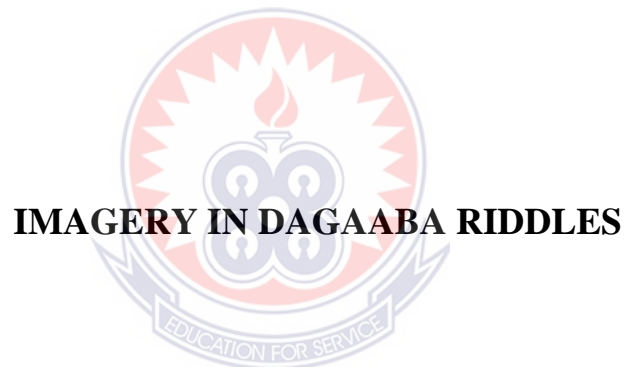


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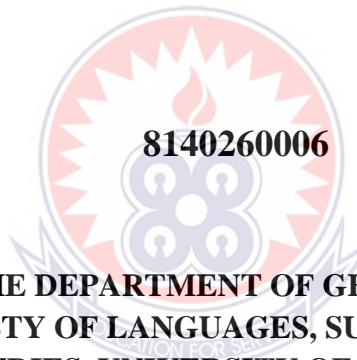
GORDEN YELPOE BAYOR

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UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

IMAGERY IN DAGAABA RIDDLES

GORDEN YELPOE BAYOR



**A THESIS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF GHANAIAN LANGUAGES
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(DAGAARE) DEGREE.**

AUGUST, 2016

DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I, GORDEN YELPOE BAYOR, DECLARE THAT HIS THESIS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES CONTAINED IN PUBLISHED WORKS WHICH HAVE ALL BEEN IDENTIFIED AND DULY ACKNOWLEDGED, IS ENTIRELY MY OWN ORIGINAL WORK, AND IT HAS NOT BEEN SUBMITTED, EITHER IN PART OR WHOLE, FOR ANOTHER DEGREE ELSEWHERE.

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I, HEREBY DECLARE THAT THE PREPARATION AND PRESENTATION OF THIS WORK WAS SUPERVISED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE GUIDELINES FOR SUPERVISION OF THESIS AS LAID DOWN BY THE UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA.

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

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DEDICATION

Glory be to God for the wonderful things He has done. The Almighty God deserves a lot of appreciation. I dedicate this work to all my family members especially to my wife Janet Bayor, my daughter Denicia Bayor and my brother Paul Bayor for their undaunted love and devotion towards my quest for higher heights.



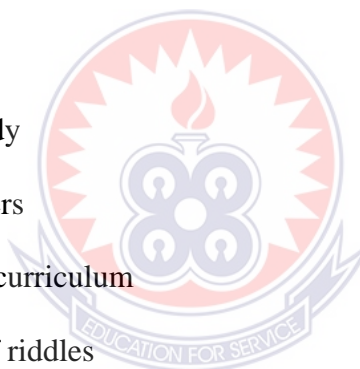
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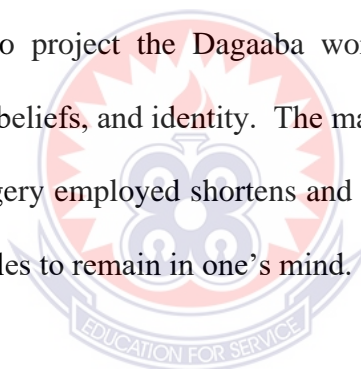
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ABSTRACT

The study examines imagery in riddles in Dagaare, a Gur language spoken by the Dagaaba in Northern Ghana. A riddle is a popular genre that appeals to people of all ages, gender and status. It is a short utterance that requires deep thinking before a response. This study identified and analyzed the types of imagery employed in Dagaaba riddles in the context of the Dagaaba society and their culture. Dagaaba riddles are characterized by figurative meaning and employ both perceptual and conceptual imagery. Imagery is the use of descriptive and figurative language to represent ideas, actions and entities in a way that appeals to our senses. The study looked at symbolism, simile, personification, repetition, satire, metaphor and parallelism as some of the imagery embedded in the riddles. Imagery serves to project the Dagaaba world view and defines a frame of reference for the people's beliefs, and identity. The main function of imagery is pictorial. It concludes that, the imagery employed shortens and delivers the thought forcefully and also makes it easy for riddles to remain in one's mind.



CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This study identified and analyzed the types of imagery in Dagaaba riddles in the context of the Dagaaba society and their culture. The chapter has been organized into sub-sections. It covers the background to the study, Dagaare and its speakers, Dagaare in the school curriculum, history and concept of riddles, context of performance of Dagaaba riddles, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, limitations of the study, delimitations of the study and significance of the study.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

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

asserting self identity also has a strong patriotic content. Obiechina (1975: 32) refers to oral tradition as a situation in which cultural transmission is carried out by word of mouth through direct contact between individuals depending largely on memory and habits of thought, action and speech for cultural continuity.

The significance attached to oral tradition is demonstrated by our annual celebrations of festivals. However, oral tradition can hardly meet the interests of the changing generations unless its social function is broadly defined, interpreted and presented to the consumers with embellishment. With the general recognition in many circles of African studies as a worthwhile field of research, an increasing number of local scholars are turning to detail and serious analysis of their own oral literature and beginning to find some measures of encouragement (Finnegan, 1970). Oral literature is a medium for transmitting historical knowledge and it has a timeless quality because it reflects truths of all time of a particular historic moment.

In recent times, changes in the social structure of traditional communities due to urbanization and westernization have adversely affected some traditional forms of oral art. Verbal art is transmitted through someone who narrates and reaches the audience and may be seen as the full power of continuous memory at work in the process of dealing with the account of events, situations, transmission of cultural tradition and norms. The verbal art of a people is by nature a dynamic literature and riddling is one of them. Hart (1964) mentions that riddles are found in oral traditions among Americans, Indians, Chinese, Russians, Hungarians, Dutch, Philipians, Africans and many others. According to Scott (1965), riddles as a folk literary genre has been in existent since 400 AD. Riddles advise and guide both the young and the old. They (riddles) serve as a foundation block for reflection of one's life. They educate, entertain, stimulate people's mind and motivate

their observations and thinking through the natural environment. For instance the riddle: *N ba kaŋa la be be a maŋ kyene kye taa o yiri*. ‘I have a certain friend, wherever he goes, he goes with his house’. This riddle advises the Dagaaba that in life anything can happen and therefore, they should always prepare themselves against any eventuality.

Riddles constitute part of oral and traditional literature. They are a legacy from the past, handed down from one generation to another by word of mouth. Kyoore (2010) mentions that riddles bind the generations together to experience the magic of the archetype and the world is unveiled. For instance the riddle: *N saa kaŋa la be be ka o naŋ wa boole fo, fo koŋ baŋ zagre*. ‘I have a certain father; when he calls you, you cannot refuse’. The response to this riddle is *kũũ* ‘death’. Death has no respect for age, gender or status. This riddle teaches us that no one can avoid death and it makes us feel that we are all one and equal. Kyoore (2010) states that riddles are found in historic literature in nearly all cultures throughout the world. According to him, it is very likely that riddles might have spread through oral folk tradition as a means of fireside storytelling and education. This study shares the same view with Kyoore. A riddle is a question or a statement that requires ingenious thinking before a response. Riddles as a literary genre employ figurative language to evoke rich imagery. Abrams (1993) defines figurative language as a language which departs from ‘ordinary’ language in order to achieve special meaning or effect. According to him figurative language departs from ‘ordinary’ language by changing the order and significance of words. Motebele (1997) states that one of the most common means of constructing figurative language is the use of imagery. According to her, imagery entails describing an object or concept in terms of another by bringing out the similarities and differences between them. Identifying the imagery in riddles means that you know how to organize the universe within your minds. Motebele

(1997) mentions that organizational principles are discovered within the context of riddles by creating a collision of meanings caused by a clash between literal and figurative meaning created by the montage of related images.

In traditional African communities like the Dagaaba community in Northern Ghana, riddling is an important source of family entertainment and education. Riddles cover virtually every sphere of nature or life. For example,

Riddle: *vã vĩ vãã ko loporon̄.*

‘*vã vĩ vãã ko loporon̄*’

Response: *ka fo wa nyɛ walee te neɛ nyɛ.*

‘When you see a small snake step on it and see’.

Words in the riddle statement are onomatopoeic and rhyming. The words do not have any specific meaning for interpretation. However, the rhyming of these words gives the audience some kind of interest to continue listening to the riddle hence it entertains the audience. The answer to the riddle teaches us that snakes are poisonous, even the small one is dangerous. This means that we should be careful and take precautionary measures to aid ourselves by not stepping on any snake whether small or big. The Dagaaba riddles are used to reflect on aspects of human existence. They educate and give information about the society’s beliefs, the people’s way of life and some moral lessons to be learnt. The Dagaaba riddles involve figurative language as well as a play of images that assist in their understanding. Imagery is the picture represented in a person’s mind.

Kyoore (2010) discusses the function of the Dagaaba riddles and other forms of oral genres. According to him, someone who is unfamiliar with the Dagaaba way of life would not be able to see the correlation between a riddle and its answer because, riddles are culturally based. He observes that riddles performance are competitive rather than a

co-operative enterprise. However, the figurative language and imagery employed in these riddles are not discussed. Tengan (2006) in his study on the mythical narratives in Dagara *bagr*' discusses the origin and importance of riddle in the Dagara *bagr* ritual mythology. Puotege (2009) also touched on the definition and types of the Dagaaba riddles. However, these writers did not investigate imagery used in the Dagaaba riddles.

Apart from these writers, there are other studies that have also been done in Dagaare folklore in general, however, this research did not reveal any study that has focused on the analysis of imagery in Dagaaba riddles and therefore, this study will fill that gap. Bemile (1983), Angsotinge (1986, 2006) and Kyoore (2010) have respectively published translations of Dagaare folktales that they collected. Bangnikon (1999) has also published a collection of Dagara proverbs with their meanings. Saanchi, (1992, 2002) and Yemeh, (2002) also worked on Dagaaba dirges.

It is for this reason that I chose to research into imagery in Dagaaba riddles. There is an interaction between visual and acoustic images in riddles through which insight and comment can be expressed in the riddles. They vary according to the customs, values and beliefs of a particular society.

1.2 DAGAARE AND ITS SPEAKERS

It would be difficult to understand and appreciate the aesthetics of the Dagaaba riddles without knowledge of the people. The Dagaaba ethnic group is one of the major ethnic groups in Ghana. The Dagaaba are found mostly in the north-western part of Ghana known as the Upper West Region and their language is Dagaare. The region was created in 1983 by subdividing the then Upper Region into two (Upper East and Upper West) regions. With a total area of 18,476sq.km and a population of 702, 110, the region

is not only the youngest but also the least populated of the ten regions in Ghana, (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012: 9).

Major Dagaaba communities are found in Wa, Lawra, Jirapa, Daffiama, Nadowli, Kaleo and others. Dagaare is not confined to the traditional homeland (Dagao). It is spoken in other areas outside the Upper West Region. Dagaaba migrated and continue to migrate today for a complex set of reasons that are rooted in the internal socio-economic dynamics of their societies, which change over time, generation, and space. As a result today, there are Dagaare speaking communities in Kumasi, Accra, Ho and most of the major cities throughout Ghana.

Dagaare is also spoken in some communities in the south of Burkina Faso such as Dano, Diebougou, Dissin, Gaoua and the north-eastern corner of Côte d'Ivoire Ghana's immediate neighbouring countries to the north and west respectively. The Dagaare that is spoken in Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire is called Dagara.

According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2012: 9) the population of people who speak Dagaare as a native language in Upper West alone is 702,110. This means that the number of people who speak Dagaare in general can exceed this number since the language is also spoken in some other parts of the country and even outside Ghana as indicated above.

The singular for Dagaaba is *Dagao*. Apart from '*Dagao*' being used for an individual native speaker of the language, it is also used to indicate the entire geographical area occupied by the Dagaaba.

