New Scholarship on Ghanaian Literatures, Languages and Cultures

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Edited by

Dannabang Kuwabong,
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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Contemporary Essays on the Literatures, Languages and Cultures of Ghana is the product of seminars organized by the Department of English, University of Ghana, Legon together with the Department of English, University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras Campus between 2011-2018. At these seminars, young and old scholars from both Puerto Rico and Ghana gathered annually to present their research across disciplines. *Contemporary Essays on the Literatures, Languages and Cultures of Ghana* covers current research on Ghanaian literature, languages, cultures, and development. These areas have often been researched and published in specialized books and journals by seasoned scholars which often exclude young academics and graduate students. Our vision in this book then is to break down disciplinary barriers and remove territoriality based on age and years of academic game-playing. The essays testify to the fact that when intellectual pursuits and academic publications are democratized, there is a net gain in what is possible in the creation and dissemination of knowledge; those new insights and ideas are gained through young scholars; that marginalized new ways of knowing and reading are open for intellectual and academic growth, especially in neo-colonial spaces such as Ghana. Each scholar is also allowed to use any established documentation as the essays come from diverse styles of writing. There are essays to satisfy lovers of linguistics, music, poetry, culture, agriculture, planning, etc. all in one place.

This book offers a space hitherto unavailable, to up and coming scholars interested in bringing together new perspectives on Ghanaian cultural, literary, linguistic, and developmental studies. We wish to express our greatest gratitude to the department of English, University of Ghana, Legon, Accra for providing us the space, equipment, and other logistic support. We would like to thank especially Mrs. Henrietta Fleischer-Attakpah, the senior Administrative Assistant and her team graceful, energetic, welcoming support they provided to facilitate the seminars. Their presence and invaluable help created that welcoming space to make the seminars run smoothly and flawlessly. To Professor Helen Yitah and Professor Jemima A. Anderson we say thank you. Without your active encouragement and unflinching support in your roles as departmental directors, which showed in your setting aside spaces for us to gather annually and present our research, this book would not have seen daylight. We also thank the English

Department, University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras Campus, San Juan, Puerto Rico, and the Decanato de Estudios Graduados e Investigación (DEGI) for their support of scholars from the University of Puerto Rico to travel to Ghana for these annual seminars. We also thank all the graduate students and professors from both the University of Ghana and the University of Puerto Rico whose presence gave these seminars academic seriousness and intellectual rigor.

Each chapter provides refreshing angles on the topics it treats. The intellectual rigor of each essay is without doubt admirable. We are confident that the book will fulfill its stated purpose in providing global readers with intellectually stimulating culturally challenging, and academically enlightening new ways of understanding Ghanaian literatures, languages, and cultures.

Dannabang Kuwabong

CHAPTER ONE

TRAVEL EXPERIENCE NAMES AMONG DAGAABA MIGRANTS FROM THE 1890S TO LATE 20TH CENTURY

DANNABANG KUWABONG

Introduction

In *A Comparative Studies of Human Reproduction*, Ford (1964: 77) contends that "Naming. . . facilitates social intercourse. . .. Naming a child helps to pull him into the framework of his society as an accepted member of the group. By virtue of being named, the infant becomes a person like everyone else in society; he or she is no longer a nameless outsider." Personal naming signals a departure from the indeterminate and socially liminal spaces occupied by newborns and the newborn's entry into culturally, spiritually, and socially recognized personhood in the community. Kaye (1962: 56-57); Clarke (1930: 431-470); and Fortes (1949: 271) among others, comment on the socio-spiritual and social-personal dimensions of naming practices in different Ghanaian ethnicities.

In this paper, I examine what I have termed travel experiential names among the Moore-Dagbani languages continuum that includes the Dagaaba, Lobi, Wala, Birifor, Dyan speaking peoples of the Upper West Region of Ghana, Southwest Region of Burkina Faso, and Northeast Region of Cote D'Ivoire. For my purpose, I focus on portions of these groups located in Ghana, though my findings cover the geographical space occupied by these groups in the three countries. Travel experiential naming is a cultural practice of self-renaming by unlettered members of these groups, who migrate mostly to Southern Ghana to work as cheap labor in cocoa farms, mines, and other low-income jobs. Travel experiential naming is a pseudonym symbolically masking and reflecting personal and group experiences in their sojourns in Southern Ghana. They can be temporary and permanent metonymic representations of nuanced understanding of the

experiences of these individuals. Thus, I argue that these names are personal testimonies grounded in Dagaaba, Wala, Lobi, and Dyan cultural themes in which journey motifs and experiences are conceptualized, articulated, and recorded.

Cultural Background

It is pertinent to foreground my interpretive processes with a brief review of Dagaare naming systems. First, I posit that the Dagaaba are a Creole community comprising culturally divergent and geographically multiple ethnicities that poured into this area of Ghana, Burkina Faso, Cote D'Ivoire Mali, Guinea, Northern Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Togo, Benin, and Niger, Etc., from around the late 15th century to escape the ravages of the Trans-Atlantic and Trans-Saharan slave trades, Hausa invasions of the central parts of Northern Ghana, succession wars in neighbouring kingdoms in modern day Burkina Faso, Guinea, and Mali among other causes (Wilkes, 1989; Tuurey, 1982; Dougah, 1966). Thus, despite the over five centuries of cultural and linguistic transformations and reconfigurations, the Dagaaba as a people still trace to imagined and real pre-Dagaaba historical geographies and clan affiliations through numerous systems of ethnic identifications including dialects, political and cultural diversities, marriage, family, and inheritance systems, funeral rites, performance arts, and naming practices, Etc. Thus, when I refer to naming practices among the Dagaaba, it is not to articulate any homogeneity in naming among them. However, the type of naming system I focus on in this essay is universal.

