

**Final Report of the UGC Sponsored Major Research Project**

**F.No. 5-138/2014 (HRP) dated 27/08/2015**

**on**

**A Study of Traditional Children's Folk Games of  
Kerala: Cataloguing and Analysis of Their  
Pedagogical Content**

**Submitted to**

**The University Grants Commission**

**New Delhi**

**By**

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## Acknowledgement

At the outset I wish to place on record my deep sense of gratitude to the Secretary, University Grants Commission, New Delhi for sanctioning the major research project entitled, “A Study of Traditional Children's Folk Games of Kerala: Cataloguing and Analysis of their pedagogical content”

St Albert's College, Ernakulam hosted my research activities and provided all infrastructural and other support. I specially thank the Manager, the Principal and my colleagues there who helped me abundantly.

This project that attempted to record different socio-cultural dynamics required the help of many generous people and a number of persons teamed up with me at the different stages of this work. I would like to specially mention some persons who joined hands with me in this project:

- Dr Sabu MC, Dr Nisha Thomji and Mr. Shine Antony from St Albert's College;
- Ms. Aswathy Ramachandran, my team leader and Ms Dhanya Paul who helped me throughout; Jyothin, Meenu and Bhela who helped to collect the details of most of the games; Ms. Anu Pinheiro and Fr Binil Xavier who helped me for the preparation of the final draft of the publication;
- Shaji Joseph who did the lay out of the book and Shaji George and Pranatha Books for publishing it.

My heartfelt gratitude goes also to so many of my students and friends who cooperated with this project in small and big ways.

**Dr Edward A. Edezhath**  
Principal Investigator

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# **A Study of Traditional Children's Folk Games of Kerala: Cataloguing and Analysis of their Pedagogical Content**

## **Summary of Findings**

This project attempted to catalogue the children's folk games of Kerala and analyse their formative content. From among the numerous local games 120 representative games were chosen, their comprehensive descriptions prepared and categorized based on their distinctive characteristics. These games described in English and Malayalam, with their sketches, photos and their categorization tags have been published in a book entitled "Children's Folk Games of Kerala - കരളുതീലഢ കുട്സികളുടഢ നാടുകളിക" (ISBN 978-81-946415-1-3).

The games were further analysed based on their gender specificity, place of activity, nature of participation and usage of play accessories. About 89 percent of these are games played by children of either gender, only six percent of the games male specific, and five percent played only by girl children. Above 60 percent of the games collected are primarily outdoor games, 15 percent of them are played indoors and the rest can be played outdoors or indoors. On the social aspect of these games, three major modes were identified. Almost two thirds of the games listed are in the mode of individual participation, about 20 percent, team participation and less than ten percent of these games could be either played in teams or participated individually. Yet another participation mode, namely, guided mode, was also noted and only about five percent of the game listed were of guided-play mode. It has also been quite fascinating to examine the materials used in these folk games. There is wide variety of mostly locally available materials, like, pebbles, terracotta pieces, sand, sticks, different kinds leaves, nuts, seashells, paper pieces and so on made use of as play materials. Even when balls are used in some of these games they are locally made, using wastepaper, cloth pieces or sap of certain trees. For board games, except for very few of them, even the playing board is drawn in the sand.

The folk games were further classified according to the four-fold division of games that Roger Caillois (1958) proposed, as predominantly i) competitive, ii) imitative, iii) chance based, or iv) experience focused. Among the games examined under this project 79% are primarily games of competition, less than 5 percent games of simulation, less than 5 percent games of chance, and about 12 percent of the games, focused on emotional experience.

Major educative and skill equipping benefits of these games have also been examined under this study. The 14 major benefits of specific games listed in the order of priority are: inner freedom, being physically active, alertness, keenness of observation, team spirit, dexterity, suppleness, competitiveness, agility, helping memory, analytical skill, endurance, fluency and creativity. On another level the formative benefits of folk games in general, or those found to have been shared by the common folk game culture were also listed separately. These common benefits of traditional games are self-confidence, leadership skill, communication, learning skills, mutual acceptance, gender equity and coping with failure. In brief, these folk games were found to be of immense formative value in the life of children.

# Children's folk games of Kerala: categorization and analysis

## Introduction

Where there are children there is always some kind of play. While today's kids limit themselves to more sophisticated types of games, those of a bygone era played more localised simple games we often refer to as folk games. A major share of the folk games of most of the cultures including that of Kerala has disappeared. This study lists a good number of those games and attempts a detailed analysis of those.

Firstly, what are these 'Folk Games'? Simply put, these are the games of the soil played by the children of a specific place. They are quite different from the sophisticated and organised institutionalized games that often requires special gadgets.

An important characteristic of folk games is the manner in which they are transmitted and handed down. How do children come to learn these games? Mostly there is no formal training process, but children themselves train other children to play these games, including their rules and other stipulations. These games are handed down from generation to generation, mostly by children themselves. This informal transmission makes these games well rooted in the local culture, making it truly part of the heritage of that social group. One direct consequence of this learning process is that mostly all these games will have a number of versions, sometimes even in a single locality.

"Those traditional games passed along informally from one group to another," remarks Martha Hartzog (2010) presenting a range of folk games from different communities of Texas, USA. And what function did they fulfil in society? They amused, instructed and inspired. These games handed on to the younger generation the values and beliefs that the previous generations had. "Games help small minds and imaginations mature, providing children with a chance to act out roles, make choices, and experience the thrill of winning and the disappointment of losing". In brief, folk games were one of the most effective ways in which the younger generation in any community was kept enjoyably involved, and furthermore they turned out to be the best

formative path to impart to children a variety of psychological and social skills, preparing them to be healthy and happy future citizens.

The specific focus of the present study has been to collect and examine different folk games prevalent in Kerala, most of which have disappeared or gradually disappearing. The anticipated outcome of the study is, while keeping the memory alive, assist in a revival and, if possible, adaptation of some of those games to today's circumstances.

## **Methodology**

A comprehensive list of the folk games of Kerala was prepared through a review of existing folk game collections, both print and online, and by undertaking a survey and interviewing game enthusiasts. For this, two survey forms, namely, Response Sheet 1 & 2 were used. (see **Annexure 1 & 2**). Based on the data collected, detailed game descriptions of 120 games were prepared along with categorisation tags for each game such as, i) the name of the game, ii) if it is gender specific, iii) age of the players, iv) played in-house or open air, v) participation, if individually or in teams, vi) play materials used, and vii) the benefits of that game. As a next step, the listed games were categorised along the above lines and further classified as per the four-fold division of games proposed by Roger Caillois (1958). Finally, educative and skill equipping benefits of the games were listed (see **Annexure 3 & 4**) and arranged as per their prominence among these games. The summary of findings is presented in the following "Listing of Kerala Folk games: Classification & Analysis". The detailed descriptions of the 120 games in English and Malayalam, with sketches and photos of folk games and their categorization tags has been published in a book entitled "Children's Folk Games of Kerala - കരളുതീലഃ കുട്കളുടെ നാടകളിക" (ISBN 978-81-946415-1-3).