There have been divergent opinions by several scholars and writers on how the Dagaaba migrated to their present designation. Scholars such as Herbert (1976) and Tuurey (1987) are of the view that the ancestors of the Dagaaba are a splinter group from

either the Mossi or the Dagomba or both, who moved into the present area and got assimilated by earlier settlers and/ or new arrivals. However, Bodomo (1994) argues that the Dagaaba, Dagomba, Mamprusi, Frafra, Kusaasi, Mossi and some other groups languages descended from a common ethnolinguistic group. He suggested that they should be known as '*Mabia*' because these ethnic groups share the same ancestral root and it is a cover up term for these groups. Bodomo's suggestion is based on the genetic characteristics of the central Gur group of languages, where '*ma* and '*bia*' are found mostly in the central Gur languages. '*Ma* and '*bia*' mean mother and child respectively. In Dagaare '*Mabia*' literally means '*N ma bie*' my mother's child. It is used to designate a sibling relationship due to the fact that, there are similarities between words and expressions in the Gur group of languages.

Though Dagaare has a continuum of geographical/regional dialects, four major dialects are noticeable. These include Northern Dagaare, Central Dagaare, Southern Dagaare and Western Dagaare (Bodomo, 1997). According to Naden (1988), speakers of all these variety of dialects understand one another without much difficulty. Dialectal differences therefore, among these dialects are mainly at the phonological level.

The analysis used in this study is based on the Central dialect of the Dagaaba language.

1.3 DAGAARE IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

Dagaare is used as a medium of instruction for the first three years in basic schools in Ghana in Dagaare speaking communities. It is a core subject taught at both the Primary and Junior High Schools and also as an elective subject in some second cycle institutions in the region. It is studied at the College of Languages Education, Ajumako as an academic subject and at some Colleges of Education, as a core subject.

Compared with some other languages in Ghana, Dagaare has also got relatively a long history of written tradition. The earliest work on the language was done by the European missionaries whose first settlement in the region was at Jirapa. The first monograph of any substance on the language is Jack Kennedy's field notes on Dagaare phonology which was published in 1966. According to Bodomo (2000), some other missionaries also worked on some aspects of Dagaare.

Apart from the works done by these missionaries, Dagaare has also received a fair amount of studies from linguists both native and non-native speakers. Some notable works of the native speakers of Dagaare include Yabang (1980, 1991), Saanchi (1992, 2002), Dong (1981), and Bodomo (1994, 1997). The non-native speakers are Kennedy (1966) and Dakubu (1988, 2005). These works span the areas of phonology, syntax, semantics and sociolinguistics mainly in the form of articles, monographs and thesis. Some recent works are Ali (2004) and Ali (2010).

1.4 HISTORY OF RIDDLES

The word 'riddle' originated from Old English word 'raedels' which means 'council', 'opinion', 'conjecture', 'discussion' and 'imagination' (Digan, 2011). Therefore, riddles may have been used to educate. Kyoore (2010) citing Bangnikon, L (PC) believes that nobody knows the origin of Dagaaba riddles. According to him, oral tradition suggests that, the practice of riddle performance is believed to have started with one elderly man known as Bal, as a way of safeguarding a tradition that was handed down to him by his grandparents. After supper, he would call his children and grand children together and teach them riddles. He postulated the the elder did that to ensure that future generations maintained this oral tradition.

The Dagaaba see riddling as a game for young people though adults are also known to be active participants. Sometimes, adults perform riddles with children in the riddling session where they share their riddles with them. Adults may also engage in the art. Riddles are also performed and transferred between children alone. Dagaaba perceive this process as a means of knowledge transmission. Finnegan (1970:441) supports this when she noted that among the Chaga of Tanzania, there are riddles used to threaten, to convey secret information and to effect indirect suggestion. This means that, these riddles are obviously for adults and this supports the view that adults take part in riddle performance in the Chaga culture just as the Dagaaba do.

Lɔbɔ is the Dagaaba term for riddles. According to Kyoore (2010) it is a compound word; *lɔɔ* and *bɔ*. *Lɔɔ* means drop/throw and *bɔ* also refers to search for. Haspelmath (2002) defined compounding as a process of joining two or more lexemes together to form one word. Therefore *lɔbɔ* means throws and search for. This type of compound is what Haspelmath (2002) cited by Nyekanga (2012) described as endocentric compound. Riddling on the other hand is *lɔbɔ lɔɔbɔ*. The answer to a riddle is called *lɔbiri*. *Lɔlɔɔrɔ* is the riddler. Among the Dagaaba the riddler drops the riddle and is referred to as the thrower and the riddlee is *lɔ-ire*.

Dagaaba perceive riddles as a dialogic contest and the performance requires a riddler (challenger), a riddlee (respondent) and an audience. It is the riddler who drops a riddle to the riddlees and they are required to give a response. There is turn-taking in a riddling session among Dagaaba where one riddler presents a riddle to a riddlee and vice versa. The rule of the game do not allow one to lie, hide part of the truth or change the conditions of the contest to enable one win.

Dagaaba riddles have an opening procedure to prod an individual into a riddling session and it is stereotyped. For instance the riddler says; *n lɔɔre kaŋa la yaa!* ... or *yɛ kyɛŋ lɛ n lɔɔre kaŋa yaa!* ... Meaning I have a riddle or listen to my riddle. The riddlees say *te kyɛŋ lɛŋ*, or *te kyɛŋ lɛ la*. Meaning we are listening or waiting. The function of the opening formula is to establish the contextual situation for the riddle exchange and this includes defining the genre in specific communities. When the riddlees are not able to answer the riddle or do not know the answer, they say to the riddler *de naa*, literally, “take the chief” but it is used here by the riddlees to mean they do not know the answer.

The performance of riddles among the Dagaaba is guided by understood rules. For instance, riddles are mostly performed at night as a form of social control so that time is not wasted. This therefore, is meant to train the child to follow time-lines and activities, so that they do not forget other given chores. Riddles can also be performed during the day time when people are engaged in light work such as harvesting of beans or shelling of maize.

Dagaaba riddles are brief, concise and are either *ɲmaa* ‘short’ (descriptive), *wogi* ‘long/complex’ (narrative) or *lanleebo* ‘rhyming or tonal’ depending on their syntactic structure. The short riddles are also known as the normal or simple riddles. Long riddles among Dagaaba are known in some cultures as puzzles (Kyoore, 2010:30). Long riddles are distinguished by their length; long ones have lengthy answers while short and tonal ones may have a statement or question which requires an answer in a word or a phrase.

This study focused on analyzing imagery in the short riddles. Long riddles are therefore not included in this research because of their nature; they will not service the purpose of the study. First person singular (pronoun or possessive) sometimes appears in Dagaaba riddles. For example ‘I have a certain fellow..., my mother has...’

Also, Dagaaba riddlers use kinship terms such as father, mother and grandmother. The riddle: *N ma la taa o boŋkaŋa ka onaŋ wa gere o ba maŋ tori kye wa lee waana a tori*. ‘My mother has something whenever it is going, it is not straight but when it is returning it is straight’. The kinship term employed in this riddle is ‘mother’. Finnegan (1970) cited in Kihara (2013) has also mentioned the same kinship terms being used in riddles for example, among the Lyele of Upper Volta, the Yoruba of Nigeria, and the Shona of Southern Rhodesia.

1.5 CONTEXT OF PERFORMANCE OF DAGAABA RIDDLES

There is no session devoted exclusively for riddling in the Dagaaba social setup. Sometimes riddling serves as a prelude to tales or in the same sitting people can engage in riddling and folktale telling. The interval and duration normally devoted to riddling most often is relatively short as compared to storytelling because folktales are usually regarded by many people as being more interesting and exciting than riddles. For example, some of the folktales have songs that all the audience can take part in singing which intrinsically motivate them. Taboos in riddling are customary in many traditional societies and Dagaaba society is not an exception. According to Ali M. K. K. (PC, 31/10/2015), it is forbidden for the youth in the family to riddle during certain illnesses or observation of funeral rites.

Also the prohibition that bans people from folktale narrations in daylight holds in the case of riddle performance among the Dagaaba. Folktales and riddles are closely related and perform similar functions such as education, entertainment and therefore, restrictions on folktale performance apply directly to riddling. The prohibition on daytime riddling and telling of stories seems to preempt the likelihood of work time being wasted on

riddles and folktales by idling youth. However, among the Dagaaba when people are engaged in light work during the day time such as shelling of maize or groundnuts riddle performance is allowed. This is confirmed by Sharndama & Magaji (2014) that Kilba folks use riddling as a game to entertain, test knowledge and aid minor works in the evening like shelling of groundnuts. This explanation is also supported by what prevails in some other cultures such as the Venda people (Blacking, 1961).

Furthermore, if Dagaaba are allowed to perform riddles or tell folktales any time of the day, there could not be any guarantee that their interest in them would not diminish, leaving the youth and especially younger children with less varied sources of entertainment in the evening's session before bed time. This will be so among the Dagaaba because there are only *anlee*, *kɔɔre* 'women dance' and *bawaa* 'Dagaaba dance' left for the youth.

Notwithstanding the traditional norms and taboos on daylight performances of riddles these days, most Dagaaba children learn riddles in schools from their teachers as part of their oral literature lessons, where the taboo on day-time performance is set aside.

1.6 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Riddling is one of the ways by which people transmit their culture and traditions from generation to generation. In modern Dagaaba communities, riddling seem to be a thing of the past. It is only in some few rural communities that riddles are sometimes performed these days. The dying out of the performance of riddles in the communities that were known to be performing this game is due to modernization, separation and migration of the youth to the urban areas away from the older people who would have been spending time them. In communities with electricity, readings, watching of video

and football matches have taken over riddling which was used for educating and developing the minds of the youth, and at the same time, a source of entertainment. Therefore, the evening or night period that was used for riddling in these areas is now used for different activities such as watching of video by the people.

These activities have led to the gradual disappearance of riddles which are our precious cultural heritage and there is the need to document them for the present and the incoming generations. Studies so far on the oral genres of Dagaare have devoted some amount of attention to the riddle. However, there is no complete discussion of the Dagaaba riddles yet. This research on Dagaare riddles revealed that, the attention of most scholars and researchers have only been concentrated on meaning, examples and types (Puotege, 2009); functions and differences between riddles and proverbs (Kyoore, 2010); origin and importance of riddles in general (Tengan, 2006) but not on the analysis of imagery used in these riddles. This study therefore, aims at providing an in-depth analysis of the imagery used in these riddles. Imagery is a colourful and vivid description of things, actions and ideas through the use of figurative language. Imagery is a picture represented in a person's mind. The imagery that is most often created in Dagaaba riddles is based on the cultural beliefs and practices of the people. For instance,

Riddle: *Dankyini pakama*

‘Wall cracked’.

Response: *Ka nanne kpe pa*

‘And scorpions entered and filled’.

The images created by the riddle are *pakama* ‘cracked’ and *kpe pa* ‘entered and filled’. The message in the riddle suggests that, people who are not able to keep secrets have problems in their houses. The *pakama* ‘ideophone’ suggests a wide leaking of

secrets in the house and ‘entered and filled’ represents the problems that engulfed the house. The riddle advises people to be careful of releasing secret.

The riddle itself may be timeless yet the setting of the riddle is always direct and contemporary. In the riddle, the scorpion is a timeless creature that is known today just as it was in antiquity. Though the Dagaaba riddles could be related to others from tribes such as the Akan, Gurune, Ewe or Ga, the imagery, concept and context within which the riddling is done differ. It is for this reason that, I chose to investigate imagery in Dagaaba riddles within the conceptual and contextual framework of the Dagaaba culture and world view.

1.7 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to identify and analyze the types of imagery used in Dagaaba riddles as well as their functions. It seeks to assist the Dagaaba youth and other people who are interested in Dagaaba oral literature to understand and appreciate the values of imagery in the Dagaaba riddles. It demonstrated how figurative language evokes imagery. This is achieved by analyzing sample data on Dagaaba riddles.