Personal names among the Dagaaba are coded philosophies that encapsulate what the family, the living and dead members of the lineage, consider the newly born individual's purpose on earth. Somé (1968), Goody (1972), Kukure (1985: 79), Kpiebaya (1973: 99; 2016, 76-77), and Somé (1999, 54-67), among other things, argue that among Dagaaba, "every name has a signification" concerning the extenuating circumstances dominating at the time of the individual's birth that need remembering. These circumstances include birth location, appearance, behavioural and physiognomic resemblance to a departed relative, twins, time, date of birth, and Theophanous names. They assert that the following principles govern Dagaaba naming practices: given, circumstantial, locational, maxims, and somatic.

Hence, a child born posthumously to the father's death is named *Dabuo,* hesitantly translated as Ruins, or Abandoned Homestead. Philosophically, not only does such a name indicate a patrilocal society's perception of male centrality to family structures, but it also then implies that the father's death,

prior to the child's birth, becomes an unwilling act of abandonment by a father who should have lived to provide for his child. The same philosophy is implied in the names *Gyebare* or *Gbagbare* given to a girl child who survives the mother who dies at her birth. Gbagbare translates as Deserted, Abandoned, Suffering. These names encode the historical temporality of the child's traumatic beginnings at birth and predict a present and future of potential psychoemotional and social-material hardships. The potential difficulties implied in these names are ameliorated somehow by the expansive family structure of the Dagaaba, their spiritualized social structures, and collective compassion for the *Dabori, Gyebaree, Gbagbaree, E*tc.

In addition to the settings of a child's birth, there are rituals involved in child naming. These define the type of name given to a child. Two naming rituals among Dagaaba are the hearing ritual during pregnancy and the postpartum naming ritual (Somé, 1999, pp. 54-67). Somé, like Kpiebaya, asserts that a Dagaare personal name at birth is "an important word with meaning and energy that identifies someone or something. Our names bring certain patterns to our lives and can forge our destinies." Somé then stipulates that among Dagaaba, "a name becomes a way of entering into a person's world, wisdom, or life. It's a code ingrained in us that allows us when it is called, to remember, recognize, and respond to our purpose" (p. 63) in life at any moment. The hearing ritual, Somé asserts, is "a life purpose check" done by the elders of the fetus a few months into pregnancy to find out two things: the purpose of the fetus in choosing to be born into that family, what is to be done to create a conducive space for survival and growth of the fetus after it is born as a child, and whether the fetus is bringing its own name from the ancestral world. Four female elders conduct this ritual of hearing. In addition, "this ritual can also reveal the birthstone of the baby and other information about the incoming soul . . . that could heighten or slow down the deliveries of the baby's [natural] gifts" (Somé, 1999, p. 56).

There is also the chance to conduct a double check, "if the mother heard the child's name before this ritual . . . and make sure it truly reflects the child's purpose and identity" (Somé, 1999,p. 56). Thus, though Kpiebaya argues that "there are no fixed times for naming a child" (2016: 76), specific protocols are followed, such as having the family elders pronounce the name or name the child for the parents. These naming protocols are significant in Dagaaba cultural practice and form the next stage of a child's development, from that of pure spirit to that of spirit within flesh (Somé, 1999, pp. 65-67). Interestingly, Somé's (1999) elucidation of how Dagaaba ritualizes child naming in Burkina Faso compares favorably with Mbabuike's (1996) description of a similar practice among Igbos in Nigeria. Her position

contests Kpiebaya's (1973, 99) suggested guess that "there is no special ceremony for the naming of a child" among Dagaaba on the Ghana side of the border. Kukure (1985) also echoes Kpiebaya's position with little evidence. However, it is interesting to note that after questioning the presence of any naming ritual drama among Dagaaba, both Kpiebaya, and Kukure then discuss the considerable variations in child-naming practices among Dagaaba communities at some length.

Subsequently, Kpiebaya (1973, 99) writes that "in some places, the name is given three months after the birth of a boy and four months after that of a girl. In other places, it is done six days after the birth of all children. In other places, still, the time [for naming] is not fixed," but varies according to family decisions. An important observation they bring is the absence of the tradition of the Dagaaba family or last names. Thus, Kukure (1985, 79) rightly argues that among Dagaaba, each "individual has his . . . name or names." Nonetheless, something akin to a recital of family names takes place during funeral dirges and other ceremonial situations in which *griots* perform a panegyric of ancestral clan names. Such ceremonies include marriages, religious graduation of neophytes of the *Bagre,* and more recently in Catholic praise adoration during an ordination or induction of a priest or bishop when the newly ordained must invoke clan ancestors to join in the celebration through a litany of the lineages of various clans.