## 1. A Catalogue of 120 Kerala Folk Games: Titles, Classification & Analysis

The following table lists 120 prominent folk games of Kerala and it includes games from a wide spectrum of communities, and they are of different types and target various age groups. They represent a broad category of activities and approaches and are definitely a fair representative body of the entire field folk games of Kerala. Almost all of these games originally have their name in Malayalam, as they are the folk games from Kerala. Very often a variety of other labels, like titles of players, play materials, activity indicators and rhymes, if any, are also in the vernacular. A few of them, of course, as they have journeyed through different generations and, at times, came from different lands, have names and other expressions a bit removed from the ordinary spoken Malayalam.

In the game listing that follows, **Column 4** gives the local Malayalam name of the particular game, **Column 3** its English rendering and **Column 2** its English name or meaning, whenever possible.

**Column 5** presents the abstract of the classification of these games. They are grouped into Games of Competition, Simulation, Change and Vertigo

**Column 6** indicates if the particular game is gender specific. They are either male specific, female specific or games that can be played by both genders.

**Column 7** gives an idea about the place where these games are played and indicates if they are played Inside, Outside or not specifically either of these.

**Column 8** is about the aspect of participation in the games. Some games are played in teams, while for some others the players participate individually.

**Column 9** specify if some material is required for the specific game. The details of the materials used is given in the comprehensive description of the games

**Column 10** is the summary of the benefits of the game indicated by different alphabets. They are: A. Inner freedom; B. Physically active; C. Alertness; D. Observation; E. Team spirit; F.

Dexterity; G. Suppleness; H. Competitive; J. Agility; K. Memory; L. Analytical; M. Endurance; N. Fluency; P. Creativity

## A Catalogue of 120 Kerala Folk Games: Titles, Classification & Analysis

**Columns >> 5 Classification >** C – Competition, S - Simulation, L - Chance, V - vertigo

**6 If Gender specific >** M, F, MF;

**7. Played inside or Outside:** H - Inside, O - Outside, HO - Either

**8. Participation >** I - Individually, T - Team, IT - Either, G – Guided;

**9. If play materials used:** Y – yes, N - no

**10. Benefits >** A. Inner freedom; B. Physically active; C. Alertness; D. Observation; E. Team spirit; F. Dexterity; G.

Suppleness; H. Competitive; J. Agility; K. Memory; L. Analytical; M. Endurance; N. Fluency; P. Creativity

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	English	Mal name in Eng	Malyalam	C I	Ge n	HO	Par t	Ma t	Bene
1	Climbing banana trunk	Vazhappindi kayattam	വാഴപ്പിണ്ടി കയറ്റ്	C	M	O	I	Y	BGM
2	Hide and seek	Olichukali	ഒളിച്ചുകളി	C	MF	O	IT	N	CD
3	Pillow fight	Thalayanayadi	തലയണയടി	C	MF	O	I	Y	BG
4	Squirrel's nest	Annan Pottil	അണ്ണാപ്പൊടപ്പി	C	MF	O	T	N	DJ
5	Dog and Cheetah	Nayayum puliyum	നായയും പുലിയും	C	MF	H O	I	Y	CL
6	Thaaram Kali	Thaaram Kali	താരം കളി	L	MF	H O	I	Y	AD
7	Tiger and cow	Payyum puliyum	പയ്യും പുലിയും	C	MF	H O	T	Y	BE
8	Spinning the top	Pambarakkali	പമ്പരകളി	C	MF	H O	I	Y	AF
9	Theppikkali	Theppikkali	തെപ്പിക്കളി	C	MF	H O	I	Y	CD
10	Chatti Kali - Attiyeru	Chatti Kali – Attiyeru	ചട്ടിക്കളി/ അടിയറ്റ്	C	MF	O	T	Y	BDJ
11	Traditional ball game	Nadan panthukali	നാടപ്പന്തുകളി	C	MF	O	T	Y	BEG
12	Am-edible game	Am thinnal kali	അം തിന്നപ്പകളി	C	MF	H O	I	N	CE
13	Drawing a moustache	Meesha vrachu kali	മീശവരച്ചുകളി	C	MF	H O	I	Y	DK
14	Bird game	Pakshiparakkal kali	പക്ഷിപരക്കപ്പകളി	C	MF	H O	I	N	CE
15	Stick throwing	Koleru kali – vadimuri	കോലരുകളി / വടിമുറി	C	MF	O	I	Y	BG
16	Ball in the hole	Kuzhippanthukali	കുഴിപ്പന്തുകളി	C	MF	O	I	Y	FJ
17	Choo and touch	Choo Kali	ച്ചുകളി	C	MF	O	I	Y	B
18	Stick game	Iirkil Kali	ഇരക്കപ്പകളി	C	MF	H O	I	Y	CDF
19	Spinning threads	Charadu Pinnikkali	ചരടുപിന്നി കളി	V	MF	O	I	Y	A
20	Frog Jump	Thavalachattam	തവളച്ചാട്	C	MF	O	I	N	BH
21	Shooting pebbles	Chottikkali	ചൊട്കളി	C	MF	H O	I	Y	FH
22	Ball bouncing	Panthadichukali	പന്തടിച്ചുകളി	C	MF	O	I	Y	CF
23	Areca nut game	Chembazhukka kali	ചമ്പഴുക്കാകളി	C	MF	H O	I	Y	AD
24	Water splashing	Vellam therupichu kali	വെള്ളം തെറിപ്പിച്ചുകളി	C	MF	O	I	N	AH
25	Running in water	Vellathil ottam	വെള്ളത്തിൽ ഓട്	C	MF	O	I	N	BG
26	Dipping game	Mungikkali	മുണ്ടിക്കളി	C	MF	O	I	N	HM
27	Swim underwater	Mungankuzhi kali	മുണ്ടൊട്കുഴി കളി	C	MF	O	I	N	BG
28	Athala Puthala	Athala Puthala	അത്ത്ലപ്പുത്ത്ല	L	MF	O	I	N	AE
29	Hop and touch	Njondikkali	ഞൊണ്ടിക്കളി	C	MF	O	T	N	BG