1.8 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objectives of this work are as follows:

- To identify the types of imagery employed in Dagaaba riddles.
- To analyze the imagery used in Dagaaba riddles.
- To explain the functions of this imagery.

1.9.0 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research work seeks to answer the following questions;

- What are the types of imagery employed in Dagaaba riddles?
- How is imagery used in Dagaaba riddles?
- What are the functions of this imagery?

1.9.1 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study did not cover the whole *Dagao* (Dagaaba land) because it will be too expensive to cover the entire area. Despite the fact that it did not cover entire *Dagao*, the researcher had some financial constraints as some of the participants wanted something in return for their participation in the performance. The researcher hired motorbikes to do some of the work because of the distance between the communities. The cost involved in travelling to different libraries and persons to gather relevant information is high and tiresome.

Also, considering the dialectal differences of these people it was good enough to limit oneself to one district and two towns since each area is likely to have its own dialect. The researcher had some challenges in obtaining the data because riddles are no longer performed these days in the communities as they used to be and therefore, requested for the performances. Despite these obstacles, the researcher made sure the constraints did not affect the quality of work and the study was successfully carried out.

1.9.2 DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study is centered on riddles, specifically, the analysis of imagery in Dagaaba riddles. This is because riddles as a literary genre are a vast domain. The researcher

confined himself to Daffiama and Tuori in the Daffiama-Bussie-Issa District alone because that is the research area. Participants for the study were made up of literate, illiterate, young and old native speakers within these communities. Participants that I gathered data from were made up of five (5) groups. They are people knowledgeable in Dagaaba riddles and are native speakers within the area. Each group was made up of five members and produced fifteen (15) riddles. In all, seventy-five (75) riddles were recorded.

1.9.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study was significant since it dealt with an aspect of Dagaaba culture. It will augment the available oral literature in Dagaare and add useful information to the knowledge on riddles. Language students especially those studying Dagaare at Ajumako and other educational institutions will find it as a suitable material for their literature studies. Dagaare teachers and other users will also find it beneficial in their academic and professional work.

It will create more awareness among students and teachers about the importance of understanding the imagery in the riddles in order for them to acquire the love for riddles and their performance, and also encourage others. It will again serve as a stepping stone for future research work.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter seeks to examine some works that are pertinent to this study to enable the researcher to support the findings. Literature was reviewed through the use of primary sources such as research reports and other secondary sources like journals, textbooks and the Internet. It talks about the ideas and discussions that some people have documented in relation to riddles and imagery.

2.1 RIDDLES

Dagaare has become an increasingly important area of language research and there has been a considerable effort in the study of some aspects of Dagaare oral literature including the riddle. Oral literature is a medium for transmitting historical knowledge. Researchers such as Saanchi (1992, 2002), Dikpetey (2012, 2013), Dorzie (2013), among others have generally examined the oral literature of Dagaare but their works did not focus directly on Dagaaba riddles.

Other writers such as Kyoore (2010) also discussed some aspects of the Dagaaba riddles. However, imagery in these riddles is not analyzed and this study seeks to fill that gap. The study attempts a discussion on some of these works. The main focus of Kyoore's work was on the definition, types and functions of riddles. According to him, Dagaaba riddles demand certain logic and that induces critical thinking on the part of the riddlees and audience who are participating in the riddling session. This study agrees with Kyoore. The logic in the Dagaaba riddles is often embedded in a form of comparison of two things or two types of behaviours. For instance,

Riddle; *Kyu bohyeni kye pure laare zie zaa*

‘One moon, yet it brightens everywhere’.

Response: *Saaloh yeni kye doge n sene zeere.*

‘One okro yet it prepares soup for my boyfriend’.

In this riddle, ‘one moon’ is logically compared to that of ‘one okro’ as expressed in the riddle question and the response respectively. One moon brightening the world and one okro being used to cook a meal for a boyfriend veils the meaning of both the riddle and the response. Similarly, the entire world is compared to soup for a boyfriend.

Kyoore’s work is basic in terms of the depth of analysis of these areas of the riddle that he considered. He categorized riddles into types such as puzzle-riddles and further talk about the differences between riddles and other forms of orature such as proverbs. He further observed that what distinguished Dagaaba riddles from other African riddles was the performance and not entertainment as Finnegan (1970) characterized them. According to Kyoore, the Dagaaba riddles do convey very profound meaning that demands thorough reflection on the part of riddlees and audience. This study shares similar view with Kyoore. Dagaaba riddles indeed contain keen observations of everyday life. They constitute popular philosophy of life and provide an insight into human behaviour and nature. This provides opportunity for the people to learn the way of life that is acceptable to societal development and maintain their tradition alive.

In an oral society, riddling is one of the ways of teaching the young ones the culture and traditions that should be passed on from generation to generation. Elders are cardinal depositories of such knowledge. They save the knowledge for the benefit of the younger generation. This among other things explains why elders are often referred to as ‘‘living libraries and encyclopedias’’ (Clarke 1978, 1979 cited in Kihara 2013).

This notion is supported by Ali, M. K. K. (PC, 30/10/2015), who says that “when an elder dies in Africa, it is a library that burns.

However, this study observes that knowledge and wisdom may not be determined by age alone. Many young people today may be wiser than the older ones who might deny them the opportunity to excel with their gifted wisdom because of their age. Kyoore again, made quite an impressive collection of riddles, which I considered as one of the sources of secondary data for this work. However, his work lacks any analysis on imagery in the riddles.

Tengan (2006), in his study on the mythical narratives in Dagara *bagr*, devoted a few pages to talk about the importance of riddles in the Dagara *bagr* ritual mythology. According to him, Dagaaba view riddles as puzzling questions and answers mainly for entertainment of the participants and audience. He further added that, riddles are also used for enhancing cognitive development in the Dagaaba community. He illustrates how a riddle was used in the black *bagr* narrative to create a relationship between rain and earth in a dialogue on farming, which is the main source of livelihood for the Dagaaba. Tengan further illustrated how riddles can become a rich source for formulating proverbs and creating symbols which are culturally meaningful and educative. His analysis on the riddles is not detailed, probably because he was more concerned with the mythical narratives in the Dagara *bagr* ritual mythology. This work focuses on imagery in Dagaaba riddles which is contextually different.

Puotege (2009), in his work *Dagaaba saan̄konnoo ne ba yipɔge* discussed the significance of other forms of oral genres. His work greatly focused on Dagaaba customs and traditions. He however, included a brief discussion on the meaning, types and some examples of riddles and defined a riddle in the context of other forms of oral genres.

He classified the riddles into three groups based on their structure. According to him the Dagaaba riddles could be simple (normal), rhyming (tonal) or complex (long). He demonstrated some examples,

SIMPLE OR NORMAL RIDDLES:

Riddle: *N saa la taa o boŋ kaŋa fɔ koŋ nyɛ o gbɛɛ wɛɛ sorɪŋ kyɛ te nyɛ a wɛɛŋ*

‘My father has something you will not see its footprints on the road but when you get to the farm you see them’

Response: *Kuuri*

‘Hoe’

Riddle: *N ma kaŋa la maŋ wuo o pee ko o tɔ ka o kpiire a noɔre*

‘I have a certain mother who weaves a basket for another woman to complete it for her’

Response: *Kpãão*

‘Guinea fowl’

Riddle: *Nɛkaŋa la ŋmaa o yiri kɔɔ poɔ kpeɛɛ kyɛ ba nyuuro kɔɔ*

‘There is somebody who builds his house in water, stays there but does not drink water’

Response: *Ebaa*

‘Crocodile’



RHYMING OR TONAL RIDDLES:

. Riddle: *Koore yagleɛ naa dendɔrɛŋ*

‘A gourd hangs in front of the chief’s palace’

Response: *Berɛŋ yagle pɔgesaraa nyaan*

‘Breasts hang on a lady’s chest’

Riddle: *vã vĩã vãã ko loporoŋ.*

‘vã vĩã vãã ko loporoŋ’.

Response: *Ka fo wa nyɛ walee te nee nyɛ.*

‘When you see a small snake step on it and see’.

Riddle: *Kyileŋ ka N kyileŋ*

‘Kyileŋ I kyileŋ’

Response: *Kpãã ò yere kolee.*

‘Guinea fowl hangs gourd’



COMPLEX OR LONG RIDDLES:

Soore bata la be be, ka kaŋ zaa taa o bie. Ka a noba bayoɔbo bama tu sori gere na te ŋmaa mane gaa Burkina Faso teŋe kaŋa. Ba naŋ te ta a mane ba nyɛ la gbori ba naŋ na de ŋmaa yi. Kyɛ noba bayi yoŋ la ka a gbori maŋ toɔ de deyeŋi zaa ŋmaa yi neŋ. Ka kaŋa zaaŋ bare o bie ko o taaba ba na de ɔɔ la. Kyɛ a noba bata bama meŋ zaaŋ baŋ gbori a na baŋ de ŋmaa a mane. Wola ka ba na e ka ba zaa toɔ ŋmaa a mane gaa kyɛ ka ba ba ɔɔ kaŋa zaa bie?

‘There are three witches, each of whom has one child. The six people are traveling across the river to neighbouring Burkina Faso. When they get to the Black Volta River, they see a boat on their side of the river that they can use. However, only two people at a time can cross in the boat. If any of the witches leaves her child with the others, they will eat the child up. Also, all the six people know how to row a boat across a river. How will they get all of them to cross the river without running the risk of having any child being eaten up by one of the witches’?

Puotege’s discussion on the riddle was very scanty and the figurative language and imagery employed in these riddles were not discussed. Dundes (1963), argues that riddles have long been marginalized due to various misconceptions that, they are childish in nature and when enacted, their primary role is to entertain. According to him, the entertainment here is that of eliciting laughter from the participants as well as the audience; hence, restricting the riddles to children. This study has a different view. Riddling is a game and there is no any game that the participants’ or audience’s role is to cry and not laugh. Laughing is a major characteristic of any game that people play and therefore, cannot be associated with children alone hence relegating riddles for that matter to the domain of children province.

Finnegan (1970) also tried to reinforce Dundes argument in a different dimension. She stated that most scholars of oral literature do not give much consideration for riddles in their work and daily discourse as compared to other genres of oral literature such as proverbs and folktale. Finnegan further demonstrated that riddles, unlike proverbs, are believed to be a preserve for children and a kind of marginal activity presented at special times rather than a universal aspect of human activity and

communication. This paper shares some of the views with Finnegan that riddles are presented at special times and therefore are not universal.

Indeed it is uncommon to hear or see Dagaaba incorporating riddles into their daily discourses because riddles are performed only in the context of riddling or sometimes, serves as a prelude to folktale narrations. Farb (1973:98) cited in Kihara (2013) counters this trivial treatment of riddles by Dundes and Finnegan, noting that riddles are used in very serious discourses of human life and death. For instance, Kihara identified some occasions for riddling among the Quechua people which included riddling embedded in their songs and narratives, in courting, in rituals such as death and initiation, in educational encounters, in leisure time and in greetings. According to him, these occasions depicted the significance of riddles in societies and support the fact that riddles are serious cultural activity for socialization and language development. Kihara added that grandmothers/fathers among the Shona use riddles to give instructions to people. Therefore, riddles are essentially crucial in shaping the mind and thinking processes of the participants as well as a useful method of teaching. Kihara observed that, limited views of some scholars had retarded the research into riddles and overshadowed other important functions of it. Finnegan again, discussed the style and function of African riddles with reference to the figurative language used to evoke imagery.

Riddles have attracted a lot of definitions from many scholars and researchers. The features that seem to be crucial in the definition of a genre in one culture may not be so critical for the definition of the same genre in a different culture. As a result, Georges and Dundes (1963), are of the view that a way out is to adopt a definition based on a structural analysis of riddles. They suggested that the tentative definition of the riddle is a traditional verbal expression which contains one or more descriptive elements, a pair of

which may be in opposition: the referent of the elements is to be guessed. Scott (1965) cited in Awedoba, (2000) has criticized this definition effectively, but chiefly because it cannot be accepted as a definition of riddle structure.