Dagaaba cultural practices show very little, suggesting that Dagaaba have the kind of ritualized drama of naming as found among other West African communities such as the Ga of Ghana (Abarry, 1977, pp. 365-77). In addition, the Dagaaba et al. have no given sets of names, such as day names, unlike among the Hausa, Akan, Ewe, Fon, Anyi, Nzima, Etc. However, like most other ethnicities in Ghana and West Africa, names among the Dagaaba given at birth reflect Dagaaba theology of selfhood, cosmogony, individual and collective spiritualties, and the articulation of sociocultural survival philosophies. Kpiebaya (1973, 100) upholds this argument when he asserts that "most Dagaare names are the expression of some deep thought or desire which the father or mother, or some elderly person in the family has been nurturing. They are, so to speak, the mottos of the parents expressed in their children." Mbabuike (1996, 47) in discussing a similar phenomenon among the Igbo asserts that "anthroponyms, personal names, among the Igbos and other ethnic groups [in Africa] are identicatory, classificatory, and declaratory." For Mbabuike (1996, 48), "names in the whole of the African continent mean so much to Africans . . . [because] they reflect critical elements of space, of time, and of the divine in African culture." Here are a few Dagaare, Dyan, and Lobi anthroponyms: *Kala, Saboge*, *Leo*, *Sangmene*, *Tengbane*, *Nagbani*,

Gyebuni, *and Ngmenle, Wilaa* given to commemorate gods who bear these names for various reasons. The child is born on the festival day or week dedicated to the god. The barren parents may have appealed to the god for the gift of a child, Etc.

Kukure lists five categories: maxims, phenotypical, circumstantial, anatomical, and religious. Maxim or noma maximos, Kukure explicates, "exteriorize and express the sentiments or ideas that relate to the social situation of the parents (or group). A noma maximo, for instance, would be *Weripuo-Delingmene* (Trust in God with all your heart). *Yuorebaviella* (Ill-gotten fame is evil). The phenotypic category works on a regime of coloration. Thus, a child with a slightly lighter or darker colour is *Dozie, Pogzie* (brown/red man/woman), Doosoglaa, or *Pogsoglaa* (extra dark-skinned man or woman). These names are neither ideologically nor socially prescriptive nor provocative labelling. They, therefore, do not imbue the bearer with any social privileges or disadvantages. Similarly, twins come with their names. The first to be born among the twins is the younger of the two, and he is *Ziema* (male herald) or *Pogziema* (female herald), while the second born is considered the elder and is named *Naa* (king) and *Pognaa* (queen). A child born after the twins is called *Kogo* (chair/throne), while the child after *Kogo* is *Suglo* (helper/aide).

Circumstantial names enable Dagaaba to negotiate an understanding of the pre-and-postpartum circumstances surrounding the child. Circumstances do not function alone in the overall frame of Dagaaba naming praxes. Cosmological dictates provide metaphysical dimensions to both the naming act and the implications of the names. For instance, a child born during a funeral is *Bayuo* for a boy and *Ayuo* for a girl. Here also, we have the name *Dari*, or *Yuora*, *Bagwer*, *Leowaa*, *Dakurah*, for a child born following the death of another to the mother of the deceased baby. The Dagaaba believe in ancestral reincarnation, "*sigra,"* as B. B. Somé (1968) states or what Jack Goody (1972) interprets as the reincarnation of a tutelary or guardian spirit. A child is declared a reincarnated ancestor through a series of rituals and divinations and scientific observations of physiological characteristics and behavioural patterns. Subsequently, the child is named after the ancestor/ancestress, spirit, and god/goddess. People with anthroponyms bear "certain prohibitions of the respective" deity, guardian spirit, or ancestor/ancestress. These prohibitions are strictly observed through regular sacrifices, usually in the form of communal lineage celebrations of the clan that bears the name. The example, *Zuur*, will suffice. Zuur is the prohibition against consuming goat meat (Kukure, 1985, p. 80).

Nakumah (2001, 1) approaches naming among the Dagaaba from a morphological perspective: He categorizes the "different proper name

categories in Dagaare, and describes their morphology, and discusses the social significance of and conditions required for name change within the framework of Dagaaba naming culture." Nakumah (2001) throws a fresh perspective on the study of Dagaaba naming practices through what he identifies as code names, nicknames, travel names, and given names. There is a similarity between Nakumah's idea of code names and what both Kpiebaya and Kukure stipulate as circumstantial names. What is interesting in Nakumah's approach, however, is his collapsing of Kukure's (1985) circumstantial and religious categories into one while simultaneously expanding it to include "new professional designations" (Nakumah, 2001, p. 2). Consequently, he identifies a new phenomenon in naming among Dagaaba: *Karakyi* (Literate); *Dokta* (Doctor); *Broda* (religious brother); *Sita* (nun); *Wataboy* (one who draws water for the master in colonial times); *Duriba* (Driver); *Halamai* (Headman) among others.

