation furnished in Radlov *Proben* seems doubtful to me. It is, perhaps, possible to translate the last line as:

'On the mountain a pleasant-tasting lama'.

— A plant with berries.

Finally, there is a Yakut riddle, which is recorded with two different answers:

Piekarski nos. 203 and 246, in Yakut:

Jiä isigär jiäläx yräxtäyy bār üsü. — *ǰaxtar isināyi oγoto. Njiräi oγo* (or: *Uot*).

'Inside the house there is the king (ruler, sovereign) of the house'. — Infant in mother's womb. New-born infant. (or: Fire).

In most of the Khakas and Tuvan variants alliteration is based on etymological paronomasia, the second word being a derivative of the first: water — watery, earth — smelling of earth. There are also definite correspondences with the Islamic variants. The line about water appears frequently (usually with the answer Fish). The line beginning with 'On the mountain' occurs, too. Moreover, the opposition 'water — land' strongly resembles the opposition 'mountain — water'. Even the Yakut riddle is not isolated: it corresponds to the line about Fire in the Ottoman multiple riddle.

We have seen that a Khakas variant, like some of the Islamic riddles, represents the enriddled item as a being which possesses a name. The Tuvan variants speak of a 'hero' or 'champion' or of a 'lama'. In the Yakut variant, the fire (or the infant) is the 'sovereign of the house'. Very interesting is the word *suxaizy* in one Khakas variant, which K a r a t a n o v translates as 'the watery one'. It is really *suy eezi* 'master of the water'. We can assume that the beings here referred to are not mortals but nature spirits.

In the beliefs of the primitive Altaic tribes, water and earth, mountain passes and woods were the seats of deities who were called 'Master of the Water', 'Master of the Earth', etc. (cf. H a r v a, pp. 386 ff.): members of the Karagas tribe, before starting to fish, would light a fire and throw tea, milk, fat and butter into it in order to induce the 'Master of the Water' (*sug äzi*) to grant them a good catch (*op. cit.*, p. 400); when hunting for fur-bearing animals, they would first secure the favor of the 'Master of the Mountain' (*day äzi*) through a sacrifice (*op. cit.*, p. 392; according to P o t a p o v p. 235, the hunters of the northern Altai Mountains describe the *taydyn eszi* 'Master of the Mountain' as a naked woman with enormous breasts, who engages in sexual intercourse with the hunters and afterwards rewards them by letting them make a good bag). The Yakuts would not travel over dangerous mountain passes without sacrificing to the 'Master of the Mountain Pass' (*ättuk iččitā*), tying some horse hair, piece of cloth, or similar thing to the branch of a tree (H a r v a, p. 395), and when an elk or hermin caught himself in a trap, they would joyfully thank the 'Master of the Black Woods' (*kara tya iččitā*) for his bounty (*op. cit.*, p. 391). Even as far west among the Islamized Turkic tribes as with the Karachai in the valleys of the Caucasus mountains, an earth spirit is called *jer ijesi* 'Master of the Earth'. The earth (or land), water, mountain, mountain pass are also the locations mentioned in the riddles.

There can be no doubt that we have to rectify K a r a t a n o v's translation of the Khakas riddle; its correct rendering has to be:

'In the water the Master of the Water'. — Fish.

This riddle text we regard as the oldest, most original form of the riddle that has come to us. We may, then, suggest that, in its multiple form, it ran about as follows:

'In the water the Master of the Water.

On the mountain the Master of the Mountain', etc.

The answers, Fish, Bear, etc., would personify or symbolize these deities and, at the same time, refer to the kind of animal they are requested to grant the hunter. The Khakas riddle featuring Wolf, Rabbit, and Mountain Goat would, essentially, be of the same type. The Yakut Fire riddle, on the other hand, applies the pattern to a domestic spirit so that no hunting game is involved.

With the Oslamization, the riddle lost its original mythological meaning. But the reference to the elements remained alongside with its poetic features and its multiple structure.

Post script:

After having written this article, I received, through the courtesy of Dr. Stanisław Kałużyński of the University of Warsaw, a microfilm of the Yakut riddles contained in S. V. Iastremskii: *Grammatika iakutskago iazyka*, Irkutsk 1900. In this collection, p. 260, no. 57, I found an additional Yakut riddle of the type treated in this article (For an incomplete variant, collected by Priklonskii, see Piekarski, no. 98):

Sysyga syrbaı.

Xonūga xoxos.

Üökka ökös. — Sasyl, turuıa, ular.

'On the meadow a fidgety one.

On the field a spindle-legged one.

On the willow a bowing (bending) one'. — Fox, crane, heathcock.