30	Grab the stick	Punjakkali	പുഞ്ചകളി	C	MF	O	T	N	DB
31	Cherakkapinjukali	Cherakkapinjukali	ചരക്കാപിഞ്ചുകളി	S	MF	O	I	N	AE
32	King game	Rajaav kali	രാജാവ് കളി	C	MF	O	T	Y	EG
33	Throw the stick	Vadithondikkali	വടിതോണ്ടികളി	C	MF	O	T	Y	BDJK
34	Police and thief	Kallanum polisum	കള്ളനും പൊലീസും	C	MF	O	T	Y	AD
35	Fort game	Kottakali	കോട്കളി	C	MF	O	T	N	BDEJ
36	Pull in the circle	Aattakkalam kali	ആട്കളം കളി	C	MF	O	T	N	BEG
37	Statue game	Chirikkatha pava, Statue	ചിരികാതപാവ	S	MF	H	T	N	MP
38	Sprig behind you	Pachilakali, Thooppukali	പച്ചിലകളി/ തൂപ്പുകളി	C	MF	O	I	Y	BCJ
39	Dancing the dragonfly	Thumbi thullal	തുമ്പിതുള്ളം	V	F	H	I	Y	AE
40	Thappanippattu	Thappanippattu	തപ്പാനിപ്പാട്	V	MF	H	G	N	AE
41	Dice Game	Pakida Kali	പകിടകളി	C	MF	H	I	Y	AE
42	Kavidikali	Kavidikali	കവിടികളി	C	MF	O	T	N	BG
43	War Game	Padakali	പകിടകളി	C	MF	O	T	Y	BG
44	Kakkukali	Kakkukali	കകുകളി	C	MF	O	I	Y	BE
45	Counting game	Ennal kali	എണ്ണ കളി	L	MF	O	I	N	AE
46	Kuttium Kolum	Kuttium Kolum	കൂടിയും കോലും	C	MF	O	T	Y	BDG
47	Blow out the leaf	Ilayoothikkali	ഇലയുതികളി	C	MF	O	I	N	AB
48	Karakali	Karakali	കാരകളി	C	M	O	T	Y	BCD
49	Bindi for the beauty	Sundarikku Pottukuthal	സുന്ദരികു പൊടുകുന്ത	C	MF	H	T	Y	AB
50	Ganjippu	Ganjippu	ഗഞ്ചിപ്പ	C	MF	O	I	Y	CD
51	Pallamkuzhi	Pallamkuzhi	പല്ലംകുഴി	C	F	O	IT	Y	FK
52	Sweet picking	Mittayi perukal	മിതയി പരുക	C	MF	H	I	Y	FH
53	Bhara	Bhara	ഭാര	C	F	H	I	Y	AH
54	Chathurangam	Chathurangam	ചതുരംഗം	C	MF	O	IT	Y	CKL
55	Kakkapeelikkali	Kakkapeelikkali	കാകാപ്പിലികളി	C	MF	O	T	N	BG
56	Kothankallukali	Kothan kallukali	കൊന്ത കല്ലുകളി	C	MF	O	I	Y	AC
57	Pot breaking	Kalam pottikkal	കലം പൊടിക്ക	C	MF	O	I	Y	AD
58	Swing ride	Oonjalattam	ഊഞ്ഞാലാടം	V	MF	O	I	Y	A
59	Snake and ladder	Paampum Koniyum	പാമ്പും കോണിയും	C	MF	H	I	Y	AD
60	Kallusodi	Kallusodi	കല്ലുസോഡി	C	MF	O	IT	Y	BJ
61	Kilithattukali	Kilithattukali	കിളിത്തടുകളി	C	MF	O	T	N	AD
62	Ammanakkali	Ammanakkali	അമ്മനകളി	C	MF	O	I	Y	ACD
63	Achukali	Achukali	അച്ഛുകളി	C	M	O	T	N	BD
64	Orange peel game	Orange tholi njekkal	ഓറഞ്ചു തൊലി നൈക	C	MF	H	I	Y	AJ
65	Kite flying	Pattam parathal	പടം പറത്ത	C	M	O	I	Y	FH
66	Urumbu kali	katturumpinu kathukuthi	കട്സുരൂമ്പിനു കാതുകുന്തി	V	MF	O	I	N	AE
67	Urikali	Urikali	ഉരികളി	V	MF	O	I	Y	A
68	Blow into the eye	Kannuchimmikkali	കണ്ണുചിമ്മികളി	C	MF	O	I	N	ACM