Nakumah (2001) exchanges Kpiebaya's (1973) and Kukure's (1985) physical or somatic terminologies and categories to formulate a unified term: nicknames. Examples include *Doozu* (Big Head man), *Pog-ngmaa* (Short woman), *Daotobo* (Man with oversized ears); *Doopuori* (Man with a huge stomach), *Dalane or Daolane* (Man with huge testicles), *Dagbieo* (Man with prominent forehead), *Pogpori* (Tiny woman), Etc. Nicknames, argues Nakumah (2001, 6-7), come as an adjective-based, onomatopoeic-based, adjectival noun–based, metaphoric, metonymic, anecdotal, and analogical remodelling. The discussion of given names is split into two sets: traditional Dagaare names and names derived from foreign religions such as Islam and Christianity. Thus, one often finds people with names that cater to the different categories. However, to bear the name of a foreign religion does not necessarily imply one has converted to that religion, for example, Emmanuel *Sumani Kuungpuore*, *Paul Kangtungyeh Abdul-Korah*, *and John Nang-baeya Imoru*. Nakumah's (2001) expansion of previous discussions on naming among the Dagaaba to include a preliminary exploration of travel or migration as an initiator of name usage, name change, and the social significance of names is relevant to the central argument of this essay. The appeal of Nakumah's (2001, 11) argument is that "in the Dagaare worldview, travel is considered as a source of wisdom and maturation for the individual," which underscores my position. It is therefore so positively promoted that adults who have never ventured out of the security of their home are treated with open disdain and nicknamed *Dieobugo* (Room Granary)." According to Nakumah, the traveller must differentiate himself or herself from the "*dieobugri*" (House Granaries) by giving the self a travel name. Abdul-Korah (2006) supports this position.

Accordingly, naming among Dagaaba is fascinatingly a complex, communal, yet private mythopoetic, creative, performative, and ceremonial art. Consequently, it is neither incredible nor surprising that in any Dagaaba community of, say, three hundred people, it is uncommon to come across several people with the same name unless they originated in phenotypic, travel, religious, or other circumstances. In this context, I approach this presentation of Dagaare praxes of pseudonyms as metaphoric or allegorical articulation of self-identification. This practice denotes part of a broader cultural system in which individuation is projected through proverbial names, dance names, and experiential names. For instance, individuals in a given Dagaaba community can assume other names after coming of age. Thus, someone may take dance names: *Kyeneng-beere-ka-wali-ba-kyeene* (Walking-is-painful-without-the-wiping-of-sweat); *Dabuo-kunkuni-ka-boore-duoro* (It is the mound of the ruins of a house that goats climb up and down); *Kong-zie-naa-kokore-kong-ko-ka-ngmamang-ba-ngmwa* (King of pito the-throat will never dry unless calabashes break). Women also take clan names such as *Piirima* of the Etuolo clan, *Kuurooma* or *Bawaama* of the Ekoala clan, Etc. Sacred landscape names are also adopted by women to memorialize their places of birth: *Falingtan-zupilima, Kuurooma, Kukurema* of Nanvilli among the Ekoala*, Wilaama* of Takpo, *Muulinyekono* of Duong, *Etc.* In addition, women's names can convey their generational positioning within their clan: *Angyinaama*, *Wongtengama, Kaaelema*, *Naama* of Nanvilli, *Landima,* and *Gbaongma* of Sankana, and *Balooma*, *Kangsangama*, and *Kantongyehma* of Charia, Etc. These names differentiate them from the husbands' clans and ensure that women never forget their clans, generational locations, and places of origin.

Dagaaba travel experience names are, by and large, strategic encoding against cultural assimilation among foreign locations and cultures in their sojourns. They are a performance of cultural retentions, philosophical and experiential cartographies, and creative masked insertion of selves into perceived hostile liminal or marginal spaces in southern Ghana. Travel experience names enable Dagaaba migrants to southern Ghana to perform acts of concealment and resistance to real or perceived threats to their spiritual and cultural spaces in the host communities. Experiential travel naming becomes a recuperative strategy toward bridging what Nakumah (2001, 11) describes as "a temporary rupture of the link between home and the land of the unknown, a necessary step for guaranteeing the security of the person abroad" (2011, 11).

In addition, assuming travel experience names pre-empts any manoeuvres by the host southern communities to rename them and subsequently control them. Dagaaba people's invention and use of travel experience names thus

need to be perceived as an encoding or a signifying strategy. In other words, a double (dis)engagement in which Dagaaba migrants try to exercise some control over their lives in new temporally, geographically, socially, economically, ethnically, multiple alienations, and cosmologically treacherous and marginalized spaces within the often-hostile environments encountered through migration. Thus, distanced from their own culture in migration, alienated from the host cultures in southern Ghana, and terrorized by the colonizing and neo-colonial cityscapes, Dagaaba travel experiential naming becomes acts of identities (re)formation.

Historical Background

Dagaaba migratory practices to southern Ghana intensified under British colonial rule (Lentz & Erlmann, 1989, pp. 74-76). During that time, the area, now known as the Upper West Region of Ghana and the Northern Territories, was defined as a labour reserve for the south's mining, timber, and service industries (Brukum, 1997). The north then served as a "vast reservoir of unskilled labour used for the development of the south in public works, --railways, harbours, mines, cocoa and coffee plantations, and it is on record that `the remarkable growth of the cocoa industry in Ashanti is due to, in a large measure, to labour supplied from the Northern Territories'" (NTR for 1913. 5 cited in Ladoucer 1979). Post-independence neglect of the region by the neo-colonial regimes in Ghana has also exacerbated this phenomenon (Al-Abdul, 2004). To the British, northern Ghana, with its savannah woodland vegetation, had no immediate economic advantages for the colonial government to exploit. The colonial regime implemented this policy to ensure that no economic or educational infrastructures were developed speedily in the north (Ladouceur, 1979, p. 6). For the colonial government, the only resource worth exploiting in the north [then] was its labour, who are honest, strong, and hardworking people described by one writer as "men [are] of excellent material, most amenable to discipline, fairly intelligent, and extremely desirous of learning their work" (NTR for 1913. 5, cited by Ladoucer, 1979, 6). Another writer, McCoy (1988, 36), describes Dagaaba as "a gracious, hardworking people with a reputation for honesty. They not only worked hard at tilling their land, but contractors in the South considered them excellent laborers and set a high value on their services (though not always high pay). Strong, hardy individuals, there was a marked sense of unity among them" (McCoy (1988, 36).