Okumba (1999:135) defined a riddle as “word puzzles in which familiar objects or situations are referred to in figurative terms for us to decipher what is actually meant”. This definition shows that, riddles have rich language and meaning. Riddles are a test of wit and a game which contains a grain of truth in that, they are based on something that actually exists and whose form and shape is immediately recognized as soon as the appropriate answer is given.

Bryant (1990) defined a riddle as a question or statement intentionally worded in a dark or puzzling manner and propounded in order that it may be guessed or answered especially as a form of pastime, an enigma, or a dark saying. He argued that riddles are found in all human society. Riddles are devices which are used to demonstrate control over words, objects and ideas that are central to the life of the riddling group. When a riddler throws the riddle, whether the audience knows the answer or not, he is demonstrating a certain control over the focal point of interactions in the community. The riddler therefore serves as a harmonizer or a teacher.

Anang (2013) mentioned Puzzle-riddle as a form of Ga riddles. A puzzle is a question, statement or game which one has to think about carefully in order to answer it correctly or put it together properly. She noted that puzzle- riddle serves a more didactic purpose. It contains a moral lesson and requires a critical and logical thinking to reach its logical interpretation or answer which the riddler wants to share with the audience. This research agrees with her. Among the Dagaaba, a puzzle- riddle (long riddle) is usually

much longer in form and structure than the other types of riddles. Puzzle- riddles sometimes draw comparison between individuals, behaviours, objects or situations. It may be a dilemma requiring sound argument and good judgment. In most cases they do not have specific answers. Their solutions depend on individual thinking and judgment. Though Dagaaba have puzzle- riddles just as other cultures, these riddles are well known to them as long riddles. For instances,

Dɔɔ kaŋa la ko o bidɔɔ kobo pie ka o te da aŋkaare ata. Ka a bie te ta a aŋkakɔɔɔ ka o iri boma anaare de ko o a kobo pie. Ka a bie zagre ka o koŋ de a aŋkaare anaare kye yeli ka o saa tuŋ o la ka o wa da aŋkaare ata. Beŋ baŋ piili ka ba ŋmɛ nɔkpeene ka dɔɔ kaŋa te wa. O naŋ wa baŋ a yeɛ baare la ka o iri a aŋkaa kaŋa lɔɔ bare kye de ata ko a bie ka o te ko a o saa. A noba bama bata buosoba la damboli?

‘A man gave his son ten kobo to buy three oranges. But on getting to the orange seller he was given four oranges for ten kobo. The boy refused to take the oranges saying that his father sent him to buy three oranges, not four. No sooner had the argument started than a man came to the scene. After knowing what the matter was, he took one of the oranges and threw it away and gave the boy the remaining three oranges to take to his father. Who among the three people in this long riddle is the most foolish?’

In this study, the Dagaaba riddle is defined as a question or a statement that requires ingenious thinking for its response. It is a special type of a question or a statement with a hidden meaning, which is to be discovered after a sharp mental review of the possibilities. Riddle is a popular form of art that is enjoyed and appeals to people of all ages among the Dagaaba. Riddling creates a context in which people entertain one another through testing each others’ knowledge. It also sustains their social networks.

Riddling exposes children to the realm of play and situations that enhance their problem-solving skills. It enhances their ability to interpret metaphorical images by associating them with social and natural phenomena. This involves language manipulation by the riddler in order to confuse or distract the answerer. Riddles describe persons, ideas or things metaphorically, which is one of the main figures of speech employed in most oral genres.

A metaphor is an imaginative way of describing something by referring to something else which is the same in a particular way. The comparison is not for the same class of entity. Riddles are embodiment of distilled and collective experience of the community expressed in metaphor, rhyme or alliteration and others which refer to some common human experiences.

2.2 FUNCTIONS OF RIDDLES.

Riddles are performed for variety of purposes which include teaching of values, proof of intelligence and a way of socializing the child into the poetics of the society.

Scholars study riddles as a form of literary expression by members of a society because riddles reflect the environment and peoples intellectual dexterity,

(www.folkculturebh.org/en/index.php?issues).

Riddles play an important role in the holistic development of young people. Riddles do not only perform social and educational functions but also they include moral and cultural functions in the society. Traditionally, Dagaaba riddles provide to the people a strong sense of cultural values such as unity, respect, honesty and others. The values are important elements in the proper development and education of the youth.

Some Dagaaba riddles are instructive; they may mention names or make reference to historical events. Undoubtedly, riddles develop a sense of observation and creativity in the people's mind. As Ali, M. K. K. (PC, 30/10/2015) emphasizes, riddles have an advantage of being a tool with which its users explore the language (Dagaare). Riddles are educational in their content, which is based on experience and observation. The educational value of riddles is a consequence of their cultural content.

Riddles train the children's memory. Before reasonable solutions could be supplied to quite a number of riddles, deep and quick thinking is needed. This means that Dagaaba riddles are an effective means of testing and improving the listener's ability to think very fast and accurately too.

Ajayi (1990:502) notes that riddling constitutes an impressive moral and intellectual exercise that develops the individual reasoning ability which is a key to good moral judgment such as uprightness and kindness. This study sides with Ajayi. In Dagaaba society, almost all parents want their children to be upright, kind, honest and helpful to others and they will spare no time in instilling these qualities into their children through riddles.

Miruka (1999), cited in Kihara (2013), identified entertainment, recording of history, commentary in human life, environmental and scientific education as some of the social functions of riddles. He noted that the entertainment function of riddles is the most recognized one, while the other social functions are ignored. This study shares the same view. Socially, riddles bring people together to interact, compete and make friends with one another. Riddling creates a spirit of competitiveness among the players and also a spirit of togetherness for those who find themselves in the same group. Riddling

therefore, involves two or more people on a competitive or non-competitive basis. It is sometime a way of waiting for the evening meals to be prepared which enable children not to sleep without eating.

Commenting on the functions of riddles, Finnegan (1970) observes that riddles are in the special domain of children for entertainment rather than serious consideration. This study has a contrary view with Finnegan's assertion. It is a limited view about riddles and can retard riddle serious research work and overshadow other important functions of riddles. Among the Ga in Ghana and the Yoruba of Nageria, riddles can be performed during their funeral occasions and it is mainly adults who participate in this type of riddling since it is only adults who participate in funeral activities. Finnegan (1970) also noted that among the Chaga of Tanzania, there are riddles used to threaten, to convey secret information and to effect indirect suggestion. These are obviously for adults and serious discourse.

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

The Dagaaba riddles mostly emphasized recall of associations. Recall is a salient feature of riddling which goes beyond mere recollection of correct or acceptable responses. It is an important contribution to a child's educational performance. The Dagaaba riddles just like the riddles in other cultures of Africa function as a task of wits.

Many Dagaaba riddles are instructive; they may mention names or make reference to events. Indeed, riddles develop in children a sense of observation and often contain elaborate and rich linguistic forms. This was emphasized by Kyoore (2010). He said riddles have the merits of being a tool of which its users used to explore the language (Dagaare). The Dagaaba riddles are therefore, educational in their content, which is based on experience, observation and participation. Riddles increase children's vocabulary span and give them the skills to manipulate the language.

For example:

Riddle: *Sibiri va kakalaa nyaan*

‘A bee beats a kakala (tree) in the chest’

Response: *Kũũ nyɔge pɔlkpeɛɲaa nuŋ*

‘Death grabs a strong young man’s hand’

Riddle: *Dankyini pakama*

‘A wall cracked’

Response: *ka nanne kpɛ pa*

‘And scorpions entered and filled’

Riddle: *Ɖmentɔnzeɛ puri kyɛ kyɛ puri kyɛ*

‘Sun shines here and there’.

Response: *Dagaŋgarema gare kyɛ kyɛ gare kyɛ.*

‘Sticks cross here and there’.

In the above examples, there are some words and expressions which are not immediately familiar to children but with time they learn them. Riddles are effective means of testing and improving the listener's ability to think very fast and accurate. This helps children to make quick decisions in their future life.

Burns (1976) identified six occasions for riddling; namely riddling embedded in songs and narratives, in courting, in rituals like death and initiation, in educational encounters, riddling in leisure time and in greetings. According to him, these occasions show the significance of riddles in societies. In supporting this, Anang (2013) also reported that riddles can be performed among the Ga people during funerals especially wake-keeping. She mentioned that the purpose is to entertain the bereaved family and the public. This study agrees with Burns even though Dagaaba do not have all these occasions for riddles performance. Riddling during leisure time, some minor works such as shelling of maize and groundnuts are the occasions for the performance of Dagaaba riddles. Another important function of Dagaaba riddles is that, they are sometimes employed to start a story-telling session. This is to alert the participants and prepare their minds to make them get the full benefit of story-telling.

2.3 IMAGERY

Some scholars and researchers discussed imagery in some languages and have presented various definitions. Most of these works often link imagery with figurative language. Figurative language is a language that is not basic. Agyekum (2013) sees imagery as a way by which oral and written literatures employ words to paint mental pictures that appeal to our feeling and our understanding. He further indicates that imagery is basically based on comparison of items by listing their specific attributes and lining them up to see areas of resemblance and contrast. Cuddon (1977) is of the view that imagery is a broader term that is used to represent objects, actions, feelings, ideas, state of mind and sensory experience. He defined imagery as the images produced in the mind through the use of language. This view was also expressed by some other writers

such as Reaske (1966), Abrams (1988), Pretorius (1989), and Moleleki (1993) cited in Motebele (1997)

Bezuidenhout (1981) and Anang (2013) mentioned metaphor, simile and personification as forms of some stylistic features of riddles. Anang (2013) citing Gwaravanda and Masaka (2010) on their analysis of Shona (Zimbabwe) riddles also stated that, the search for solutions to riddles challenges the Shona child to think abstractly, broadly and deeply while their figurative language gives the child the chance to uncover their meaning through a reasoning process.

Guma (1990) also analyzed the linguistic features of riddles in his work. According to him, they are seen to be figurative, employing various structural forms like contrast, a type of imagery. She stated that imagery in riddles can only be understood by the people of the same locality and habits. This study shares the same view because riddles are culturally based.

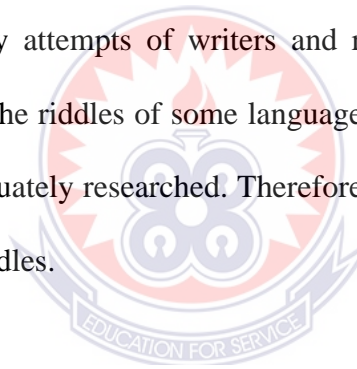
Dundes (1963) and Kotsane (1976) stated that many riddles exhibit highly poetical forms and have vivid imagery. According to them, the use of metaphor in disguising the riddle's answer has been considered. They mentioned metaphor as an important disguise in riddles. They further concluded that personification and animation are examples of types of imagery. Di Gianni (2002) states that imagery is the representation of objects, feelings, or ideas, either literally or through the use of figurative language.

In this study imagery is a picture represented in a person's mind. It is a concrete representation of a sense of impression, feeling or idea. They are mental or physical images that are produced by figurative language in the form of comparison based on association. Their meanings are always inferred from larger cognitive, cultural or

environmental context. In order to understand the imagery employed in the Dagaaba riddles, one must first understand how the Dagaaba disguise movement, shape, colour, size and words which form the answers to the riddles. One has to be familiar with the Dagaaba culture and be able to spot puns where they occur.

Most of the imagery in the Dagaaba riddles emphasizes instilling of cultural values in the people. Therefore, imagery serves to project the Dagaaba world view and defines a frame of reference for the people's beliefs, concepts and identity. The riddler utilizes concrete images or knowledge to construct a prepositional statement. The imagery in the riddle provides a discovery procedure for investigating semantic relationships relevant to the culture.