69	Onnamthallippati	Onnamthallippati	ഒന്നാംതലിപ്പാറ്റി	C	F	H	I	Y	CF	
70	Marble game	Golikali	ഗോലികളി	C	M	O	I	Y	CF	
71	Kalamvettikkali	Kalamvettikkali	കളം വെട്ടിക്കളി	C	MF	H	I	Y	ADL	
72	Jump rope	Kayar chattam	കയറു ചാട്ടം	C	MF	O	I	Y	BG	
73	Thayamkali	Thayamkali	തായംകളി	C	MF	H	O	I	Y	AF
74	Mookkelabhyasam	Mookkelabhyasam	മുക്കലേഭ്യാസം	C	F	O	I	Y	AH	
75	Ettukali	Ettukali	എട്ടുകളി	C	MF	O	IT	Y	AEF	
76	Kallukali	Kallukali	കല്ലുകളി	C	MF	H	O	I	Y	AFJ
77	Vadamvali	Vadamvali	വടം വലി	C	MF	O	T	Y	EB	
78	A mother went to shop	Oramma Kadayil poyi	ഒരമ്മ കടയിലുപോയി	L	MF	H	O	I	N	AE
79	Mannappam chuttukali	Mannappam chuttukali	മണ്ണപ്പം ചുട്ടുകളി	S	MF	O	I	Y	AE	
80	Bus Kali	Bus Kali	ബസ് കളി	S	MF	O	I	Y	AE	
81	Ittooli	Ittooli	ഇട്ടൂലി	C	MF	O	T	Y	AD	
82	Narangavaal	Narangavaal	നാരങ്ങാവായലി	C	MF	O	T	N	ABN	
83	Olenjaali	Olenjaali	ഓലഞ്ഞാലി	C	MF	O	T	Y	BC	
84	Musical chair	Kaserakali	കസരകളി	C	MF	O	I	Y	BCD	
85	Blindfold game	Kannupothikkali	കണ്ണുപൊതികളി	C	MF	O	I	Y	ABC	
86	Parrot's nest	Thathakkoottil Kayyidal	തത്തകുടയിലു കയ്യിടലി	V	MF	H	O	I	N	AC
87	Even-odd numbr game	Otta iratta kali	ഒറ്റ ഇരട്ട കളി	L	MF	H	O	I	Y	CD
88	Bread eating game	Appam kadi	അപ്പം കടി	C	MF	H	O	I	Y	ABC D
89	Poo parikkanporumo	Poo parikkanporumo	പൂ പറിക്കാലുപോരും	C	MF	O	T	N	BG	
90	Kudukudupambu	Kudukudupambu	കുടുകുട്ടു പാമ്പ്	V	MF	H	O	I	N	AE
91	Elephant game	Anakali	ആനകളി	C	MF	H	I	N	ABH	
92	Cart race	Vandikali	വണ്ടികളി	C	MF	O	I	Y	ABH	
93	Paper boat race	Vanchikali	വഞ്ചികളി	C	MF	O	I	Y	AF	
94	Sack race	Chakkilottam	ചാക്കിലോട്ടം	C	M	O	I	Y	ACFH	
95	Chopping heads	Porukali	പോരുകളി	C	MF	O	I	Y	AC	
96	Pottas kali	Pottas kali	പൊടാസ് കളി	V	MF	O	I	Y	ABH	
97	Heaven and earth	Aakashambhoomi	ആകാശം ഭൂമി	C	MF	O	I	N	ABC	
98	Am I right?	Ammaright	അമാ റൈറ്റ്	C	MF	O	IT	Y	ACD	
99	Rice and curry game	Kanjim Karim vachu kali	കഞ്ചിംകറിം വെച്ചു കളി	S	MF	O	IT	Y	AE	
100	Jump the box	Kalam varachu chaadal	കളം വരച്ചു ചാടലി	C	MF	O	T	N	AB	
101	Pond and land	Kulam kara	കുളം കര	C	MF	O	IT	N	ABC	
102	Cashewnut game	Kasuandi kali	കശുവണ്ടി കളി	C	MF	O	IT	Y	ACF	
103	Hide in the sand	Poothampoothi kali	പുതറം പുതറി കളി	C	MF	O	I	Y	ACD	
104	Hippopotamus	Hippopotamus	ഹിപ്പോപോട്ടാമസ്	C	MF	O	I	N	ADJ	

105	Bangle pieces	Vala pottu kali	വളപ്പൊടിക്കളി	C	F	H	I	Y	AD
106	Piggy back	Areem poreem	അരീം പൊരീം	V	MF	H	G	N	AE
107	Fly floating milkweed	Appuppan thaadi parappikal	അപ്പുപ്പപ്പ താടി പറപ്പിക്കുക	C	MF	O	I	Y	ACD
108	Stone skipping	Kampodu thennikkal	കമ്പോടു തെന്നിപ്പിക്കുക	C	MF	O	I	Y	ACF
109	Eerkil shooting	eerkil ampeyth	ഇരുകുറി അമ്പയ്തു	C	MF	O	I	Y	AF
110	Palm leaf army	karingatta ila pattalam	കരിങ്ങാട് ഇല പടപ്പാളം	V	MF	O	IT	Y	AF
111	Dragonfly lifting a grain	Thumpiye kalleduppikkal	തുമ്പിയെ കല്ലെടുപ്പിക്കുക	V	MF	O	I	Y	AD
112	Paper plane race	Kadalas vimanam parathal	കടലാസ്സവിമാനം പരത്ത്	C	MF	H O	I	Y	AF
113	Rocking a kid	Chanchadunni chanchad	ചാഞ്ചാടുണ്ണി ചാഞ്ചാട്	C	MF	H	G	N	AE
114	Fly's castle	eecha kottaram	ഇച്ചാ കോട്ടാരം	C	MF	H	I	N	ADL
115	Is parrot in the cage?	ee kootil thatha undo?	ഇരുകൂടടി തത്തയുണ്ടോ?	V	MF	H	G	N	AE
116	Crows fly, cranes fly	Kakka para, kokku para	കാക്ക പറ, കൊക്കു പറ	V	MF	H	G	N	AE
117	Hi birdie, bye birdie	Va paingili, Po paingili	വാപെങ്കിളി പൊപെങ്കിളി	V	MF	H	G	N	AE
118	Sevi Marble Game	Sevi kali	സേവീ കളി	C	M	O	I	Y	ACD
119	Ettum thulleem	Ettum thulleem	എട്ടും തുള്ളീം	C	MF	H O	I	Y	ACD
120	Tongue twisters	Naavulukikal	നാവുളുകുക	C	MF	H O	I	N	AN

## 2. Analysis of the Children's Folk Games of Kerala

While collecting the details of each of these folk games the contributors were asked for certain details and they have been recorded for further analysis. The details included, i) if that particular game is generally played indoors or outdoors, ii) targeted age group of the game, iii) If it is gender specific or not, iv) player participation, if individually or as a team, or an elder playing with a child, and v) if and what materials are used. Consequently, the present analysis looks at the body of games from these different angles and finally an attempt is made to classify them based on certain broadly agreed parameters.

### **Players, boys or girls?**

The culture of Kerala insists on a lot of gender segregation. In public transport, at places of worship or at sale counters there is often designated areas for men and women. But surprisingly, majority of the games listed are either played by boys and girls together or both boys and girls can play them (see **Column 6**). About 89 percent of these are games that can be played by children of either gender. Only six percent of the games are male specific, and five percent played only by girl children. But there is another reality, this joint label only indicates if a particular game can be played by both male and female children and doesn't indicate if they will actually be played together. In a particular context that game may sometimes be played either by boys or by girls.

### **Where do these children play?**

Some of these games are mainly played inside the house or other buildings, whereas, some others outside. And still others, can be played either inside or outside (see Column 7). Thus, the game 'Pallamkuzhi' is played on a wooden frame with holes and often it is set on some home furniture. Hence, they are invariably played inside the house. Whereas, 'Kottakali' or Fort Game is played in a large ground and it is definitely an outdoor game. Looking at the folk games under scrutiny a large majority of them are purely outdoor games. Above 60 percent of the games collected are primarily outdoor games, 15 percent of them are games played indoors and the rest can be played outdoors or indoors.

There is surely some marked difference between a typical indoor game and an outdoor game. Most of the indoor games are sedentary in nature, like board games or verbal games. Outdoor games mostly require physical exertion, such as a lot of running around and other vigorous movement. Many of the outdoor games can be played by large teams while the indoor ones may have only a fewer number of players.