To make sure that this labor reserve served its imposed destiny, the colonial administration refused to establish British-style educational programs in the Northern Territories, especially in Dagao, well into the

1940s. The colonial government also partially banned Christian missionaries from the region, and individuals or private companies were not allowed to start any meaningful development programs there. Ladouceur (1979, 6) bluntly captures this indentured labour policy: "No direct financial gain accrued to the Gold Coast from its obligation to provide the administration of the Northern Territories. Nevertheless, the Protectorate proved an invaluable asset to the Gold Coast through its ability to supply considerable quantities of its one major exportable item: labor." Ladouceur (1979, 6) details how people from the Northern Territories became porters and forced miners, sanitation workers, and road construction workers. Chiefs were often compelled to give a set number of men for such labor six days every three months. These labor demands "were considerable and, together with labour migration to the south, had a substantially detrimental effect on the north, particularly by taking men away from agricultural work, a fact noted by District Commissioners" (Ladouceur, 1979, p. 6). The recruitment of labour from the north, and especially from the Dagaare, Wali, Lobi, Dyan, and Birifor speaking areas, from the 1930s through the 1950s, was primarily through forced and contract labour (Hill, 1963; Hilton, 1966; Goody, 1967; 1972; Thomas, 1973; Plange 1979a, 1979b; Zachariah & Nair, 1980; Songsore1983; Songsore & Denkabe, 1995). The individual was either coerced or voluntarily agreed (Hear 1982; McCoy, 1988; Abdul-Korah, 2004; Abdul-Korah, 2006) for six to twelve months. Wages were negotiated between the British established headman and the government, and a percentage was paid to the headman. At the same time, the worker got only a tiny fraction, which, upon his return home, he shared with the chief, family elders, and in-laws, among others (McCoy, 1988, p. 38).

Only in the colonial period did Dagaaba use last names or surnames (Kpiebaya, 1973, p. 99; Nakumah, 2001, p. 11; Kukure 1985, p. 79). Thus, these migrants found it strange when they arrived at the work sites and had to give a last name. Secondly, the administrators seemed uninterested in knowing the real names of these laborers. They were more interested in the names of the migrants' villages of origin, which they then appended to any name the migrant gave as the last name. This naming system favored European hegemonic cartography, an ideology of naming and renaming places and peoples that was a necessary and desirable act of symbolic and literal mastery of places, time, and peoples (Ashcroft et al., 1998, pp. 31-32). Cartography, naming, and renaming became the "primary colonizing process because it appropriate[d], define[d], and capture[d] the place" and spiritual space of the people (Ashcroft et al., 1998, p. 182). In linking one's personal given name to one's ethnicity, village, or clan, Dagaaba migrants suspected that the whites were conducting what Rabasa (1993, 358) calls a

"series of erasures and overwritings" to control them. Renaming did not stop at appendages but extended to deliberately remodelling Dagaare names through misspellings and additions to suit how they wanted to pronounce them. The British and their Southern Ghanaian colonial surrogates sought to own the Dagaaba through this (re)-(mis)-naming process.

Travel Experience Naming Practice

In this situation, self-renaming encapsulated and communicated individual and group philosophies of travel experiences. Self-renaming by the migrant Dagaaba was, hence, a psychological reterritorialization of cultural and social differentiation that facilitated the construction and performance of Dagaaba's unique travel experiences. Differentiation, in this case, is not synonymous with diminishment. Instead, these newly invented identities were links between family/clan identities and other migrants' experiences while protecting them against cultural and individual amnesia caused by the traumas of those travel experiences in unfamiliar locations. In short, Dagaaba travel experience names signify and provide room for strategic alliances and mobilizations of cultural memories and resources to camouflage true-identity detection. Travel experiential names begin with root words. Root words are generic terminologies or phrases to which the migrant can attach other syllabic or word combinations to form a travel experiential name that best encodes his or her particular travel experience or philosophy of migratory existence.

Nakumah (2001) labels these as phrasal compounds consisting of two or more serial verbs to which their compounds are then attached to form the travel experiential names. There are kinetic root verbs. There are also perception root words, goal-oriented root words, and experience-derived root words. For example, the kinetic root word, *Yɔ* (Roam, Wander, or Travel), is combined with other words such as *Bangzie* (Know Place); *Bangyɛ́ng* (Know Sense), *Nyɛ́* (See or Experience), *Ta* (Reach); *Kyili* (Become Wise). *Yɔ,* together with the experiential suffixes, gives names like *Yɔbangyɛng* (Roam and gain sense); *Yɔbangzie* (Travel and know place); *Yɔnyɛ́* (Travel and see); *Yɔ*ta (Travel and reach); *Yɔkyili* (Roam and become wise), *Kpémuonyé* (Travel through the wildness and learn); *Muosieyiri* (The wilderness is better than the home).

