MICHIGAN STATE
U N I V E R S I T Y

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE DAGOMBA

M.E. Kropp Dakubu

The paper documents personal names and naming practices of the Dagomba people. The Dagomba are one of the few ethnic groups in northern Ghana where a significant section of the community gives a name derived from Arabic as the *primary* or initial name. Names and the religious context of their bestowal are classified as either "traditional" or "Islamic", an indigenous classification reflecting linguistic, social, and historical distinctions. Appellatives and modes of address are considered, and titles of the main Dagomba chiefs are listed. The focus of the paper is linguistic and textual.

Documentation of personal names and naming practices among the Central Gur-speaking groups of northern Ghana is scanty. Among the more important studies are Meyer-Fortes' (1955) ground-breaking study of names of the Talensi; Awedoba (1996), which examines how names in Kasem relate to the nominal classification system of that language; and Kröger (1978 Chapter 3) on the names used by the Bulsa. There have been a few essays by students (Aloah (1990) and Ayiwah (1984) on names of the Kasena). Several scholars have documented names used by groups who spread across the Ghana border, for example Cornevin (1962: 128-33) discusses names used by the Bassari, who live on both sides of the Ghana-Togo border, and Houis (1963) and Zwernemann (1971/72) describe names of the Mossi and the Bimoba respectively, while Dinslage and Steinbrich (1993) discuss the symbolism embodied in names in languages spoken in Ghana (Buli, Talni) and others spoken in Burkina Faso. This paper is intended to add to the literature by documenting the names given by the Dagomba (or Dagbamba) people of the Northern Region of Ghana. Their country is called Dagbon, and the language is called Dagbani or Dagbanli.

The initial naming of a child shortly after birth can be regarded as a public announcement of the child's birthright as a member of a recognized group. We may refer to the name given on this occasion as the *primary name*. In northern Ghana as a whole, one can divide groups roughly according to whether or not the giving of names of Arabic origin is central to their system of primary names. The division coincides with the presence or absence of a strong Islamic influence, although it is by no means the case that the giving of an Arabic-derived name necessarily implies religious commitment to Islam, on the part of either the giver or the recipient. The Gonja, the Dagomba, and the Wala, or at any rate sections of each of these groups,

commonly give their children Arabic-derived names as primary names, but the Dagaaba, the Kasena, the Bulsa, the Gurensi and the Kusasi generally do not.[1] Obviously this cultural divide does not reflect linguistic affinities. The languages of the Dagomba and Wala are closely related, but Dagbani is equally closely related to Talni, while on the other hand the Gonja speak a Kwa language.[2]

The research reported in this paper[3] was originally intended to provide background information to a study of verbal art in Dagbani, particularly praise poetry. That project was never completed, but the material is of interest both for its own sake and as an aid to possible future studies, and the time elapsed since its collection does not seriously affect its value. The paper provides an overview of the kinds of names the Dagomba give, especially the primary names, but it does not provide a comprehensive catalogue. It should be noted that we are here considering names given at birth or under culturally specified circumstances and used within the language area. We are not considering the situations in which adult migrants in southern Ghana assume special names, including Arabic-derived names, for use "abroad".

The Dagomba themselves classify primary names (*yuli* [yúli], plural *yuya* [yúya]) according to the religious context in which they are given, whether traditional or Muslim. Most of the "traditional" names are in the Dagbani language, while the Muslim names are ultimately of Arabic origin but usually show linguistic signs of having been acquired via another language, usually Hausa. The division is thus linguistic, social, and historical, and entails important ritual differences. In the traditional case the name is determined by a soothsayer or by the father of the child, in the Muslim situation by an imam (or "mallam"). Since this indigenous classification also reflects a major regional cultural distinction, we adopt it in this paper. How names are bestowed on children is briefly discussed, and then the names themselves, first according to traditional practice and then according to the Muslim form. Our purpose in presenting the names is essentially literary and historical, to support the appreciation of the use of names in text, and to document linguistically the names used by a major group of people of northern Ghana. A thorough description of Dagomba naming ceremonies and their significance may be found in Oppong (1973: 36ff.)