Despite the many attempts of writers and researchers to study the figurative language and imagery in the riddles of some languages, imagery with regard to Dagaaba riddles, has not been adequately researched. Therefore, this study focuses on the analysis of imagery in Dagaaba riddles.



2.4 FUNCTIONS OF IMAGERY

Riddles form part of oral literature with imagery being a prominent feature. This is due to the fact that this genre has similar functions as in other forms of oral literature such as proverbs. The functions of imagery in riddles cannot be over emphasized. Heese and Lawton (1992) cited in Motebele (1997:14) posited that, the general function of imagery in literary art is to achieve concentration and forcefulness. She stated that a symbol makes an abstract thing concrete and it is easier to understand. Images which are drawn by using figures of speech such as metaphor, simile, and personification serve the function of beautification.

Imagery stimulates the imagination and promotes concentration. Imagery in Dagaaba riddles help to provide a picture of the event or situation the riddler alludes to in a concrete manner and at the same time evokes the appropriate emotions. Motebele (1997) has mentioned four functions of imagery. She noted that imagery performs explanatory, enrichment, concentration and beautification functions. She further explained that imagery beautifies and serves a decorative purpose.

Di Yanni (2002) identifies pictorial explanations as the main function of imagery. According to him the artist employs language in a very creative way with the help of imagery. In Dagaaba riddles, imagery is often used to enhance clarity and also make the speech package attractive to the audience. By using simile for instance, the artist draws a vivid comparison between an object and event familiar to the audience.

Motebele (1997) supported this view when she mentioned that imagery brings about an analogy between objects and introduces a new idea in a recognizable manner. She further explained that a single image may serve a multiplicity of purposes. This means that some of these functions of imagery can also be applied to Dagaaba riddles.

2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter looked at some perspectives from which some writers and scholars discussed riddles. Similarities and differences exist between these writers and scholars' lines of thought. The primary purpose of the riddle is entertainment. But, apart from the amusement that riddles offer the people, they also constitute a very strong moral and intellectual exercise and are used as a medium for developing people's reasoning faculty as well as skills in decision-making and their great variety of contents and forms make riddles appealing to people of all ages.

Also, Dagaaba riddles are characterized by figurative language or meaning and employ both conceptual and perceptual imagery. By the use of symbolic language, riddles enrich the human intellect and encourage the hidden solutions. There are different types of imagery which perform a variety of functions and reveal the true situation. A single image may serve a multiplicity of purposes. Imagery serves as cream of the Dagaare language.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Whatever one wants to do, there must be certain laid down procedures to follow. This chapter presents the methodology that was employed in carrying out the study and how the researcher ensured that the method produced reliable and valid data. It discussed the various strategies the researcher employed to gather the data for the study. It described the type of research design employed, population of the study, sampling techniques, data collection strategy, instrumentation, objectivity and how the data was analyzed.

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

This research was purely descriptive with qualitative approach. It aimed at describing and interpreting imagery in some twenty (20) purposive selected Dagaaba riddles in the concept and context of the Dagaaba culture. The researcher considered qualitative methodology more appropriate for the study because the analysis were purely descriptive and it provided detailed views, experiences and practices from key participants about the riddling culture of the Dagaaba. The researcher was interested in assessing the meaning of the riddles and understanding the phenomenon it talks about rather than outcomes.

Goldstein, (1964), Patton (2002) and Creswell (2009), explained that qualitative approach is a method of describing events or persons scientifically without the use of numerical data. They further mentioned that the processes involved are:

emerging questions and procedures, data collected in the participants' setting and analyzed, making interpretations of the meaning of that data. This situation became real in this study when the researcher analyzed the natural data collected and made interpretations of the meaning of the imagery used in the riddles.

Flexibility of the qualitative approach was another motivation for the researcher selecting this method. It allows one to plan generally for emerging issues that may develop in the field of study. John and James (1993), noted that whereas experimental research is carefully planned prior to commencing data collection with no possibility of change once started, qualitative research is open to change throughout the data collection process.

According to them this permits the researcher to adjust the direction of the inquiry based on the ongoing experience of collecting and thinking about the data. The above situation became necessary during this research work when it was realized that one of the groups at Daffiama was not going to perform because three of their key members traveled. The researcher quickly organized one at Tuori to replace it.

3.2 POPULATION OF THE STUDY

Owu-Ewie (2011) citing Best & Kahn (2006) said a population is a group of individuals that have one or more characteristics in common and they are of an interest to the researcher. In this study, the population consisted of all the people in Daffiama and Tuori in the Daffiama-Bussie-Issa District in the Upper West Region. Due to time and cost of the study, the researcher used an accessible population (riddlers) from Daffiama and Tuori to represent a targeted population. Accessible population is the group that is

convenient for the researcher to use, and representative of the overall target population (Owu-Ewie, 2011).

The researcher used purposive sampling to select the participants. The sample was drawn from a population of young and old Dagaaba riddlers from males and females, ages between 16 and 62, who volunteered to participate in the riddles performance. Five groups were selected; three from Tuori and two from Daffiama. The study comprised twenty-five (25) participants (riddlers). This included five (5) females and twenty (20) males with five members in each group. These people were purposefully selected by the researcher on the basis of their knowledge in riddles performance. This was done to ensure that the sample adequately represented the target population to obtain the most relevant information, in terms of adequacy and appropriateness of the data.

3.3 SAMPLING METHOD

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

Also, Bailey (1994) and Fraenkel & Norman (2000) described purposive sampling as a technique where researchers use their knowledge of the population to judge whether a particular sample data will be representative of the population and choose only those which best meet the purpose of the study. It is obvious that purposive sampling

offers researchers the power and logic in the selection of information rich for in-depth analysis.

Twenty-five (25) Dagaare speakers from two Dagaaba rural communities were selected through purposive sampling for the study. Their ages ranged between sixteen (16) and sixty-two years. They were perceived by the researcher to possess the knowledge and pieces of information that the study needed. Riddles are mainly for the young people but the adults were included in this study as they were perceived to be more capable of explaining the history behind certain riddles. Most of the riddles (90%) were given by the younger participants, (riddlers and riddlees).

Twenty (20) riddles out of hundred (100) from both the primary and secondary sources were sampled for analysis based on the researcher intuition as a native speaker. Some of the riddles were either the same or had information that the study considered trivial. For instance, some were seen to have the same structure, imagery, response or different ways of saying the same riddle,

Riddle: *M ma la taa o biiri mine ka ba zaa maŋ seɛ leyeni.*

‘My mother has some children and they all wear one bead’.

Response: *Saare*

‘Broom’

Riddle: *N saa la taa o boore mine ka miyeni maŋ leŋ zaa.*

‘My father has some goats and they are all tied with one rope’

Riddle: *Saare*

‘Broom’

Riddle: *M ma la taa o biiri mine ka ba zaa maŋ vɔgle zupile yeni*

‘My mother has some children and they all wear the same hat’.

Response: *Mankyere*

‘Matches’

Riddle: *M ma la taa o biiri mine ka ba zaa maŋ vɔgle zupile sɔŋlɔ*

‘My mother has some children and they all wear black hat’.

Riddle: *Mankyere*

‘Matches’

The above riddles have the same structure, response, different ways of saying the same riddle and imagery. The riddlers only manipulated the language in saying the same riddle in different ways.

Riddle: *Kyileŋ ka N kyileŋ*

‘Kyileŋ I kyileŋ’

Response: *Kpããõ yere kolee.*



‘Guinea fowl hanged a gourd’

Riddle: *vileŋ vileŋ pori*

‘vileŋ vileŋ pori’

Response: *Baa gaa zie*

‘A dog’s sleeping place’

Riddle: *Tampeloŋ logɔ logɔ da naa waa zɔŋ*

‘Smooth ash that should have been flour’

Response: *Wiri gyao da naa buli eele.*

‘A well built horse that should have grown horns’

Also the riddles cited above are considered to have no serious information for analysis. *Kyileŋ ka N kyileŋ* is an onomatopoeia referring to the way a guinea fowl struggles to walk with a gourd hanging on its neck. It therefore paints the picture of a funny walk.

Vileŋ vileŋ pori is an onomatopoeia also referring to the manner in which a dog prepares to lie down. Naturally, before a dog lies down, it first starts going round and round and one may think it is going to occupy a large space but at the end it lies on a small area due to the way it coils itself. *Vileŋ vileŋ* therefore, refers to going round in a cyclical manner. The sample of riddles selected possessed the best information that the researcher needed for the research.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

Collection of data is a systematic process in which the researcher collects relevant information to achieve the research purpose and objectives (Burns & Grove, 2005). The empirical data in this research was drawn from fieldwork in two rural Dagaaba villages. The researcher went direct to the research communities and recorded the data in natural settings using a sound phone recorder. This was to enable him have first hand and accurate information. The riddles that were the focus of this study were recorded in different sessions.

Gatekeepers were requested to identify locations and provide suitable time for the riddling performances.

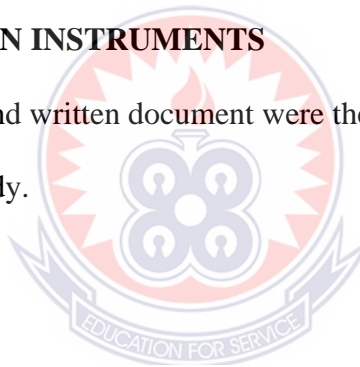
Riddling performances were held in the evening periods. The participants were given space to guide their exploration as the researcher believed they were more experienced in the way they view their world. The researcher hoped that affording the participants an

opportunity to take charge would empower them and provide confidence which would be harnessed for the benefit of this research.

The researcher in an attempt to create some rapport with his research communities, the gatekeepers, and the riddlers as a participant observer sometimes went to the target communities to meet with them and stay for sometimes in order to observe and listen to the riddles before recording. The researcher from time to time joined the riddlers and riddlees in riddling. The approach was suitable to the researcher because apart from grasping the internal content of the riddles. It also made the data collection much easier.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

Observation, elicitation and written document were the main instruments used to gather the information on the study.



3.6 OBSERVATION

The researcher used observation as an instrument of data collection in gathering data for this study. Data collection was done through observations of riddles performances in the areas where the study was conducted. Observation is a method in data collection used by field workers in obtaining data by looking from the outside and describing the situation as it is (Goldstein, 1964). He further explained that observation is not limited to visual aspects of the situation only; it also includes sensual experiences such as hearing, feeling, smelling and tasting.

The researcher observed events and activities in the riddling sessions among the riddlers and riddlees which helped him to obtain first hand information. For instance, the researcher observed closely the use and manipulation of language among the riddlers in an attempt to confuse the riddlees. It was also observed that, when the riddlees were unable to answer a riddle, the riddler gave the answer and continued to give a riddle until such a time that someone answered it. The person who answered the riddle well took over to give a riddle in that order. If a correct answer was given, the riddler acknowledged with *oo* 'yes'. If on the other hand, the answers offered were unacceptable, the riddler responded with the negative *aai* 'no'

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

Elicitation as an instrument of data collecting strategy was also employed in this study. Elicitation is a way of doing or saying something which makes other people respond or react. The objective of using elicitation in collecting the data was to enable the researcher get more information and also to verify certain terminologies in the riddling processes. Matters that did not come to mind during the time of planning the work eventually surfaced through the additional information given by the respondents. For instance, when a riddlee was not able to give the correct response to a riddle he said to the riddler '*de naa*' which literally means take the chieftaincy, implying that the respondent did not know the answer and therefore, permitting the giver to provide the answer. But this was explained by Samba Danyi a riddler at Tuori to mean wisdom. Wisdom is the ability to use experience and knowledge to make sensible decisions and judgments.

The researcher also spent sometimes with some elders at the riddling sessions and in their homes in order to elicit their views about riddles.

3.7 WRITTEN DOCUMENT

The oral data recorded was augmented with written data from Puotege (2009), Kyoore (2010), and some other works. They were used as document by the researcher. These works formed part of research studies that these authors carried out in the area of riddling. The researcher used documents because the method provided comprehensive details and yielded information relevant to the study that could not have been obtained entirely through elicitation and observation methods alone.