Larger numbers of outdoor games in the present collection of folk games is an indication of the lifestyle of the generation of the children that played it. In sharp contrast, large sections of modern children limit themselves to plays on screen and have very few occasions of active and boisterous play. Those few who engage in outside play have to limit themselves to a few limited items like basketball, soccer and cricket. The children of a past generation had opportunities and large spaces to engage in active outside play and they also had a large number of games to select from.

### **In teams or as individuals**

When senior persons were asked to recollect their folk game related experiences, almost all of them highlighted the relational grooming they received through the experience of play. They learned the dynamics of friendship, how to form a team and work well in it, and equipped themselves with the tricks of overcoming conflicts, all on the play field. So, the social aspect of folk games is quite important. In this connection three major modes were identified (see Column 8). In the first mode children form themselves into teams and usually one team confronts the other, as in the game 'Vadamvali' or Tug of war. In a second type of games, each child participates or competes individually. One example of this is 'Appam Kadi' or Bread biting. In a game like 'Ee kooti thatha undo?' or 'Is the parrot in the cage?' a senior child or an elder person entertains a smaller child in play. This guided play can be a third mode of participation. Almost two thirds of the games listed are in the mode of individual participation and about 20 percent were of team participation mode. Only less than ten percent of these games could be either played in teams or participated individually. Only about five percent of the game listed were of guided-play mode. Actually, this last group of plays is generally activities intended for very small kids. In many families, parents engage in a variety of spontaneous activities to

entertain toddlers, which may differ from one family to another. As can be expected the guided-mode plays listed here are mainly those used extensively in wider areas of the state.

### **The materials they play with**

Folk games are embedded in the culture of a place and are carried out quite informally by the children in each locality. They lack sophistication and mostly played with materials available locally. Many of them can also be played without any special materials. Looking closely at the games listed in the study, one third of them are played without any materials, while two thirds use some materials (see **Column 9**). It is quite fascinating to examine the materials used in these folk games. There is wide variety of mostly locally available materials, like, pebbles, terracotta pieces, sand, sticks, different kinds leaves, nuts, seashells, paper pieces and so on. Even when balls are used in some of these games they are locally made, using wastepaper, cloth pieces or sap of certain trees. For board games, except for very few of them, even the playing board is drawn in the sand.

Children mostly used any available material for play. This was especially true in a context in which readymade toys and other prefabricated play materials were unavailable. Major share of the folk games was played outdoors and not surprisingly the play materials came from natural objects around. This, in turn, put the children in close contact with objects and situations around them and they depended on them for play. They naturally looked around for play materials in the vicinity and this made them more observant and watchful. Children in this context made it a habit to collect play materials, such as, different kinds of nuts, seeds, leaves, well-shaped branches, broken pieces of pots and so on. This not only taught them the important lesson of recycling and reusing, but they were spontaneously put in close connection with the ecosystem, which in turn made them healthy and happy.

### 3. Classification of the Folk Games

In the past a number of such classifications have been attempted by different scholars. Cheska (1987) put forward a 7-fold classification of folk games mainly basing her studies on the games and other similar activities of African continent. They are i) games of physical skill, ii) games of strategy, iii) games of chance, iv) games of memory, v) rhythm games, vi) simulation games and vii) verbal games. Roger Caillois in his momentous work "Man, Play and Games" proposes yet another approach to classify games. This simple four-fold grouping is based on one of the four characteristics that is more evident in a particular game. He proposes a division of games "into four main rubrics, depending upon whether, in the games under consideration, the role of competition, chance, simulation, or vertigo is dominant. I call these *agon*, *alea*, *mimicry*, and *ilinx*, respectively." Based on this approach the folk games under consideration in this study have been classified as predominantly i) competitive, ii) imitative, iii) chance based, or iv) experience focused. In Column 5 indicating the Classification, C is Competition, S – Simulation or imitation, L – Luck or Chance, V - vertigo or experience.

**i) Games of Competition:** Among the games examined under this project 79% of them were primarily games of competition. In a game of competition there will be a winner or a winning team. In such a game there is generally "a question of rivalry which hinges on a single quality" (Caillois, 14). This single quality may be physical strength, the skill in shooting a ball, throwing a stick or marble, the speed in doing some activity, ability to notice a colour quickly, or any other such skill. Such competitive games require heightened motivation to win and that in turn builds a competitive spirit in the player.

**ii) Simulation games:** Mimicry or imitation in games help a child enter an imaginary world and recreate certain situations or activities of adult life in the society. There is a certain kind of make belief in almost all games, but in the case of Simulation Games the major focus is on mimicry. In a game like "kanjim Kareem vachu kali" children recreate most of the ordinary household activities including marketing and cooking. In "Bus kali" they imitate travel and transportation activities. These games of imitation, while on the one hand indicate the keen

observation of daily social activities by the kids, they also prepare them for responsible living in the community. Among the folk games under study less than 5 percent are strictly under this category.

**iii) Games of chance:** In a strict sense the games in this category are those in which the outcome is totally unpredictable, and the players have no control over it. When you throw a dice, in the normal course, if no tricks are employed, you have no idea what the outcome is going to be. So, training or practice has no place in making a person adept in these games. The play "Even or odd" and various 'counting out' games, to a greater or lesser extent, are games of chance. Only less than 5 percent of the games under scrutiny could be listed under this category. But when you examine closely many games combine competition and chance factors.

**iv) Vertigo or games focused on emotional experience:** Frenzy, fun and excitement are part of most of the children's games even when they are competitive or imitative. But under this category we group folk games that are devoid of other characteristics and are primarily intended for evoking some intense experience. To cite an instance, riding a swing is undertaken for that special experience. But at times you may also use it as a competition among kids, may be comparing the heights to which each one may swing up. In the first instance it is classified as an experience focused game and in the latter case it is competitive. Among the folk games under study more than 12 percent of the games came under this category. Examining closely the major share of them are targeted at smaller children, say, of about 3 years, and are conducted by the elders.

The high percentage of competitive games in the whole body of the folk game collection of this particular state is surely an indication of a higher level of motivation of the society from which these games are collected.

## 4. Perceived Benefits of the Folk Games

In most of the discussions on the folk games a point highlighted often is their positive impact on children. As the proverb has it "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy". Play in general pass on a variety of benefits to children and folk games in particular bestow them with some special benefits.

Educational experts and behavioural scientists have observed play and its effects closely and have found a large body of beneficial effects. Almon (2003) studied the crucial role plays had in early childhood education. Cheyne and Rubin (1983) analysed how problem-solving capacity in pre-schoolers is augmented through play. Cooper (1977) examined the aspect of cooperative play developing problem solving skills. The aspect of using language games to enhance communication ability of small children was explored by McCabe (1992). Another very important aspect of study has been the benefit of games in helping differentially abled children. For instance, Levine and Chedd (2007) studied how play helped emotional development in Autism Spectrum disorders.