The topic of names is inseparable from a consideration of modes of address and titles. There are situations in which use of a given name is avoided altogether. Even when a name is not to be avoided, it does not mean that everyone can address everyone else by name without qualification. We therefore follow the account of names with a short account of modes of address, both informal nicknames and formal appellatives or titles and polite forms.

Names and other Dagbani words are given first in their normal English spelling, if there is one, in the standard Dagbani spelling and phonemic transcription. The broad phonetic

transcription follows, in square brackets. In this transcription the tones are marked with the acute accent for the first High tone in the word, or the grave accent for a Low tone. Vowels with no tone mark are pronounced with the same tone as the preceding one. Downstepping or lowering of High tone (which in some cases is actually a raising of Low tone) is marked with an exclamation point.

Any new-born Dagomba baby is referred to as *sana* [sána] "stranger", or *saando* [sáandòo] "male stranger", if a male, or *saanpaga* [sáanpàɣa] "female stranger" if a female (see also Oppong 1973). As will be seen, the elements *do* or *da* for "male" and *paga* for "female" occur very often in names in Dagbani.

At the end of the first week of life the naming ceremony is performed, under the supervision of the father in consultation with the head of the household (Oppong 1973: 36). The ceremony will be either the traditional indigenous form, known as *zugupenibu* [zúɣupènibú] "shaving of hair", or an Islamic ceremony, known as *suna* [sùúnà], from Hausa *sūnā* "name".[4] Occasionally the traditional form is referred to as *suna*, and the Muslim ceremony, which is considered prestigious, is sometimes performed in addition to the traditional one. That is, the Muslim rite is sometimes performed by people who are not Muslim in any orthodox sense.

Historically there is of course no doubt that Muslim and other Arabic-derived names have been introduced more recently than names in Dagbani. However the term "traditional" as the antithesis to "Muslim" for either names or ceremony is not particularly accurate, since "Muslim" names have probably been used by Dagomba people at least since the early eighteenth century (Levtzion 1968: 92), and constitute a tradition of their own. Furthermore, it is possible that some of the actual names given according to the "traditional" rite are relatively recent creations. This paper uses traditional vs Muslim as convenient tags for a real difference, not between traditional and exotic, but between a strictly indigenous (as far as we know) tradition and a tradition known to have exotic origins.

Primary Names in the Traditional Context

Names Given with the Aid of a Soothsayer

In the traditional ceremony, the baby's hair is shaved, as the name (*zugupenibu*) suggests. The soothsayer (*baga* [báɣa]) divines which spirit, and especially which paternal ancestor, the child reincarnates. The child is then declared to be that spirit's namesake, *sigilana* [síɣilána], from the root of *sigli* "reincarnate spirit" plus *-lana*, roughly "owner", and given its name (*yuli*). The name may alternatively be the name of a deity or shrine (*buguli* [búɣʋlɪ]), but in either case the child is believed to have been born with that spirit.

55

Following are some of the common names.

Names of Ancestors:

For males: Andani [àndáni], Banzu [báŋzu], Napare [nàpáre], Naporo [nàporó], Shagba [ʃágbáà], Yiri [yíñ]. Although names in this category are not considered Islamic, some are of Arabic origin, including Gariba [gáriba], Ziblim [zíblim][5], Salisu [sáalisù].

For females: Balemini [bàlemíni], from the Hausa for "leave it for me", Balima [bálimà], which means "begging", Nakpambo [nàkpàmbɔ̧], Sindoliwa [sĭndóĺiwa]. Female ancestor names of Arabic origin are Adisa [ádisa], Ramata [dáamàta], and Salimata [sàamáta].[6]

Appropriate for both sexes: Chentiwuni [cɛ́nti!wúni] "leave it to God".

Names of Shrines (and thus of deities):

Male names: Tia [tía], from which is derived Tido [tĭdó]

Female name:Tipaga [tĭpáyà] (also from Tia).

Either sex: Zenebo [zéɲebo], Jebuni [jèbúni], Buguli [búyʋlɪ] "deity", from which are derived Budaale [bùdàalé] and Bugudabele [búyʋdàbelé] "slave of the shrine".

Names Given Without the Aid of a Soothsayer

Names given through a soothsayer are regarded as the main primary Dagomba names. However there are a number of names relating to circumstances attending the birth, rather than to the spirit incarnated by the child, that are given by the father or head of the household alone. Such a name is the only one a child is given in such situations; soothsayers are not consulted in addition. The names must therefore be classed as primary names.