Documents used in the search for information about the study included both published and unpublished materials. These documents included books, journals and theses concerning riddles.

3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

The researcher assured the riddlers of anonymity and confidentiality. This was to make sure that their privacy was respected and protected. The information given to the researcher was used solely for the purposes of this research. The researcher avoided using any kind of enticement for the purpose of obtaining information. Throughout the period of the study, it was crucial that ethical issues were taken into consideration to ensure reliability and accuracy of data.

3.9 INFORMED CONSENT

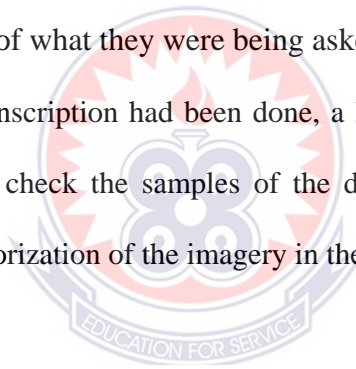
Participants were informed orally about the procedures of the study and they made their decision to participate. The researcher provided information on the purpose of the study, expected duration of performance and procedures to be followed. As part of the ethical issues, the researcher had to seek the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

3.9.0 OBJECTIVITY

Collecting the data from different sources, at different times and using varied methodologies in checking ensured that the data collected was objective and of high quality. The data was carefully analyzed. This was to eliminate prejudice and inaccuracies to ensure that the data was true and credible. The researcher constantly checked and verified questions and other information gathered during the process of data collection to ensure completeness and accuracy. This involved constant editing of the data and results to ensure there was a minimal incidence of error.

The researcher ensured that the data collection instruments also provided suitable findings for the study by ensuring that during the collection of the data the participants had a clear understanding of what they were being asked to do.

Again, after the transcription had been done, a lecturer as well as some colleagues' researchers volunteered to check the samples of the data gathered in order to support or dispute the perceived categorization of the imagery in the riddles by the researcher.



3.9.1 DATA ANALYSIS

Before one understands and appreciates something properly, there must be a vivid description of that thing. Therefore, imagery in Dagaaba riddles can be well understood if data is properly analyzed. The method of data analysis was purely descriptive and the focus was on the imagery and context in which the riddles are used in relation to the Dagaaba way of life. Since riddles are a form of communication to any Dagaao who understands and appreciates Dagaare, the study considered descriptive analysis as the most appropriate method.

According to Fraenkel & Norman (2000), a person or a group, conscious and unconscious beliefs, ideas and values are mostly uncovered in their communications. The riddles were recorded at natural setting during organized riddling sessions.

The performances were done in the early evenings between the hours of 5:30pm to 7:30pm. The riddles were recorded using a sound phone recorder and then transcribed in Dagaare by using the current Dagaare orthography. They were further translated into English. A sound phone recorder was used due to the fact that it was available and its features work just as other known sound recorders such as the sound camera recorder. The recording gadget functions as an auditor limiting the researcher's role to a visual observer. This allowed the researcher to concentrate on the activities of seeing with less attention being paid to sound matters.

Goldstein (1964) confirmed this idea when he said that it permits the researcher a greater freedom to play the role as a participant observer, giving him a better understanding of the internal feeling of the context which he can effectively use the recordings done as a mnemonic device for recall when he writes his observations of the event. The riddles recorded in each session were immediately transcribed. The riddles were categorized into groups based on the researcher's discretion in order to bring together related imagery used in the riddles for easy analysis.

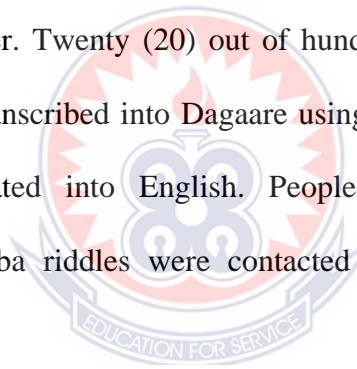
The researcher adopted Miles and Huberman's model to analyze the data collected from the field. Miles and Huberman (1994) model entailed data reduction, data display and drawing conclusions as well as verification. Due to the fact that a lot of data was gathered for this study, this model was used to reduce the data through editing and summarizing with the intention to selecting riddles with only useful information to the

study and develop conclusions without changing the meaning of what the riddlers said. The findings were then discussed and conclusions drawn.

3.9.2 CONCLUSION

The researcher in considering an appropriate strategy for this study adopted qualitative approach in explaining and analyzing the data for the study.

The researcher was a participant observer throughout the riddling performances. Daffiama and Tuori were the two communities for the study in the Daffiama-Bussie-Issa District in the Upper West Region. A sound phone recorder was used in recording the riddles due to the fact that its features work just as other known sound recorders such as the sound camera recorder. Twenty (20) out of hundred (100) riddles gathered for the data were selected and transcribed into Dagaare using the current Dagaare orthography. They were later translated into English. People believed by this study to be knowledgeable in Dagaaba riddles were contacted to elicit further information and understanding.



CHAPTER FOUR

TYPES OF IMAGERY IN DAGAABA RIDDLES

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyzes twenty (20) riddles which are presented in relation to the objectives of the study as stated in chapter one. The focus of analysis is on imagery in the riddles.

Imagery is the creation of both mental and physical pictures so as to describe objects, events, human characters and their qualities either through indirect reference or in the medium of figurative language. Figurative language departs from what users of the language know as the standard meaning of words or the standard order of words, in order to achieve some special meaning or effect (Abrams, 1993)

The study attempts to show how imagery in the Dagaaba riddles explores the language, the social and cultural dynamics of the Dagaaba. The validity of any oral art including riddles lie in the explanatory power of the chosen images and this enhances the nature of creativity the narrator wants to achieve in the folklore communication. This goes to confirm what Ben-Amos (1977) said that core images have the potential expansion through repetition, elaboration, modification, thus becoming expansible images that can be expanded as often as the performer desires. According to him, it is in the manipulation and repetition of the image that such performances achieve their aesthetic force. Imagery employed in Dagaaba riddles paint both mental and physical pictures that can powerfully appeal to human feelings and emotions to drum home their message. The imagery used depicts the diversity in meaning of the riddles and therefore is not limited to single interpretation since the same riddles may be interpreted differently by different scholars. The analyses of this study are solely descriptive.

4.1 IMAGERY IN DAGAABA RIDDLES

Imagery is important in the study of Dagaaba riddles. As the study of language involves the constant creation of new vocabularies and sentences, the performance of riddles also requires the generation of new ideas.

Heese & Lawton (1991) cited in Motebele (1997) mentions many different types of imagery such as symbolism, parallelism, satire, repetition, simile, personification, metaphor and others. This study used some of them in the analysis because they are found in Dagaaba riddles and are applicable. Imagery in Dagaaba riddles covers every sphere of human life. The analyses also show how the Dagaaba perceive their natural world.

4.2 HOW IMAGERY IS USED IN DAGAABA RIDDLES AND THEIR AESTHETIC VALUES

It would be difficult for one to understand the meaning of Dagaaba riddles without taking into consideration the imagery embedded in them. The riddler carefully selects a particular image in order to capture the culture and interest of his audience. The image or symbol a riddler uses is the outcome of his impulse to perceive the natural world, its unity and diversity. The meanings the riddler assigns to the image and the purpose each image serves differ from one culture to another. This is because riddles are based on culture. Each riddle is generated to embody a great variety of important issues to which the riddler is interested in sharing with the society.

4.3 THE USE OF *LEEMA* 'SYMBOL / SYMBOLISM' IN DAGAABA RIDDLES

Visual and oral symbolisms have been used by people consciously and unconsciously for a considerable length of time as a form of communication as well as a store of knowledge. Visual images and objects are used symbolically to communicate knowledge, feeling and values among the traditional societies. A symbol is a sign which has further meaning.

According to Okpewho (1992) a symbol or symbolism is a particular means of conveying certain important truths or lessons about human life and the problem of existence. This is confirmed by Nypson (2001) and Nsoh *et al* (2010), when they also mentioned that a symbolism is a concrete or familiar object that is used in reference to or as an explanation of an abstract idea or a lesser familiar object or event. One can therefore say that symbolism is a system of using indirect references or symbolic elements to represent something as good or bad. It is the practice of representing things by symbols, or of using things with symbolic meanings or characters. A symbol represents something by analogy or association. Dalfovo (1996) postulates that, symbols have three kinds of association namely: personal, cultural and universal associations. He indicates that we all have associations with things in our personal experience. One person may have strong affection for cows while another person may fear them intensely and that is personal association.

He further explains that different symbols may have quite different meanings in different cultures. According to him, in Chinese culture, dogs represent devotion and faithfulness, while in Islamic culture they represent impurity which he referred to as cultural association. Finally, he reported that, Jungian psychology along with some other theories argue that some symbols have universal meaning and that lions suggest deity in a

variety of cultures. He however, disagrees with them saying that, trying to discern and express the universal meaning of a symbol is tricky (Dalfovo, 1996).

Abrams (1993) observes that many of the major writers exploit symbols which are in part drawn from religion and esoteric traditions and in part from their own invention. Some of the works of the age he said are symbolic in their settings, their agents and their actions, as well as in the object they refer to. This study concurs with Abrams. The riddle becomes obscure as a result of the symbolism employed to disguise the riddle response. In order to understand the symbolism in a Dagaaba riddle, one must be familiar with the Dagaaba culture, language and customs. This is because riddles have been handed down orally from generation to generation. It is therefore, enough to side with Motebele (1997: 21) that defines a symbol as “a troupe in which a word, phrase or an image represents something literal and concrete and yet maintains a complex set of abstract ideas and values that are usually interpreted according to surrounding context but which may mean a number of things depending upon who is interpreting the symbol”. For instance, this can be seen on the following Dagaaba riddles below and their aesthetic values.

Example 1:

Riddle: *N ma kaŋa la be be, sɛɛ saŋa o zu ba maŋ taa kɔɔloŋ kyɛ ka unoni wa yi ka o la*

buli. Boŋ bal la?

‘I have a certain mother, in the rainy season she has no hair on her head but in the dry season the hair grows. What is it?’

Response: *Gɔzãŋaa*

‘A type of tree’

In the above riddle, the imagery created by the riddler is a woman. The subject disguised is the *gɔzãŋaa* ‘a type of tree’ which is described as a woman. The riddler traditionally inferred that *gɔzãŋaa* symbolizes a hardworking woman in the Dagaaba community. The riddler uses figurative language to evoke imagery in the riddle. *Gɔzãŋaa* is being used to stand in for some women in the raining season that due to their busy schedule on farming activities will have to shave their hair because they do not have time to be visiting the saloon. This is not the Dagaaba practice however; some women do it because of dirt as a result of sweat.

Gɔzãŋaa is a type of tree mostly found in some savanna areas. It bears its leaves in the dry season when other trees had shed their leaves and waiting for the next raining season in order to get water to bear new ones. Dagaaba belief that *gɔzãŋaa* has some special features in it. In the raining season, it stores water in its trunk through these features and that is what supports it to produce new leaves in the long dry season when other trees have no power to produce leaves.

Typical traditional Dagaaba women on the other hand, due to the nature of the single rainfall pattern in the area do not have time when the rain starts. Most often some women do not get time to be visiting their hairdressers or take care of their hair themselves. This is as a result of the time they leave home and return coupled with their household chores. Because there is a single rainfall pattern, when it starts every farmer with the woman is busy at once with the farming activities.

Some women wake up as early as 4: 30am depending on the distance to go and drive away partridges and other animals from the farm, prepare food to the men in the farm, do other additional works like sowing, transplanting, harvesting and when they

come home in the evening around 7: 30pm, other household chores are waiting for them such as fetching of water, cooking evening meals among others. Therefore, most of the women normally shave their hair in the raining season just as the *gɔzãŋaa* shedding its leaves in the same period.