The main emphasis in the present study has been to look closely at the lived experience of playing folk games and enlisting their positive impact from a personal point of view. The respondents were asked to list the benefits they received, or they thought the children got from specific folk games. The enlisting of the major benefits of the folk games followed a narrowing down approach in three steps.

Step 1: The initial listing of benefits resulted in 83 major benefits. Some of them were applicable to folk games and play conditions in general and many of them, benefits of specific games. (See **Annexure 3 & 4**)

Step 2: While listing and describing individual games, respondents were also asked to list the perceived benefits of that particular game. When these individual listings were collated there were altogether 24 major benefits in the list.

Step 3: As a final step, similar characteristics in this above list were combined resulting in a list of 14 major benefits of individual games (see **Column 10**).

As it is obvious from the methodology followed the benefits listed below are not the result of any controlled observation or meticulous enquiry, but primarily a list of perceived benefits mainly from the recollections of former players themselves. Hence the 14 major benefits of folk games listed in the order of importance is indicative of benefits resulting from individual folk games in the above list as well as general positive effects of folk games as a whole.

**A. Inner Freedom:** The simple fact that the child is having a great time and experiencing an inner freedom is thought to be the highest benefit of most of these games. The sense of enjoyment and the intense sense of absorption in that particular activity accompanied almost all the games. In the survey this quality received the highest ranking and more than half (58%) of the games listed were remarked to have this as their main benefit. As we all would agree, wholesome enjoyment is the firm foundation on which the future emotional life of an individual should be built.

**B. Physically active:** Providing healthful physical exercise was marked as the second highest benefit. A major share of the games listed are played outdoors and so most of them involves a lot of running around and a variety of other physical exertions. 33 percent of the games were indicated to have wholesome physical exercise as the major benefit.

**C. Alertness:** Ability to concentrate and not to be easily distracted can be highly beneficial for a growing child. In almost any game of competition a heightened sense of alertness is a prerequisite. But some games require greater concentration, like taking aim or counting in a special way and so on. 32 percent of the games were indicated by the respondents as promoting greater alertness.

**D. Keeness of observation:** In the game called Hippopotamus the Catcher calls out a colour and instantly the players run and hold on to some object of that colour. One has to be keenly scrutinizing the objects around, quickly detect a colour and act. Along with the above-mentioned alertness most of the games train children to observe people closely and look for

particular objects. 29 percent of the games listed were noted to promote the capacity for closer scrutiny and keen observation.

**E. Team spirit:** Folk games promote socialization and mutual communication to a great extent. For children, play is a most enjoyable activity and they whole heartedly connect with other children for this welcome engagement. As they prepare, begin and progress through play, unconsciously they build rapport with one another. If a particular play involves encounter between teams, during the course of that game a stronger team spirit also develops. Such a healthy bonding among children is an outcome of almost all games. Among the games under focus 22 percent were thought to be targeted mainly on fellowship building.

**F. Dexterity:** Being careful and smooth in hand and finger movements is a skill that you need in many of the daily tasks, and quite a number of folk games target this skill. For instance, in the highly popular game 'Kuttium kolum' the player shoots a smaller stick using a larger one from many positions and various modes. This requires great handling skill which the players acquire with surprising speed. Though about 18 percent of the games were thought to be promoting this hand coordination skill most folk games have this very significant benefit.

**G. Suppleness:** Easy and graceful body movements is a skill that children need to acquire and many folk games train them in that. The game called 'Climbing the banana tree' is not an easy one. It requires much physical effort as well as fine body movements. It is quite surprising how most children overcome the challenge in a group game situation. A number of outdoor games promote a training in refined body movements and its score in the study is 13 percent.

**H. Competitive:** Developing perseverance and being resolute, while it is supremely important for success in life's endeavours, is a skillset that many of the games pass on to growing children. This requires a high degree of motivation, the absence of which is a very serious deficit. Though it occupies only the 8th position in the listing of benefits perhaps most of the competitive games gradually build up in the players the ability to set goals, compare oneself with others and move ahead with a particular activity with clear focus, without losing interest. Most of the larger team events require a high degree of grit and are very effective tools to develop competitive spirit in children.

**J. Agility:** This is a mental as well as physical quality in which one is challenged to think and understand quickly as well as to move and act with efficiency. The game 'Annan Pottil' or Squirrel's nest involves children standing around and forming nests, and squirrels have to escape from the hunter without getting caught. Many such games are great fun for the kids, and they are trained in being highly alert and move around quickly. In the ranking of benefits this quality got 9th place.

**K. Memory:** In quite a number of games like Ganjippu, Bhara or Pallamkuzhi the players have to keep tag on the numbers of each round and often children get a knack for this. But many of the games have a variety of stipulations and rules and children learn and memorize them quite quickly. This benefit has been ranked 10th among the positive effects of folk games.

**L. Analytical:** Kalamvettikkali is a simple board game which in complexity of movements may be graded much lower compared to Chaturangam or Chess, yet this too involves moves that would require much analysis and forward planning. Not just board games, but even field games often demand close observation and analysis of the situation and clear planning. Hence this benefit was placed at the 11th place in the ranking of importance.

**M. Endurance:** 'Kannuchimmikkali' or 'Blow into the Eye' is a very simple teasing activity of children challenging friends to keep the eyes open when they blow into their eyes. It is a test of one's control as well as capacity for endurance on the face of adversity. Mungikkali that tests one's ability to be underwater can be a bit more difficult. Training for self-control and endurance was placed 12th in the ranking of benefits.

**N. Fluency:** Folk games have also been an ingenious approach to coaching children in language fluency. Language fluency involves ability to speak clearly with clarity of utterance of individual sounds. Malayalam language has some difficult sounds and one of them is the dark 'La' as in 'thavala' for frog. In the game when they rapidly count 'AthaLa, puthaLa, thavaLachi' and so on they train themselves to utter this difficult phoneme of the language. Playing with tongue twisters is another favourite game of children of all ages, which again promotes this much required skill. Fluency was ranked 13th among the benefits of folk games.

**P. Creativity:** In 'Statue Game' one has to keep an expressionless face and others should try to make that one laugh without touching the person. This involves much innovative thinking and action. Children often build playhouses or prepare play meals using whatever is available around, when their creative instincts come to the fore and that results in quite fascinating results. Building creativity in children was placed as 14th among the benefits of folk games.