Repeated Infant Deaths

One such situation is when the mother has suffered repeated deaths of her infants. The parents may decide that the soothsayer has not been successful in divining the correct spirit for their child, and take the child to the trash heap to "throw it away". A non-Dagomba will then offer to buy the child, pay the parents a token sum, and hand the child back. The child will be called thereafter by the tribe of the "buyer", for example:

Males: Mampurudoo [ŋmámpúrudòo] "Mamprusi man",

Females: Kambonpaga [kàmbɔnpáya] "Ashanti woman", Mampurupaga [ŋmàmpúrupáya] "Mamprusi woman", Mopaga [mòpáya] "Moshie woman".

Either sex: Gruma [grúuma] "Gurma".

Sometimes such a child is also given the facial scarifications of the tribe the child is named for.

The procedure apparently removes the child from the danger of being named for the wrong spirit, and so of being called back from life by that spirit, by disguising it as a stranger. The practice of giving names to protect a child born after its mother has suffered several infant deaths is probably are universal throughout Ghana, if not West Africa, but there are many variations in the semantics of the names used and in the rationale for giving them. The Dagomba names are not intended to make the child appear ugly or otherwise undesirable to the spirit it incarnates, as

56

are those of the Talensi (Fortes 1955), among many others (including the Ga, see Dakubu 1981: 142).

Festivals

Another such situation is when a child is born on a special day. It is then usually named for that day. Chimsi [címsí] the lunar month and its feast day, and Damba [dàmbá] a major festival, are common names of this kind.

Time

A child may be named for the time of day at which it was born. The following names are based on the stem *neen* [nèén] "brightening", and indicate that the child was born at dawn, which is considered an auspicious time for a birth: Nendo [nèndó] or Naniendo [nàaníèndóo] (for boys), Nenpaga [nènpáγa] or Niena [níεna] (for girls).[7]

Another alternative is for the father to give a name that signifies the day of the week on which the child was born. These names are all of Hausa origin, although two, Azindo and Sibido, add the Dagbani masculine element –*doo*. They are based on the names for the days of the week in Hausa, which in turn are based on the Arabic numbers one through seven (starting with Sunday as one). In Hausa also they are used as names for people.

Names used as day-names in a non-Muslim context do not form a complete system, especially for males. The reason for this is uncertain, but a likely explanation is that these names are not the most favoured type of primary name. Like day names in the south of Ghana they can be assumed by anyone, without a naming ceremony, and have no implications for the individual's social identity.

	Male	Female		Both Sexes
Sunday	—	Lahari	[láhari]	
Monday	—-	Tani	[táni]	
Tuesday	—	Talata	[tàláata]	
Wednesday	—	Lariba	[làabá]	
Thursday				Lamisi [làamíhi]
Friday	Azindo [àzíndo]	Azima	[àzíma]	
Saturday	Sibido [síbido]			Sibiri [síbiri]

The Gonja and the Mosi of Tamale Moshi Zongo use versions of these names for the same days. Kröger (1978: 108) gives a full set of these names as used by the Bulsa, but notes that most of the masculine versions are very rarely used.

These day names can be given as the sole name, and hence primary name. However it seems that this is not the usual practice, and they are not regarded as central to the Dagomba system. It will be seen that they are quite different from the day names normally given as primary names in a Muslim religious context.

57

Family Events and Situations

Yet another alternative is that the father may choose to give a name referring to events in the family. This practice is less common than it once was, according to informants. These names are usually proverbs, or based on proverbs. Some examples follow.

Tunteya [túntéeyà], based on *tua* a spreading gourd plant. This name is given to indicate that the family is expanding.

Zantale [zàntàalé] "take someone's fault". The name is given in reference to family quarrels, when people tend to bring up the faults of others.

Suhuyeni [sùhuyénï] "one heart". The name tells the father's enemies that he is behaving wholeheartedly.[8]

If a man becomes a chief for the first time, that is, not through being elevated from a chieftaincy lower in the political hierarchy, his first child to be born after this will be called Sugri [súyri], and the next after that will be called Sugu Bila [sùyubíla] "Sugri Junior"

If someone gives the money for the ritual cutting of the umbilical cord, that person is said to have "bought the birth". This is commemorated by naming the child Bawa [báwa], from the Hausa for "slave".