As mentioned earlier, this region has a single rainfall pattern therefore major farming is done once a year. Harvesting starts in October and ends in December. The rest of the months left are for the people to rest until the next farming season and during this period the women are either free or have lesser activities to perform as a result the women start to leave their hair to grow because they have some time at their disposal to use for their personal issues and can visit their personal hairdressers or the saloon so as the *gɔzãŋaa* also grows new leaves during this same period. A correlation is made between the woman and the *gɔzãŋaa*.

Dagaaba regard a woman as the foundation of the family. This goes to support their belief that “a house without a woman is incomplete”. Therefore, it is mandatory for every man to provide the bride price for his son’s first wife. Dagaaba women support their husbands, children and other members in a community in many ways such as in their farms, cooking, fetching of water, washing of clothing and others. The Dagaaba see the role the *gɔzãŋaa* plays in their community similar to that of the woman. Therefore, Dagaaba see the *gɔzãŋaa* as the symbol of a hardworking woman. This is confirmed by Okpewho, (1992) that symbolism is a particular means of conveying certain important truths or lessons about human life and the problem of existence.

In the dry season as the grasses and other trees either shed their leaves, dry up or are not available for the animals to feed on, the *gɔzãŋaa* steps in to feed these animals with its fresh leaves and fruits. Always animals are found under this tree all day round. Some animal owners come to cut the leaves for them to feed on and some pieces also fall because of wind for these animals.

Also, because at that time other trees shed their leaves, it is the *gɔzãŋaa* that provides the most comfortable shade and therefore, animals gather under it to rest while birds are also on top of the branches doing the same. Even human beings also sit under it during the period to either rest or do some minor works such as shelling of groundnuts and maize because of the shade it provides. The symbolism here is seen within the Dagaaba social set up.

Abrams (1993) observed that most of the symbols that are used in oral art are in part drawn from religion and esoteric traditions and in part from artist own invention. The above observation explained how the riddler evokes rich imagery by the use of figurative language. The cultural and contextual meaning of the riddle is embedded in the imagery it depicts to its audience. Taking into consideration the functional characteristics of imagery in Dagaaba riddles, this study agrees with Nsoh *et al* (2010) that symbolism abounds in riddles. The next riddles below illustrate togetherness.

Example 2:

Riddle: *N taa la biiri bata, ka kagaŋ ba kyebe, bayi koŋ baŋ toŋ. Boŋ bal la?*

‘I have three children. If one is absent, two cannot work. What is it?’

Response: *Dããkubo*

‘Hearth stones’

Example 3:

Riddle: *M ma kaŋa la be be ka o bieŋ ba kyebe o koŋ baŋ di*

‘I have a certain mother. When her child is not there, she cannot eat. What is it?’

Response: *Neere ane o nebir*

‘Millstone’

The picture created in the mind of these two riddles above is unity. Traditionally, Dagaaba riddles give especially to the youth a strong sense of cultural values such as unity, humility, honesty, and others. It is clear that *bie* ‘child’ and *biiri* ‘children’ in the first and second riddle respectively depicted working together. If one is absent; the remaining cannot work alone. The strength of the Dagaaba society as portrayed by its riddles is founded on communal welfare based on cooperation and unity among its members. Therefore, failure to accept the working together of the people implies failure to acknowledge the unity that exists among them. The Dagaaba work as a unit and it is through that unity that they succeed in holding onto the adage that ‘united we stand, divided we fall.’

The unity implied in the two riddles symbolizes the strong communal spirit and value of the people. The riddler urges his members to work together since working as an individual implies, in the eyes of the community, a failure. This situation of individualism is the fear among members of the community and the Dagaaba riddlers being part of this community that this study observed were reacting to this fear in these riddles. Therefore, the riddles, as part of the literature of the Dagaaba, cover the unity, fears, feelings and wishes of their society. This is confirmed by Wellek & Warren (1965:94) cited in

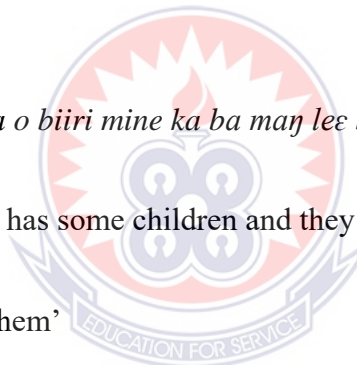
Gachanja & Kebaya (2013) when they observe that literature is an expression of society. Imagery in Dagaaba riddles therefore depicts the discourses in the society in the above riddles showing how the society fears the loss of communal welfare that holds the society together.

The two riddles abound in symbolism. The subjects disguised in the riddle question are the *dāākubo* ‘hearth stones’ and *neere ane o nebiri* ‘a grounder and its grinding stone’ which are described as *bie* ‘child’ and *biiri* ‘children’ actions in the riddles symbolize unity. The use of symbolism is very common in Dagaaba riddles. The following riddle below illustrates another.

Example 4:

. Riddle: *N makoma la taa o biiri mine ka ba maŋ lee ba zuri tee taa ka o dogle*

‘My grandmother has some children and they always put their heads side by side for her to lie on them’



Response: *Semie*

‘Rafters’

The above riddle painted a picture of team work and cooperation. The lexical meaning of *makoma* in Dagaare is grandmother. Its usage in this riddle is a lineage term referring to an abstract thing. Grandmother in the Dagaaba community symbolizes wisdom and unity. The youth go to seek knowledge and interpretations from them (grandmothers) on issues broadening their mind for societal welfare. Rafters are pieces of wood that support a roof. This imagery in the riddle therefore, underlines the essence of

working together in order to accomplish a given task or to solve a problem that affects the society.

Makoma has been used in the riddle to symbolize wisdom or unity that everybody needs in the society. In the Dagaaba community, grandmothers are given maximum attention and care due to their wisdom and advanced age. When she has a challenge, everybody in her family lineage would want to be part of the solution team. This notion is supported by Ali, M. K. K. (PC, 30/10/2015), when he said that “when an elder dies in Africa, it is a library that burns”.

The family unity and welfare is ensured through the support of all members just like the *sembie* ‘rafters’ contribute to the strength of the whole house. This shows that the riddler being part of the Dagaaba society encourages them (Dagaaba) that as a whole they can work together to solve any challenge they face. This further implies that the strength of their society is based on communal welfare and not individualism as depicted by the rafters. It is therefore not surprising to see most of the Dagaaba daily activities such as farming activities being based on communal labour including others such as funeral attendance because they perceived individualism as an egocentric kind of life. This goes to confirm Gachanja & Kebaya (2013) when they observe that riddles are essentially crucial in sharpening the mind and the thought processes of the participants. The activity of the rafters in the riddle question therefore is a symbol of unity which the riddler encourages society to practice.

Example 5:

Riddle: *Dankyini pakama*

‘A wall cracked’.

Response: *Ka nanne kpɛ pa*

‘And scorpions entered and filled’

The riddle cited above paints the picture of a family that is not united. There is no specific meaning in the riddle. *Pakama* connotes a cracked wall and it is an ideophone. Ideophones occur in Dagaaba riddles especially tone riddles. Agyekum (2013) sees ideophones as words whose ideas and meaning are found in the sounds hence he called them ideas-in-phone. He added that ideophones employ sound symbolism to express aspects of events that can be experienced by the senses, like smell, colour, shape, sound, action or movement. This means that meaning cannot be readily assigned to ideophones like normal words.

Pakama in this riddle therefore, represents the sound we hear when a wall cracks. The meaning of the word can be inferred from the sound. This goes to confirm Okpewho (1992) that ideophones abound in African Languages and mentions *dakwalalam* as an ideophone in Ibo that connotes to fall.

Dankyini pakama meaning a cracked wall in the riddle question literal, this shows that the house is not well built and that is why the wall cracked. It implies that either the people intentionally did shoddy work, were lazy, had little knowledge about the work or the materials used in the construction work are not good. *Ka nanne kpɛ pa*

means scorpions entered and filled the crack. This region is in the savanna area and the common places for scorpions to hide are dead trees and cracks developed in the walls.

The imagery created by the riddler in the above riddle symbolizes disunity in the family. Disunity is lack of agreement among people which prevents them from working together effectively. 'Wall cracked' refers to a house that is not united or cannot keep secrets. As a result, certain important piece of information that is supposed to be within the family level only, is in the public domain.

Nanne kpɛ pa 'Scorpions entered and filled the cracked' depicts problems that the house started engulfing. In the Dagaaba community a scorpion is a poisonous small creature which looks like a large insect which no man dares touch and cannot stay in human structures with them. But the scorpion entered depicts imagery that intruders such as gossipers, witch or some people who have some magical and spiritual powers entered the house to achieve their desire. This brings about separation, fight, sickness or even sometimes can cause death in the family.

Dagaaba riddles deal with a range of things drawn from the natural world, animal world, insect's world, crops and human beings. These tell us something about some lessons to be learnt in the society. It suggests that this riddle depicts and symbolizes certain human behaviours which society does not support.

The imagery cited draws the society's attention to prevent or seal cracks when they appear in walls. This suggests that as much as possible people should try to keep secrets where necessary and live in harmony with one another in order to avoid unnecessary acrimony. The next riddles are on repetition.

4.4 PULLU 'REPETITION' IN DAGAABA RIDDLES

Repetition is one of the basic characteristics that feature in Dagaaba riddles. Repetition has both aesthetic and functional values in that it gives a touch of beauty to the riddles (Agyekum, 1999). According to Okpewho (1992), repetition is one of the many effective poetic devices in oral art. It is a device that not only gives a touch of or attractiveness to a piece of oral expression but also serves certain practical purposes in the overall organization of oral performance (Okpewho, 1992:72 cited in Dikpetey, 2013: 124). Saanchi (2002:413), in his analysis of the use of repetition and parallelism as devices that contribute to the unity and easy memorization of the Dagaaba dirge observes that, repetition may take the form of words in the same line, repetition of words in different lines, repetition of an entire line or part thereof within one stanza and even the repetition of whole stanzas in the course of the performance.

This applies to the Dagaaba riddles especially the tonal or rhyming ones. There are repetitions in both the statement or question and the riddles response which are in line with Saanchi's observation about repetition in Dagaaba dirges. We may have repetition of words in the question or statement, repetition of the whole question or statement, repetition of words in the response and repetition of words in both the statement and the response.

Also, Dagaaba riddlers employed the use of repetition of speech sounds in the arrangement of words. The recurring sound occurs either at the beginning or of a stressed syllable within the word. The riddles below demonstrate that:

Example: 6

Riddle: *Vintin vintimmu.*

‘Vintin vintimmu’

Response: *Pɔntere ɣmantummu*

‘Toad’s untreated calabash’

b. Riddle: *Vintin vintimm*

‘Vintin vintimmu’

Response: *Pɔntere mɔɣ doɔre*

‘Toad cooked dawadawa flour’

c. Riddle: *Vintin vintimmu.*

‘Vintin vintimmu’

Response: *ka o serɛ di beɛre*

‘And her husband ate and fell ill’

One can picture from this riddle a typical rural setting where you have toads jumping around all over after a heavy rainfall. Traditionally, these communities are always full of standing water after rainfall. The imagery created in this riddle is dirt. The imagery is evoked by repeating the phrase *Vintin vintimmu*. It has no specific meaning but in Dagaare it depicts the sound of how the toad moves.

A toad in many cultures is a dirty creature. Dawadawa flour is yellow in colour and is very sweet. Dawadawa flour can be eaten by human beings; however, among the

Dagaaba community dawadawa flour is not considered substantial food. So for that matter if a particular family is found to have been feeding its members with dawadawa flour it means that the men are lazy and cannot work to get food for the family.

The woman also cooking dawadawa flour in the house means that she is lazy or she is not up to the standard of a woman and can only cook dawadawa flour which is easy to cook. Among the Dagaaba a woman who cannot prepare *tuozaaŋi* in a big pot once for people more than twenty (20) to enjoy is not considered a standard woman. The toad husband eating the food and falling sick indicates that the woman (toad) did not prepare the food under hygienic condition that is why the man ate and fell ill.