## **5. Benefits of the wider game culture**

It is not surprising that some of the major merits of folk games have been left out or at least not prominently projected in the foregoing list. In arriving at the above list, the approach was to examine collected and listed 120 or more games and see their positive outcomes. While looking at these individual instances the wider impact of folk games was, to some extent, left out and overlooked. The domain of folk games is much more than the individual games themselves. That is a culture with a distinct approach to life and mutual interactions. Consequently, it is important that we talk of the impact of folk games in general, over and above the effect of specific games on children.

The context of folk games was mostly rural life. The village ambience in which there was close interaction among families, naturally helped the children in those neighbourhoods to easily come together. This resulted in children enjoying a lot of freedom and opportunities for frequent interaction. Significantly, there was no need for the elders to direct them or intervene in their activities. In that world children took initiative, planned their games or reworked the existing games and even invented new modes of play.

Another significant contextual aspect of folk games was the availability of much free time as well as free spaces to roam around. As was already mentioned, parental supervision as well as academic pressure was minimal. There were easily accessible open grounds or backyards and so children could easily gather and play. In such a context and general ambience simple forms of child-play thrived. All those aspects had multifarious benefits for children.

The following are some of the benefits of folk games that have been highlighted, over and above the 14 listed above:

**i) Self-confidence:** Being sure that one knows something, and that one can do it in the right manner is at the heart of self-confidence. This needn't be about great things, but a person can be confident that he or she can do even a small thing well. Many folk games are simple activities performed before others, which in turn is often appreciated by them also. These simple performances may be a way of clapping, chanting, skipping, throwing or any other activity. Children master these simple skills quickly and take pride in doing them, resulting in much confidence in themselves. As we know, lack of confidence can be a great malady in any person's life and early in life active play can remedy it and build confidence in a child.

**ii) Leadership:** Folk games are always in a group setting, ranging from two players to very large groups. One important aspect of these games is that children themselves start them, deciding what to play and even finalizing particular conditions or rules of the day's game. Very often this process can accompany plenty of arguments and mutual dialogue. Through all these children take charge of the situation, initiate various steps of the games and the group moves forward. All these are effective formative steps for developing leadership skills.

**iii) Communication:** The world of folk games, as was indicated above, almost fully is the domain of children and their activities. Hence, here they have to plan, create rules, grasp well the various steps and move ahead with the steps of the play. All this involves a lot of talking, clarifying, listening, understanding, acting and correcting. Good folk game players thus turn out to be effective communicators.

**v) Learning skills:** Children in general have a great fascination for play and so they readily involve themselves in any game situation. There they eagerly learn the rules and other requirements, which are often quite complex, and try to perform them as is expected of them. In contrast, during a formal academic session many children may not show interest, may find it difficult to grasp the dynamics and as a result may become poor learners. Indirectly folk games can help children grasp the dynamics of learning and help them to be better learners.

**v) Mutual acceptance:** In traditional societies in which class and caste distinctions are quite strong, folk games became forums where children get trained in developing a sense of equality resulting from accepting one another, more than anything else, as playmates. In competitive

games close cooperation in teams and intense effort to win are the only important matters; while in the other categories, namely, that of chance, experience and imitation, what matters is journeying through these games together. Thus, in effect folk games turn out to be effective social levellers for growing children.

**vi) Gender equality:** In traditional societies where male and female roles are quite distinct and gender division is clearly enforced, folk games serve as platforms for gender cooperation, better understanding and appreciation. As we already examined a few games are clearly played by boys alone and other few exclusively by girls, but the vast majority of folk games are plays in which all take part on equal footing.

**vii) Coping with failure:** Dealing with disappointments is an essential skill and often it is remarked that contemporary generation brought up with instant wish fulfilment is quite deficit in this skill. Play in general and folk games in particular train a child in facing failures gracefully. One gradually comes in terms with the hard fact that in a contest all do not win. Thus these games are excellent modes to train children to cope with failures in future life.

## Conclusion

Folk Games had a significant role to play in Kerala society of a few generations ago. This study collected and arranged some of the major games of this south Indian state and attempted to analyse them from various angles. The study listed 120 important games and they were analysed. From a gender perspective, it was found that most of the games could be played without gender distinction. With regard to the place of play more than 60 per cent of the games are outdoor ones, most of them requiring physical exertion. From the angle of participation of players almost two thirds of the folk games required children to participate individually as against becoming part of a competing team. Looking at the play accessories used, a great majority of the games required play materials, but almost all of them were objects from around the yard and not any sophisticated readymade play materials. Attempting a classification of the collected games using the fourfold scheme of competition, imitation, chance and vertigo, it was found that about 79 per cent of the games involved competition, which is indicative of

heightened motivation and competitive spirit of the communities involved. The present study tried to examine the beneficial effects of folk games upon the players. Taking the feed back of the experts and former active players 14 major benefits of individual folk games were listed with the two major benefits of 'interior freedom' and 'physical exertion' getting the highest scores. While considering folk games as a whole 8 more general benefits were further highlighted, among which 'self-confidence' and 'leadership' received the top preference. In brief, the listing of individual plays, analysis of their various aspects and their multifarious benefits were the major focus of the present study of folk games of Kerala.

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## Annexure 2 – Response Sheet 2 (for Game Description)

### *Kerala Folk Game Study Project*

UGC Sponsored Major Research Project

Heritage Research Centre  
St Albert's College, Cochin 682018

Principal Investigator:  
Dr Edward A Edezhath

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Response Sheet 2:

### **Game Description**

(Please give details of a game, the questions are indicative only)

Name:.....

Phone & Email: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Name of the Game
2. Alternate names
3. If currently played or not
4. Usually played by:
  - a. Geographical area,
  - b. Community,
  - c. Male or Female & Age group
5. Outdoor/ Indoor:
6. Nature (competitive, cooperative, etc.)
7. Participation: as individuals or as teams
- 8 No. of players
9. Duration (time required to complete one set)
10. Props/ materials/ equipment required
11. Rhymes, words used
12. Other Requirements
13. Type of scoring, if any
14. Ground/ court preparation
15. Steps of the game
16. Skills focused

Please give a detailed description of the Game

(Use additional sheets as necessary)

### Annexure 3 – Benefits of games – the master list

(the numbers indicate the serial no. of corresponding Benefit in Malayalam)