Multiple Births

Another circumstance that calls for special names is a multiple birth. The word for "twins" is *jahi* [jáhi] or *jabihi* [jàbihi]. (Both forms are plural; the word has no singular.) There is a traditional and also a Muslim set of names for such births; the Muslim set is described in section 2.2 below.

Traditionally, the elder of male twins is called Dawuni [dàwúni], and the younger Danaa [dànàá]. These names may be analyzed as constructed of the elements *da*- "male person", plus -*wuni* "God" or -*naa* "chief". With female twins the element *paga*- "female person" is used with the same second element, but the order of the names is reversed, with Pagnaa [pàynàá] for the elder, and Pagwuni [pàywúnï] for the younger. Mixed twins are given the appropriate name according to sex and birth order, which entails that both will be either -*wuni* or -*naa*.. In the event of triplets, *jabihi ata* "three twins", the third is named Napare [nápàre], for both males and females, or Sanatu [sànàatu] if female.[9] A fourth (*jabihi naa*) is called Dawuni Bila [dàwúmbíla] "Dawuni Junior", and in that case the elder would be known as Dawuni Kpiema [dàwúnkpíema] "Dawuni Senior", if male, or Paga Bila [pàybíla] "Junior Woman" if female. A child born after twins may also be called Jahi Napare [jáhi nápàre].

58

Islamic Primary Names

If the Islamic ceremony, *suna* [sùúnà], is performed, an imam (in Dagbani pronunciation, *lemam* [lémaṁ]), provides a set of suitable names, and the father selects one. These are either names regarded as proper for the day of the week on which the child was born, or special names for multiple births. It seems that both the day names and the multiple birth names are used in more or less the same manner by all groups in northern Ghana that give Muslim names as their main primary names.

Names According to the Day of the Week

As might be expected, these names are all of Arabic origin, apparently transmitted to Dagbani via Hausa or in some cases perhaps Manden. Many names have Hausa endings, especially the feminines ending in *-tu* or *-ta*. The list given here was received from Afa (ie., Alfa) Gausu, an imam and teacher, who read the names from a written list kept in his Koran. The child's father selects his personal preference from the names suitable for the day of birth and the child's sex. Note that masculine and feminine versions of a particular name are not given for the same day; Ibrahamma (Ibrahim, masculine) is used for a Monday-born, but Lahinatu (the feminine Rahima, also based on Ibrahim) is given to a Tuesday-born. Exactly why particular names are regarded as suitable for particular days was not investigated.[10]

Sunday:
Masculine: Abubakr [ábu!kári], Osman [ʔásumaana], Omar [ʔùmáru], Suleyman [sùlemáana] (Solomon).
Feminine: Khadija [kádijà], Mariama [màriáamà], Rahil, Rahida [làhí!dátù] (Rachel).
Monday:
Masculine: Hamid [ʔámirù], Ibrahim [ʔìbràhámmà] (Abraham), Muhammad, Mahama [màhámmà], Sayyid? Seidu [ʃèrú]
Feminine: Harisa? Adisatu [ʔàdí!ʃéetù], Aisha [ʔàyí!ʃátà], Hafiza [hàfí!sátà], Hamida [hàmí!dátà].
Tuesday:
Masculine: Ishaq, Isaaka [ʔìssáhaku] (Isaac), Yaqub, Yakubu [yàakúbu] (Jacob), Yusuf [yísifu] (Joseph), Musa [músa] (Moses), Harun, Haruna [ʔádùná] (Haroun), Yunus [ʔínusa] (Jonah).
Feminine: Maimuna [mèmú!nátù], Rahima [làhí!nátù] (from Ibrahim).
Wednesday:
Masculine: Shahadat? [Sàhádu], Zakaria [zákariya], Yahya [yáhaya], Isa [ìsà] (Jesus).
Feminine: Hawa [ʔàwàábù] (Eve), Adamu [ʔádamu].
Thursday:
Masculine: Hassan, Al-Hassan [ʔàláa!sáni], Husayn [fùʃéni].[11]
Feminine: Habiba [ʔàbí!bátà], Salama [sàláamatu].
Friday:

Masculine: Adam [ʔádàm], Idris [ʔídrísù] (Enoch), Haaris? Khalid? Halidu [ʔá!lírù], Saibu
   [sàíbù] or [sàayíbù]
Feminine: Hajar, Ajara [ʔázarà], Mahamata [má:matà] (from Muhammad/Mahama).
Saturday:
Masculine: Abdullah, Abudulai [ʔàbuláí], Abd-al-Rahman [ʔàbrahamáñ], Abd-al-Karim
   [ʔábùrukarím], Tahid, Tahiru [táayirù], Abd-al-Qaasim [ʔábùrukáasǐm].
Feminine: Fatima [fàá!tímà], Zahra, Zaharatu [ʒáharatù],[12] Zaynab [ʒé!nábù], Amina [ʔáminà],
   Sakina [sàkíi!nátù].

Besides the feminine -tu and -ta, at least two names display a suffix -bu: Adamu (from Adam), Hawabu. In men's names, appearance of u as epenthetic final vowel (as in Yakubu, Tahiru) seems to indicate Hausa as the main transmitting language, while a final a (as in Haruna, Suleymana) may indicate a Manden vector, presumably earlier.

Phonological evidence suggests that Islamic names were acquired at different times from different linguistic groups. Dagbani (like other Oti-Volta languages) has no indigenous initial voiceless velar fricative, that is, words of strictly indigenous origin do not begin in h, or in a post-velar fricative. It is also a regular rule that a lexical stem must begin with a consonant. A glottal stop is therefore inserted in names that in the language of origin begin in a vowel, for example Amina. If the name begins in h (in the Arabic or the Hausa version) or a velar fricative, the glottal stop is usually substituted, as in [ʔawaabu] for Hawa, [ʔalidu] probably for Khalid. However a few names preserve the Arabic velar fricative or substitute a velar fricative for a glottal fricative, for example Hafizata, Hamidata. It is suggested that these are the most recently borrowed. On the other hand, substitution of the labial fricative (f) is rare; in Dagbani names this seems to occur only in Fusheni, from Husayn. This pronunciation may be evidence that this name was borrowed early, or from a different immediate source.

Names Used for a Multiple Birth

Male twins are given Thursday names. The eldest is Al-Hassan [àlá!sáñ] or [àlàasá] and the younger Husayn, [fùʃéení] or [fùséení] depending on dialect, frequently shortened to Sheini [ʃéni] or Seini [séeni]. This pairing of names is surely related to the fact that in Arabic, one is a diminutive form of the other (see note 11). Female twins receive feminine versions of the same names, in the same order: Al-Hassana [ʔá!sána] or [sánà], and Husayna [fú!séèná]. With mixed twins, the same names are used, as appropriate to birth order and sex. The third of triplets is called Al-Hassan Bila [ʔàlá!sán!bíla] (masculine) or Hassana Bila [sám!bíla] (feminine). A fourth would be called Husayn Bila [ʃén!bíla].

might be added to the primary name, thus: Saibu Dagana "slender Saibu". One woman was known as Pakur'jiya [pàkʊ́rjiya], "short old lady".

Social Description

Socially descriptive nicknames may describe some habit characteristic of the person. The name of the person's profession or occupation is frequently added to his primary name, for example Adam Lunga [ádam lʊ́ŋà], literally "Adam drum", or Adam the drummer. Others denote personal behaviours. Thus Adam Gbana [gbánà] literally means "Adam-animal skin"—perhaps the Adam in question eats soft skin, because he likes it or because he has no teeth. A very talkative woman was known as Daalemam [dàalémam̀], literally "imam of the market".

If two people in the same household or community happen to have the same name they are commonly distinguished by their seniority, as Bila [bíla] "Junior, small" and Kpiema [kpíema] "Senior, big".

A person who has advanced himself socially in any way, an important person, may be called Nmarigong [ŋmárigɔŋ] "curved moon". A woman leader of an organization of any kind is called Magaziya [mágaziyà], from Hausa *magājīya*, a title for a senior female relative of a chief. The equivalent male title is Gomda [gómdà], but this is less likely to be used as a personal appellation. According to Fortes (1955: 345) a similar title in Talni is a version of the English "governor".