Works cited by short title

- Akalın, Lûtfulah Sami: *Erzurum bilmeceleri*. İstanbul, 1954.
 Amanžolov, Särsen, and Žanūzaqov, T.: *Qazaqtyn xalyq žūmbaqtary*. Alma-Ata, 1959.
 Aryfyı, Ysma'yl: *Tapyşmaqlar*. Samarkand-Tashkent, 1929.
 Aşkun, Vehbi Cem: *Sivas folkloru*. 2 vols. Sivas, 1940—1943.
 Balcıoğlu, Deniz: 'Halk bilmeceleri'. TFA, year 8, vol. 4, no. 493, 1957, pp. 1485—1486.
 Baskakov, N. A.: *Nogajskij jazyk i ego dialekty*. Moscow, 1940.
 Caferoğlu, A.: *Doğu illerimiz ağızlarından toplamalar*. Vol. 1, İstanbul, 1942.
 Caferoğlu, A.: *Kuzey-doğu illerimiz ağızlarından toplamalar*. İstanbul, 1946.
 Domozhakov, V. I.: 'Khakasskie zagadki'. *Zapiski khakasskogo nauchno-issledovatel'nogo instituta jazyka, literatury i istorii*. Vypusk 2, Abakan, 1951, pp. 62—84.
 Elçin, Şükrü: 'Eşenin Yelegen köyü bilmeceleri'. TFA, year 12, vol. 6, no. 133, 1960, pp. 2199—2200.
 Ertekin, Eşref: 'Çorumda söylenilen bilmeceler'. *Çorumlu*, year 4, nos. 30—39, 1941—1943.
 Filonenko, V. I.: *Zagadki krymskich tatar*. Simferopol, 1926.

- Gäldiev, M.: *Maqal vä matallar ıyryndysy*. Poltoratsk, 1925.
- Güngör, Nasih, and Ozanoğlu, Ihsan: *Kastamonu bilmeceleri*. İzmir, 1939.
- Gurbanov, G.: *Türkmen hal matallary*. Chardzhou, 1960.
- Halil, Ahmed: 'Sivasta derlenen bilmeceler'. TFA, year 7, vol. 4, no. 76, 1955, pp. 1204—1205.
- Hamamizade, Ihsan: *Bilmeceler*. İstanbul, 1930.
- Harva, Uno: *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker*. Helsinki, 1938 (FF Communications, vol. 52, no. 125).
- İnan, Abdülkadir: *Tarihte ve bugün şamanizm; materyeller ve araştırmalar*. Ankara, 1954.
- İsänbät, N.: *Tabıymaklar*. Kazan, 1941.
- Karatanov, I., Popov, N., and Potanin, G.: 'Kachinskie tatary minusinskago okruga'. *Izvestiya imp. russkago geograficheskago obshchestva*, vol. 20, no. 6, St. Petersburg, 1884, pp. 614—659.
- Khakassko-russkiy slovar'*. Ed. N.A. Baskakov. Moscow, 1953.
- Kowalski, Tadeusz: *Zagadki ludowe tureckie*. Cracow, 1919.
- Kúnos, Ignaz: *Oszmán-török nepköltési gyűjtény*. 2 vols., Budapest, 1887—1889.
- Ljutsh, Ia.: *Kirgizskaja khrestomatiya*. Tashkent, 1883.
- Malov, S.E.: *Uigurskiy yazyk*. Moscow-Leningrad, 1954.
- Miras, Säyit: *Xalq ädäbeiatynan mäquldär häm ıomaqtar*. Ufa, 1930.
- Ögel, Bahaeddin: 'Riddles from Erzurum'. *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 63, 1950, pp. 413—424.
- Öztürk, Cafer: 'Şeyhosman köyü bilmeceleri'. TFA, year 11, vol. 6 no. 126, 1960, pp. 2074 f.
- Pantusov, N. N.: *Materialy k izucheniyu narechiya taranchei ilijskago okruga*. Part 2, *Sbornik taranchinskikh zagadok i zadach*. Kazan, 1898.
- Pekarskii, E. K.: *Slovar' jakutskago yazyka*. 3 vols. St. Petersburg, 1907—1930. Reimpression 1958—1959.
- Piekarski, Edward: 'Zagadki jakuckie'. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, vol. 4, 1928, pp. 1—59.
- Potapov, L. P.: 'Materialy po etnografii tuvintsev rayonov Mongun-Taigi i Kara-Kholja'. *Trudy tuvinskoj kompleksnoj arkhologo-etnograficheskoy ekspeditsii I, Materialy po arkheologii i etnografii zapadnoj Tuvy*. Moscow-Leningrad, 1960, pp. 171—237.
- Radlov, V. V.: *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Staemme Süd-Sibiriens*, 10 vols. St. Petersburg, 1866—1910.
- Ş., F.: 'Trakyaada kültür derlemeleri: bilmeceler'. Part 2, *Edirne'de 6 Ok*, year 1, no. 11, 1934, p. 20.
- San, Salih: 'Besni takvimi ve bilmeceler'. *Yeni Malatya*, May 28 — July 28, 1951.
- Sılacı, Ferhat: *Seçilmiş 1001 bilmece*. İstanbul, 1960.
- Tezel, Naki: *Bilmeceler ve maniler*. Ankara, 1941.
- TFA: *Türk folklor araştırmaları*. İstanbul, 1949 ff.
- Türkmen halk matallary*. Ed. M. Sakali, A. Kauşutov. Ashkhabad, 1948.
- Xulufli, V.: *Tapmajalar*. Baku, 1928.
- Zejnally, Hänäfi: *Azərbaycan tapmajalary*. Baku, 1928.