Acceptance of differences	Endurance 20	Physical endurance
Acceptance of failure	Enjoyment 38	Physical fitness 1
Acclimatization 56	Enthusiasm 41	Physical suppleness/ 45
Agility 5	Exertion/hard work 57	Pronunciation 69
Alertness 53	Expertise 47	Quick response 83
Alliance 77	Expressiveness 75	Receptiveness/open minded 63
Analytical 23	Facing challenges/opposition	Resilience 14
Articulation/ verbalization 68	Facing failure 15	Resoluteness 13
Attentiveness 22	Fellowship 60	Scrutinizing 4
Bargaining 78	Fluency (tongue twisters) 70	Self-control 49
Body balancing	Friendship	Self-direction 64
Calculation	Gaiety/ celebration 76	Self-esteem 67
Caring 18	Gender interaction 42	Sense of belongingness
Caution 54	Giving chance 16	Sense of equality 17
Child - elder rapport building	Giving/receiving directions 58	Sense of equality 81
Choral chanting	Graceful movements	Sense of rhythm 21
Clarity of voice 25	Hand skill 43	Sense of time 24
Collective effort 62	Imagination 26	Sharing mentality 31
Communication 79	Imitation 55	Skillfulness 46
Compassion 19	Inquisitiveness 72	Social adaptation
Competitive 8	Intellectual development 9	Social consciousness 35
Concentration 6	Intelligent Guessing	Social interaction 80
Confidence 66	Keen Observation 3	Stress tolerance
Consensus building 34	Leadership 29	Team spirit 11
Consideration 82	Listening 59	Tenderness 52
Creativity 27	Logical reasoning	Tension relieving 39
Decision making	Loyalty 73	Thinking capacity 10
Dependence 65	Lung power	Tolerance 32
Determination 61	Mathematical ability	Trust worthiness 74
Dexterity 44	Memory 7	Unity 36
Eagerness 51	Motivation 50	Verbal ability 71
Eco-conscious 28	Mutual recognition 33	Vivacity
Efficiency 2	Participative 30	Voice control
Efficiency 48	Patience 12	
Emotional balancing 40	Personality development 37	

## Annexure 4 – Benefits of games – in Malayalam

- |  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. കായിക ക്ഷമത</li> <li>2. കാര്യക്ഷമത</li> <li>3. നിരീക്ഷണപാടവം</li> <li>4. സൂക്ഷ്മനിരീക്ഷണം</li> <li>5. ചടുലത</li> <li>6. ഏകാഗ്രത</li> <li>7. ഓർമ്മശക്തി</li> <li>8. മത്സരബോധം</li> <li>9. ബുദ്ധിവികാസം</li> <li>10. ചിന്താശേഷി</li> <li>11. സംഘമനോഭാവം (ടീം സ്പിരിറ്റ്)</li> <li>12. ക്ഷമ</li> <li>13. നിശ്ചയദാർഢ്യം</li> <li>14. സ്ഥിരോത്സാഹം</li> <li>15. തോൽവി നേരിടാൻ</li> <li>16. അവസരം നൽകൽ</li> <li>17. തുല്യാവസരം</li> <li>18. കരുതൽ</li> <li>19. സഹാനുഭൂതി</li> <li>20. സഹനശേഷി</li> <li>21. താളബോധം</li> <li>22. ശ്രദ്ധ</li> <li>23. അപഗ്രഥനശേഷി</li> <li>24. സമയക്രമീകരണം</li> <li>25. സ്വരശുദ്ധി</li> <li>26. ഭാവനാശീലം</li> <li>27. ക്രിയാത്മകത</li> <li>28. പരിസ്ഥിതി ആഭിമുഖ്യം</li> <li>29. നേതൃപാടവം</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>30. പങ്കാളിത്തബോധം</li> <li>31. പങ്കുവെക്കൽ മനോഭാവം</li> <li>32. സഹിഷ്ണുത</li> <li>33. കഴിവുകളുടെ അംഗീകാരം</li> <li>34. അഭിപ്രായ സമന്വയം</li> <li>35. സാമൂഹ്യാവബോധം</li> <li>36. ഒത്തൊരുമ</li> <li>37. വ്യക്തിത്വവികാസം</li> <li>38. മാനസിക ഉല്ലാസം</li> <li>39. മാനസിക പിരിമുറുക്കം കുറയ്ക്കൽ</li> <li>40. വൈകാരികസന്തുലനം</li> <li>41. ഉത്സാഹശീലം</li> <li>42. ആൺപെൺ സൗഹൃദം</li> <li>43. കരവിരുത്</li> <li>44. കൈവഴക്കം</li> <li>45. മെയ്‌വഴക്കം</li> <li>46. നൈപുണ്യം</li> <li>47. വൈദഗ്ദ്ധ്യം</li> <li>48. കുശലത</li> <li>49. ആത്മസംയമനം</li> <li>50. ഇച്ഛാശക്തി</li> <li>51. കർമ്മനിരത</li> <li>52. മൃദുചലനം/ മൃദുത്വം</li> <li>53. ജാഗരൂകത</li> <li>54. മുൻകരുതൽ</li> <li>55. അനുരൂപീകരണം</li> <li>56. പരിതസ്ഥിതിയോട് ഇണങ്ങിച്ചേരാൻ</li> <li>57. പരിശ്രമശീലം</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>58. നിർദ്ദേശങ്ങൾനൽകാൻ/ സ്വീകരിക്കാൻ</li> <li>59. ശ്രവണപാടവം</li> <li>60. കൂട്ടായ്മ</li> <li>61. സ്ഥിരപരിശ്രമം</li> <li>62. കൂട്ടായ പരിശ്രമം</li> <li>63. സഹായംസ്വീകരിക്കാൻ</li> <li>64. തൻകാര്യപ്രാപ്തി</li> <li>65. സ്വാശ്രയബോധം</li> <li>66. ആത്മവിശ്വാസം</li> <li>67. ആത്മാഭിമാനം</li> <li>68. അക്ഷരസ്‌പുടനം</li> <li>69. ഉച്ചാരണശുദ്ധി</li> <li>70. നാവുവഴക്കം (നാവുളിക്കികൾ)</li> <li>71. വാക്‌ചാതുര്യം</li> <li>72. അന്വേഷണപാടവം</li> <li>73. വിശ്വസ്തത</li> <li>74. സത്യസന്ധത</li> <li>75. ഭാവാവിഷ്കാരം</li> <li>76. ആപ്തോദപ്രകടനം</li> <li>77. സംഘങ്ങളോട് കൂറ്</li> <li>78. മദ്ധ്യസ്ഥപാടവം</li> <li>79. ആശയവിനിമയം</li> <li>80. പരസ്പര സമ്പർക്കം</li> <li>81. സമതബോധം</li> <li>82. പരിഗണന</li> <li>83. ചടുല പ്രതികരണം</li> </ol> |
|--|--|---|