Members of special occupational groups may acquire special honorific by-names. One important example is hunters. The meanings of the following names for important hunters are obscure: Achiri [àciri], Chongfo [còŋfó] (includes the Akan suffix –*foɔ*?), Bongkwa [bòŋkwaa] Danakugulana [dànankúyulana] (includes the Dagbani morpheme –*lana* "owner, master of").

Appellatives for Muslim Names

People given a Muslim name are sometimes known by an appellation proper to that name. In particular, someone named Mahama (or Mohammed) may be known by one of the by-names of the Prophet, for example Gausu [gàusu]. Abukari may be called Sadik [sàdík], and Yakubu may be called by the variant Jacob [já!kób].

There are "baby" versions of some names, abbreviated versions that preserve childhood pronunciations, that may be continue to be used as personal nicknames, for example Nlae [ńlàe] for Abudulai, and Sulley [súle] for Suleyman.

In this category we also include Gado [gàdo], from the Hausa for "bed", used as an appellation for a child of either sex born after twins.[14]

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Modes of Address

Modes of address are (as in many societies) keyed to the social hierarchy, which is viewed as an extension of the kinship hierarchy. Primary names and nicknames can all be used in addressing their owner if the interlocutors are social equals, or when an older or socially superior person addresses a junior or social inferior. When a junior or social inferior addresses a senior person it is usual to use some other term of address. Senior relatives are addressed according to gender as Mma [m̀mà] "my mother" or Mpirba [m̀pírbà] "my aunt", or Mbapira [m̀bá!pˊira] "my uncle".

A man who is regarded as socially, politically or financially prominent, but is not a chief, is likely to be addressed as N-yaba [ɲábà] "my grandfather". A very polite form of address for men, usually used to chiefs but sometimes to someone else whom one wishes to honour, is Ndana [ǹdánà], literally "my beloved". A chief is always addressed as Naa [nàá], except that a relative of the Ya Na (the paramount chief of Dagbon) will address that personage as *Ndan' Ya Na* [ǹdán!yáànàà] "my beloved Ya Na". There is no real equivalent for addressing a woman, but to be very respectful one may say N-yapaga [ɲápàɣa] "my grandmother". The social superior, including a chief, will address his subordinates as Mbapira "my uncle" or Mpirba "my aunt".

Titles

The Dagomba use a number of titles, for positions held by elders and for other achievements, and these are normally used in addressing the holder of the title. Examples are Zogyima [zòɣyimàà], chief linguist, Al-Hajj [ʔàláji], from Arabic, for someone who has been on pilgrimage to Mecca, and the feminine version Hajiya [hájiya]. The children and sometimes other members of the household of a person who has received such a title are often addressed by that title, as a nickname.

The official titles of chiefs are generally based on the name of the place, but there are several linguistic irregularities that make them worth listing here. Some add the element *–lana* "owner, person in charge", to the name of the chieftaincy, and some add *–naa*, but all chiefs are addressed as *Naa*.

Titles adding *–lana*:

Chief of:	Bilisanga [bílisaŋa]	Title:	Bilisanglana [bílisaŋlàna]
	Bagurigu [bàgurigu]		Bagurugulana [bàgúrugulána]
	Diale [díale]		Dialelana [díallána]
	Dinga [dìŋa]		Dingalana [diŋalána]

63

Ga [gâ]	Galana [gálàna]
Gariwe [gáriwɛɛ]	Garwelana [gárwelanà]
Karaga	Karagalana [káraɣàlaná]
Kumbogu [kúmbògú]	Kumbonlana [kùmbɔnlánà]
Lingbunga [líŋgbuŋa]	Lingbungalana [líŋgbuŋa!lána]
Nyeshe [ɲéʃee]	Nyeshelana [ɲéʃe!lána]
Piugu [píuɣu]	Piugulana [pïuɣulána]
Pong Tamale [kpúíŋtámàli]	Kponglana [kpúŋ!lána]
Sambu [sàmbú]	Mionlana [mïɔŋlánà]
Salankpang [sàlaŋkpaŋ]	Salankpanglana [sàlaŋkpaŋlána]
Sang [sáŋ]	Sanglana [sáŋlana]
Tamaligu [támaligu]	Tamalugulana [támalugu!lána]
Tampion [tàmpïòn]	Tampiolana [támpïo!lána]
Tijo [tïjó]	Tijolana [tïjólàna]
Togo [tɔ́gʊ]	Togolana [tɔ̀gʊlána]
Vogo [vɔ̀gʊ́]	Vogolana [vɔ̀gʊlána]
Yamokaraga [yàmɔ́!káraɣà]	Yamokarigalana [yàmɔ́!kári!ɣálána]
Zandule [zàndúle]	Zandulelana [zàndúlàna]