The idea of traveling or roaming is the guiding principle of the names beginning with *Y_*. This principle reveals the Dagaaba indomitable spirit of questing for new experiences and their ever-constant search for knowledge and a better world. It is a principle that finds expression in other root words such as *Gaa* (Go), *Wa* (Come), Etc. Here are a few examples of names

formed with *Gaa* and *Wa*: *Gaabangyέng* (Go gain knowledge); *Gaabangzie* (Go and know or experience another place); *Gaanyέ* (Go and experience or see); G*aata* (Travel and reach); *Gaabata* (Went but never reached); *Gaazienyέ* (Travel somewhere and-gain experience); *Gaatuli* (Travelled wrongly), among others. I have adopted the hyphenated forms to show how the names are philosophical conceptualizations, not just identification markers.

The names describe real or imagined past, future, or present continuous experiences. On the one hand, the problem of fixing any temporality of occurrence to these names does testify to their cultural complexity. It denotes what I consider as non-temporal contextuality. This system frames and facilitates the conceptual dynamic of the historical continuum of a circle and cycle of shared collective and individual experiences of the living, the dead, and those yet to be born. On the other hand, these names carry the contradictory suggestions of encouraging others to take the risk and travel beyond the confines of their traditional domains while simultaneously discouraging them from ever risking such a journey.

These names also encapsulate and actualize Dagaaba mores of honest living, which teach stoicism, honesty, hard work, a sense of humor, and self-parody. Other types describe the experiences through an appeal to sensory perceptions: *Kawalibayi* (If sweat does not come out); *Kawalibakyeene* (If-sweat-is-not-wiped); *Wongtuota* (Suffer-extremely); *Wongtuonyέ* (Suffer and see); *Siginyέ* (Go down "to the mines" and see). The word "see" here does not translate into the gaze. Instead, it pertains to various experiential perceptions, actions, and attitudes, including sensory perceptions such as feel, taste, learn, touch, acquire, know, experience, smell, and hear.

Significantly, just as *Yɔ* and *Gaa* are roots that give rise to travel names, the modal of conditionality *Ka*, in combination with the unspecified noun *Bie* (*Ka+ bie: If + person*), perhaps more appropriately rendered as "if the child," or "if a child," combines with other descriptive or definitive words of action, feeling, or thought to form new phrasal names. The names are multidimensional in signification and legitimize the action the user seeks to convey. Travel experience names also interrogate both the traditional status quo and the quotidian reality of the migrants' new location without romanticizing the new arena of operative adjustment in which they have set their parameters or the old reality from which they attempt to escape with a hope of returning. Names then like *Kabiebayɔ* (If a person does not travel/roam/explore), *Kabiebata* (If a person does not arrive), *Bienta* (It is the person that has arrived); *Kabiebanyέ* (If a person does not perceive) and others do not simply suggest a neutral ideology of migration. These names must be understood within the ambiance of Dagaaba history and culture in

which they occur as nominal and normative positions of existence. For instance, names such as *Kangmengtanyέ* (Let me also go there and find out) *and Kangmengyɔnyέ* (Let me also travel and find out) suggest both a touristic and adventure mentality, even if there is also a hidden economic drive in the desire to travel. This name is also rendered as *Kaminta,* often confused as an Akan name.

Names originating in *Ka*, a modal suggesting conditionality of desire, urgency, and need, suggest two interpretative possibilities. First, there is an implied situation of lack, which persuades the individual that to remain stuck in his roots would not be a good idea. In this case, names such as *Kabiebayɔ*, *Kabiebasigi*, *and Kabiebata* highlight problems that generate future action of incompleteness, which predicts dire consequences if uncompleted. The second dimension has positive implications despite the innuendos of doubt and stoical resignation to the act's consequences. Hence, names like *Kangmengtanyέ*; *Kangmengsigibɔ, Kangmengyɔnyέ, Kabiesiginyέ,* etc.., resonate more positively with hope for those who migrate, not because they believe their lot would improve, but out of a spirit of adventure Abdul-Korah (2007, 1-31).

The Dagaaba are highly romantic about names. This romanticism hedges on the exotic and occasionally degenerates into the absurd. To record the memory of an exotic place, a Dagao migrant might name the self after that place. This adoption of place names as personal names by Dagaaba migrants to the south is analogous to using sacred landscape names as referential personal names among Dagaaba women outside their village boundaries or naming a child born in a different village or town. A pregnant woman from Nanvilli who travels to the hospital in Jirapa and delivers a son will name that son *Jirapaanaa* (King or Lord of Jirapa). Another woman who travels to her parental village of Takpo and delivers her baby there will name that baby *Takponaa* (King of Takpo) or *Takpoma* (Mother of Takpo). This romanticism in naming also sometimes borders on an adolescent illusion of superiority felt by returning migrants over those who remain at home.