Titles adding *–naa*:

Chief of: Gushiegu [gùʃégu], [gùʃáo]	Title: Gushie Na [gùʃienáà]
Nanton [nàntɔ]	Nanton Na [nàntónnàa]
Nueligu [núeligu]	Nueli Na [nùelnáà]
Sakuba [sáakuba]	Sakuba Na [sàakubanáà]
Savelugu [sàvelúgù]	Yogo Na, Yoo Na [yòɣonáà]
Sunson [sʊ́nsɔŋ]	Sunson Na[15] [sʊ́nsɔŋnaà
Tale [tále]	Tale Na [tále!náà]
Tolon [tɔ́lɔ̀]	Tolon Na [tɔ́lɔnaà]
Yendi [yéni], Na Ya [nàyá]	Ya Na [yàá!náà]
Zangbalang [zàŋgbaláŋ]	Zangbal Na [zàŋgbalnaá]
Zuo [zúò]	Zo Na [zùonáà]

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Notes

[1] See Rytz et al. (1971) for Gonja names.

[2] The Dagomba, like the Talensi, the Dagaaba (or Dagaare), the Mamprusi, the Farefare (of whom the Gurensi form a part) and the Kusasi speak a language belonging to the Oti-Volta sub-group of Central Gur. The language is called Dagbani or Dagbanli, depending on dialect. Dagomba as a name for the the people and their land is an anglicization of Dagbamba, for the people, and Dagbon, for the land. Kasem, the language of the Kasena, is slightly less closely related to Dagbani, and belongs to the Grusi branch of Central Gur. Gonja on the other hand is a Guang language, very closely related to Nawuri, Krachi, Nkonya and Awutu, and fairly closely related to Akan.

[3] The paper reports information collected in 1983 with Mr. Mohammed Abudulai (Baba), then a Research Assistant at the Institute of African Studies, Legon. The data was collected in the Dagomba community in Accra, and also draws on the personal knowledge of Mr. Abudulai, who hailed from Savelugu. In preparing it for publication, the material was checked and expanded in consultation with Mr. M.D. Sulley, Principal Instructor at the Language Centre, University of Ghana.

[4] Hausa spellings are from Abraham's *Dictionary.*

[5] Among the Gonja, *Ziblim* is given to a boy born on Wednesday.

[6] Among the Gonja these names are given to girls born on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday respectively.

[7] Oppong (1973: 36) gives a different interpretation of these names.

[8] If it is true that these names are less commonly given than they once were, a reason may be that they often involve insults or refer to unpleasant things and are recognized as embarrassing to the bearer in the circumstances of modern life, and possibly affecting his character. In the Farefare (Gureni) speaking area, where comparable names are also given, many people now feel that it is wrong to give a child a name that will result in his being called, for example, "thief". See also Kröger (1978: 97-8). In the Dagomba context, Mr. Sulley suggests Muslim influence as another factor.

[9] This name is probably of Arabic origin, via Hausa, perhaps from Hasana.

[10] In the list that follows, a standard English spelling of the Arabic name is given, based on Ahmad (1999). A question mark following indicates that the identification is not absolutely certain. In some cases this is followed by an English spelling that reflects the Dagbani version more closely. The common Dagbani pronunciation follows in square brackets. If there is a common English equivalent name it follows in parentheses.

[11] According to Ahmed (1999), *Husayn* in Arabic is a diminutive of *Hassan.*

[12] According to Ahmed (1999), *Zahra* is an epithet of *Fatima.*

[13] Compare use of *Nii* and *Naa* among the Ga, or *Nana* among the Akan, with the similar purpose of avoiding calling a child by its grandparent's name.

[14] According to Newman and Ahmad (1992: 168), among the Hausa such a child is given a different name, *Gambo* [gàmbó].

[15] The stem *Sunson* is said to be Konkomba.