Some of these names include the following: *Boɔlɛɛ* (Bole), *Boɔse* (Obuasi), *Takyima* (Techiman), *Waankyii* (Wenchi), *Ankara* (Accra), *Suta* (Nsuta), *Dungkɔɔ* (Dunkwa-on-Offin), *Sekondee* (Sekondi). An imaginative linguistic consideration of these place names from the angle of the tonal rendering in Dagaare, a form of Dagaabalization in naming, renders different meanings. Through tonal normalization within Dagaare lexical innovativeness, the migrants transform these place names into recognizable Dagaare words. For example, the town Bole, a Gonja town in the Savannah Region, which many Dagaaba migrants pass through on their way down south, is pronounced *Boɔlɛɛ* (high-high tone, but can become the verb *boɔlɛɛ*

(low-high tone), meaning "has called." Both words, one a proper noun and the other a verb have the exact spelling but differ in tone and meaning. However, when Bole becomes a travel experience name, it also connotes the historical, psychological, spiritual, and political implications of the verb *boɔlɛɛ.* The two words align with the colonial command to Dagaaba youth to go on the forced journey through the town of Bole toward the south. Whatever way we look at the word Boɔlɛɛ then as a name or a verb concerning travel experience naming practice, it implies the call to travel, to explore new landscapes, cultures, experiences, and adventure. Similarly, the name *Boɔse* (Obuasi), a mining town with a considerable population of Dagaaba migrant mine workers, another form of the verb B*oɔsi* (call) in the Dolimbo dialect variant of Dagaare, has some attractive dimensions. *Boɔsi* in the same dialect also means to call.

Some further examples of travel experiential names

English	**Akan**
Nyubɔi ---New Employee	*Damba* —Two pence
Smɔbɔi---Small Boy/Servant/Messenger	*Sompuo*—Three pence
Blasmai—Blast Man/Miner	*Kapri* (One penny)
Hallamai---Head Man	*Dabida*—Oh no
Watabɔi—Water Boy	*Mankani*—Dasheen
Bigila—Bugler in the army	*Brɔbɛ*—Pineapple
Druba—Driver	
Namba---Number	**Hausa**
Nambawan—Number One	*Sille*---Sulley
Nambatuu---Number Two	*Kobo*---Penny
Tulingkaa—Taxi-cab	*Sidi*---Sidique
Sitime—Steamer	*Sanjie*—Mosquito-net
Soja---Soldier	*Daaji*—Time to spare.
Kyapenta—Carpenter	*Kɔteɛ*—Dagger
Alopelee—Aeroplane	
Libridao—Laborer man	

Dagaaba migrants in southern Ghana demonstrate imaginative fluidity in self-naming to communicate their experiences. Since Dagaaba cosmogony influences their naming patterns, travel experiential names must escape this imperative. Dagaaba migrants believe that personal names alone cannot protect the individual from spiritual harm from an enemy powerful enough to invoke that name into the field of hostile forces. Consequently,

some of the people interviewed claim that the use of these experiential travel names in their sojourn helps protect them against spiritual assault. For instance, should the man *Lanjimbu Soyeleh*, upon arriving in the south, take the travel name *Sablaboi Kawalibayi* (Shovel Boy If Sweat does not drop), be invoked by an evil person to harm him, it would not work. The evil *marabout* will look through his sands of enchantment and invoke the name with his entire prowess but to no avail. A man named *Lanjimbu Soyele*, in his place of birth and growth, but who now renames himself *Sabulaboi Kawalibayi during his sojourn in the south,* a name no longer recognizably linked to his place of birth, culture, and cosmology, protects him from spiritual evil. Second, such names become face-saving mechanisms for the individual migrant, both back in his native village or community and in the place of ordinary residence. For instance, *Kangbungkpɛɛ Gbanfugonoba* travels to the south. While there, he takes the name *Bobanyɛ* or *Lɛozeng* (Searched but did not find or Turn around and settle down). He is apprehended for breaking the law and is publicly disgraced or imprisoned. These new names, not those received as a child, will go down in the records, and unless his people back in his village know these new names, he protects himself and his family from further disgrace.

From these preliminary observations I have made, there are inherent advantages in creating and adopting experiential travel names by Dagaaba migrants in southern Ghana. The names are dramatic postures, perhaps in the tradition of *Badare* (Spider), the Dagaaba culture hero and trickster figure in Dagaaba folklore. In numerous stories involving *Badare*, he constantly confronts dangerous situations in which survival depends on spontaneous re-codification and self-redefinition. In the hands of Dagaaba migrants, this ability to self-reconstruction through renaming is both a contestation of the neo-colonial system of ethnic hierarchies in Ghana and a reflective performance of a collective psyche that encourages and perpetuates travel. Notwithstanding these, there is the other reality of population and environmental degradation (Nsiah-Gyabaah: 1994)) as more recent phenomena that encourage Dagaaba to travel toward the south in search of farming lands for survival (Abdul-Korah, 2007).

Travel experience names are transformational and transliteral systematic encodings of multiple significations in liminal spaces in Ghanaian society and history. They enable migrant Dagaaba in southern Ghana to establish personal and group agencies and identities. These travel experiences psychologically condition Dagaaba, migrants, and the "*Diebugri*" (those who remain at home) and craft ethnic communicative coherence. This practice of self-naming invokes self-reflexivity while undermining any external group identification processes. The process of renaming according

to travel experience among Dagaaba recognizes communicability among Dagaaba, who understand that every such name is a product of transitory experiential moments and that the naming becomes an attempt to invoke some order around a seemingly chaotic personal narrative. In this way, Dagaare travel names become tropes of coherence, moving toward critical articulations of the socio-economic necessities they crave. Dagaaba travel experiential names encode their interpretation and subsequent suppression and critique of their social, economic, and political dilemmas.

These dilemmas contextualize Dagaaba migrants' encounters in their sojourns in southern Ghana. Real or imagined encounters translate into communicable and auditory signs of narrative nomenclatures. Through signs, whether inspired or from the delusional articulation of a transitory opacity, the functionality of Dagaaba travel experience names enables them to (re)construct a socio-economic, cultural, ideological, spiritual, and historical renaming system. Straus (1966) has argued that a proper personal name may locate a non-negotiable designation and correspondence of meaning, even as its cultural and linguistic uses underpin a system of variability at the port of the common noun. Yes, for every name to have significance among Dagaaba, it must be interpretable because Dagaaba names gain their sense from their relationships to other semiotic phenomena in the Dagaare language. For the Dagaaba migrants, therefore, these names are amors protecting their humanity in the fearful, sometimes despairing, yet hopeful encounters with the oppressive and denigrating colonializing British and southern Ghanaian cultures. The multiplicities of naming do not indicate an abandonment of any economies of reference to individual cosmic arenas by these migrant Dagaaba, as Straus suggests. Nor do I agree with his position that because proper names are symbolic representations of abstractions, they cannot also be representations of concrete realities. Among the Dagaaba, group representation does not preclude individual representation in nomenclatory praxes.

Among the Dagaaba, individuals can represent themselves in personal idiolects and within a group and general sign systems that thrive on multiplicities of signs and meanings. Among Dagaaba, this state is constituted by what is designated by Deleuze and Guattari (1977, 142-49) as the state of nomadic multiplicity and singularity, constituted by haecceity–a proper name coupled with either an infinitive or finite verb. Haecceity assumes the shape of events or forces, which then find articulation in the person's utterance of a name. Haecceity is the movement machine of mental abstraction from stasis. A movement Deleuze and Guattari (1991, 59-69) have described as the process of deterritorialization

or the process of becoming. The process of becoming highlights the act of renaming. The process, in its momentum, produces utterances–names.

Toward a Tentative Conclusion

From the preliminary observation I have made above, it is evident that Dagaaba travel names are constructive utterances that deconstruct, reformulate, contemplate, and communicate their liminality within Ghana's socio-historical and economic development spaces. Travel experience names are strategic manoeuvrers toward an oral inscription of their circular nomadicity generated by economic neglect from Ghana's political center, the alien culturescape, and unacceptable work environments and ethics into which the pull of capitalist production inexorably ensnared them. Through travel experience naming, Dagaaba migrants seek to procure a coherent, non-totalitarian cartography of their historical, geographical, cultural, spiritual, and physical being. Their act places them on an artistic threshold of fundamental alterity and enables them to perform invocatory pronouncements of self-assistance. Travel experience naming provides them with a narrative poetic constituted through proverbial contradistinctions to the colonial and the neo-colonial ethnocentric semiotic that sought to name, own, and control them. As a praxis of re-figuration and reconfiguration of their transitory nomadic personhoods, Dagaaba invented travel experience names as the semiotics of contestation, resistance, and survival. Thus, assuming the names of travel experiences is analogous to conjuring self-declamatory paradigms, which then promise new possibilities through their elusiveness of original particularities of cosmic reference.

This essay demonstrates how the phenomenon of travel experience naming among the Dagaaba of northwestern Ghana has cultural, environmental, economic, political, cosmological, and historical foundations. The practice enabled Dagaaba culture to lean on and grow through codification. The Dagaaba migrants in southern Ghana thus engaged in this codification to escape detribalization under the pressures of lumpen categorization with other northern Ghanaian groups, who, collectively, are undifferentiated and framed as either Hausa, Muslims, or simply Northerners. The system helped and continues to help Dagaaba transfigure their marginal location in Ghana's political and economic history and development into a semi-numinous system of naming that explores their collective and individual philosophical and historical experiences in Ghana's history.

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CHAPTER TWO

APOLOGIES IN ENGLISH IN GHANA

JEMIMA ASABEA ANDERSON

Introduction

Apologies have been described as speech acts that are produced when a speaker(s) acknowledge that an offence has been committed and the speaker(s)) is/are partially involved or responsible for this violation (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989). They are therefore used to remedy or repair the damage caused by intentional or unintentional offences. By using apologies, speakers can re-establish social harmony between them (or the people they represent) and aggrieved parties who are often times (but not always) their addressees. These speech acts have been studied extensively in pragmatics. In speech act theory, they are categorized on the basis of felicity conditions as expressive (Trosborg, 1995) and they are typically realized with an apologetic performative verb and an expression of regret (Suszczyńska, 1999). Goffman (1971) describes them as remedial action or as 'acts of verbal redress used to re-establish social harmony after a real or potential offence.' This view is shared by Owen (1983) who also sees an apology as a type of ritual action which is employed in a remedial interchange. Leech (1983) says they are 'convivial in nature' while Olshtain and Cohen (1983) explain them as acts of verbal redress which are utilized in situations where social norms are violated by a real or potential offence.

Brown and Levinson (1987) describe apologizing as an attempt by a speaker to make up for a previous action that interfered with the addressee's face wants. According to them, apologies are face-threatening acts because they damage the speaker's positive face wants. When a speaker admits that he or she has caused an offence or done something wrong, this admission threatens the speaker's face. Apologies are thus negative politeness acts because they convey a feeling of deference and distance rather than that of friendliness. In Brown and Levinsons's view, apologies directly damage the speaker's positive face wants and as such threaten the speaker's positive face. Apologies however have a positive effect on the addressee's standing