Among the Dagaaba when a woman puts a pot of water on fire and wants to cook, the next thing she does is to bath and move straight into the kitchen. Their belief is that because one works in the day, one is dirty and must clean yourself before embarking on cooking.

All Dagaaba riddlers are familiar with this cultural practice. The imagery created by the riddle indicates that toad did not follow this cultural principle before cooking for the family and that brought about some of the dirt on it falling into the husband's food and contaminating it causing the husband to fall ill.

The imagery employed by the riddle is an attempt to express the dangers that come as a result of the negation of some of the traditional practices among the Dagaaba whether intentionally or out of ignorance. The imagery teaches about the Dagaaba society and their belief system. This goes to confirm Kyoore's (2010) assertion that because riddles can be about every sphere of nature or human life, it is primordial to understand the customs of a society in order to understand its riddles and to appreciate their importance in the culture.

In the riddle above, the phrase *Vintin vintimmu* keeps on repeating itself in different lines in the riddle statement. One can notice that there is no specific meaning in the riddle. They are onomatopoeic words employed by the riddler to create a rhyming sound or effect and this is very characteristic of Dagaaba tonal riddles. The importance of onomatopoeia in Ghanaian languages such as Dagaare and some others cannot be underestimated. This study therefore sides with Awedoba (2000) when he states that “onomatopoeia provide the means for the expression of shades and nuances of meaning that conventional words like the regular nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs alone are inadequate to convey”. The *Vintin vintimmu* occurs throughout the riddle to create the imagery and has no specific meaning in Dagaare. It is a type of ideophone which in the riddling context is understood by the riddlees.

Also, in the first and second lines of the riddle response, the nominal *pɔntere* ‘toad’ is repeated in those two different lines. The effect of repetition in the Dagaaba riddles is to give unity and also emphasised on what the riddler says. It aids the riddlees and other people for easy recollection of facts. It is therefore sufficient to side with Saanchi (1992) that repetition in oral art does not necessarily mean lack of ideas but rather makes the oral art memorable. The primary value of Dagaaba riddles is to entertain and once the main audience (those answering the riddles) is able to memorize the riddle easily especially those with ‘ears’ they would be able to provide the correct answers to the riddles and continue with their enjoyment.

Repetition by the riddler also gives an auditory pleasure to the riddlees who are the main target of the riddle. This shows why some riddlees were nodding their heads during one of the riddling session at Tuori, when the riddler repeated the statement *vintin vintimmu*. This is confirmed by Okpewho (1992) who says that the oral performer

cultivates repetition both as a means of achieving auditory pleasure in listeners as well as a convenience framework for holding the distinct elements of the composition together.

The next riddle shows some difficulties people encounter in their daily activities.

Example: 7

Riddle: *Taŋa zu simie ka ba pe fãã kye ka kuŋkuŋni de pe*

‘The tortoise harvested the bambara beans on the hill that they could not harvest’

Response: *Wala gbææ mĩĩle mĩĩle ka ba ɔɔ fãã kye ka baa de ɔɔ*

‘The dog chewed the bones of the tiny tiny legs of the deer that they could not chew’

The imagery created in the above riddle depicts some difficulty and challenges in life. The ground on a hill naturally is hard. When there is a drought it starts from the hill. The period of harvesting bambara beans starts from October. The Dagaaba call this month *ɔɔ toore bare* meaning “chew and bring them out from the mouth”. This implies that there is abundance of food at this period and the people have numerous chances of choosing and eating the type of food they will eat. Rainfall sometimes stops and when that happens, it makes it impossible to use a hoe to harvest bambara beans grown on the hill. Dagaaba believe that the hill is the most preferred place for bambara beans cultivation because it yields good harvest.

Due to the nature and the types of rocks that are found on hills of which some of them have holes inside or between them provide shelter for tortoises. When the land is dried and the farmer finds it difficult harvesting, the tortoises get the opportunity of eating the bambara beans and can finish them. This implies the tortoise, a little feeble animal, is able to harvest the bambara beans. This is the message embedded in the riddle that, the tortoise accomplishes a difficult feat that human beings cannot accomplish.

While the farmer is waiting for rain to harvest them, the tortoise is also eating them bit by bit.

The response to the riddle also evokes an imagery of difficult feat. This is also accomplished by another entity. The legs of the cooked deer *Wala gbɛɛ* are considered very tiny enough for people to be able to crack with their teeth and chew them. Unfortunately the riddle response suggests that, the people are unable to do that and have given them to dogs to chew. It is natural that whenever human beings are faced with chewing bones, those bones that they are not able to chew is given to dogs. However, with the nature of the deer legs being very tiny, one would have expected that the bones would have been easily chewed by human beings without any difficulty but this is not the case. This is why the Dagaaba believe that one cannot use one's eyes to determine salty soup.

The imagery depicted in the riddle and response implies that there are surprises and challenges in life. Sometimes certain things that one does not expect will happen to one do happen. For instance, the bambara beans farmer in the riddle question does not know during harvest period, rainfall will stop and he will not be able to harvest his beans well, so is the tortoise who did not know that it will also get such food from the farmer as a result of the weather. Also, in the riddle response, it is a difficult task chewing very tiny bones of the deer but which is done easily by a dog.

This is embedded in both the riddle and the response. This suggests that what one sees in life to be impossible or difficult to accomplish is easy or possible for another person to accomplish. Therefore the riddler advises in the riddle that, in life there are individual differences because our maker (God) made each individual with unique

features which enhance different abilities and talents. We should team up to build a peaceful society.

Repetition abounds in this riddle. In the riddle question, the image is evoked by repeating the verb *pε* ‘harvest’ and the determiner *ka* ‘that’ are repeated. The riddle response also has the repetition of the adjective *mĩ̃le* ‘tiny’ and the determiner *ka* ‘that’ to produce the imagery. The same word repetition is common in both the riddle question and the riddle response. The determiner *ka* ‘that’, the pronoun *ba* ‘they’, the modal *fāā* ‘could not’ and the conjunction *kyε* ‘but’ are repeated in both the riddle question and the riddle response as in the above to effect the image. In fact, *kyε* in Dagaare could also refer to an adverb ‘here’ or verbs either ‘sing or cut’.

However, its usage in this riddle means but. The aesthetic value of repetition in Dagaaba riddles apart from adding beauty to the language also attaches importance to serious issues in the society. Such matters when repeated become memorable in the minds of the people and serves as a guide to them. For instance, *Wala gbεε mĩ̃le mĩ̃le* meaning the ‘tiny tiny deer legs’ yet they could not chew the bones made the society to understand that it is not everything that one can do. The next section looks at the imagery in riddles under satire as illustrated below,

4.5 E-LAABO ‘SATIRE’ IN DAGAABA RIDDDLES

Cohen (1973:195) defines a satire “as...the criticism of a person, human nature, events, movements or institutions by the use of ridicule, sarcasm, irony and humour in order to reduce the subject of absurdity”. In satire the aim is to explore and attack vice and folly. The same idea is mentioned by Finnegan (1990).

Satire is a form of indirection; it blurs the actual reality and finds a way of talking about it without a face threat, but in doing all this, the aim is to portray the morality of the situation (Agyekum, 2013). He added that satire is a social commentary and has the desire to return as well as discredit wrong behaviour in society. It exposes the weaknesses, vices, corruption, and mismanagement in the society. To him satire can occur in many genres including riddles and has been practiced in all periods.

The Dagaaba society's lore and wisdom can be seen in their riddles which teach members to be observant of their surroundings and the society's daily activities. Commentaries on various aspects of life and social issues affecting members of the community can be realized in their riddles. Such comments are mostly meant to enlighten, caution and advice. The Dagaaba oral artists including the riddlers often prefer to correct the faults, malice and follies through veiled expression rather than degrading or attacking a person openly. The riddle below demonstrates this:

Example: 8

Riddle: *N ba kaja la be be a maŋ mɔŋ omeŋe seemaa kyɛ de kpɛ daa*

'I have a certain fellow that refuses himself food but sends it to market'

Response: *Nyiraa*

'An ant'

The riddle paints the picture of a rural community where one can see ants everywhere even in the rooms especial when it rains and the ground is wet. The riddler employs the image of an ant to present his message. Gachanja & Kebaya (2013) note that generally, ants are regarded as the most hardworking animals and that behaviour gives them the honour to be earning the simile "as hardworking as an ant".

This study concurs with Gachanja & Kebaya. Riddlers have a close observation of nature and the environment. Ants are depicted in many cultures as dedicated and always determined to succeed in any undertaking. However, Dagaaba folklore has it that even though ants are perceived as hard working, they eat very little as they like keeping the rest for future use (Ali, M. K. K. PC, 30/10/2015). As a result the ants are believed to be eating what will make them barely live. Dagaaba therefore are not surprised that the ants are very thin because their hard work is not measured with their eating habits.

By equating human behaviour to that of ants, the riddler is drawing the attention of the society to some of the unattractive human behaviours. This also raises the questions of the essence of some human actions that negate their own well being. The imagery created in the riddle is absurd. It does not make sense for one to leave his family to starve only to take the food items to the market and sell them. The riddle is suggesting, it is bad that one love for money is making one denied himself and the family food while taking the food items to the market and sell to strangers to enjoy. In another dimension in our modern society, some people deny their children education only to also take the money and buy different types of funeral clothes and drinks. The question then is why does one starve himself only for strangers to enjoy?

By questioning the rationale behind such inhuman actions, the riddle exposes such eccentricism in the society and satirically attacks the members of the society who practice such selfish behaviour. Dagaaba riddles employ satire to evoke imagery and provide amusement for the community. It is evident from the above that imagery in Dagaaba riddles satirizes certain human behaviours which society does not uphold. This goes to confirm Awedoba (2000) citing Kallen and Eastman (1979) that “riddles provide opportunities for critical observation and assessment of beliefs, norms and notions as well

as behaviours, even if they end up confirming the status quo rather subverting it”. The study further looks at imagery in riddles under parallelism.

4.6 THE USE OF *PERETAALOD* ‘PARALLELISM’ IN DAGAABA RIDDLES

Nypson (2001) sees parallelism as the repetition of words, phrases or sentences that have the same grammatical structure or that restate a similar idea. Agyekum (2007) describes parallelism as “sameness between two sections of a text”. Fabb (1997) observes parallelism as an organizing principle that divides the text into sections and requires the second half of each section to resemble the first half.

In parallelism two things or ideas are always involved in a similar construction. In this study, Parallelism is a poetic device by which the riddler brings together in a balanced relationship, ideas and images that may seem independent of one another. Agyekum (2013) has mentioned various kinds of parallelism and they include lexical, structural and semantic parallelisms. Lowth identified synonymous, antithetic and synthetic parallelisms for Hebrew poetry (cited in Saanchi, 2002). Synonymous parallelism is the situation where the proposition is repeated either totally or partially, the expression may be different but the meaning is either completely or nearly the same. Antithetic parallelism occurs with contrast so that the correspondence lines are by means of opposition sometimes by expression or sense only. Synthetic or constructive parallelism is seen to consist of similar forms of construction.

This has some relevance to the types of parallelism found in the Dagaaba riddles and the modes appear in varying degrees. Often where there is synonymous parallelism, there is also synthetic parallelism. Synonymous and antithetic parallelisms would be

considered in this study. Even though antithetic parallelism is not common in Dagaaba riddles one will be discussed. Dagaaba riddlers are good reflectors of the society and their riddles do paint pictures about some moral lessons to be learnt in the society. The riddles below attest to this:

Example: 9

Riddle: *Taṇa zu taṇaa naṇ kpi ka ba yeli ka ware la ko, ka baa taṇaa meṇ naṇ kpi boṇ ko o?*

‘When a shea nut tree on top of the hill died, they said it is because of drought but what about the one in the valley that dies?’

Response: *Zoṇ bie naṇ kpi ka ba yeli ka soṇbo la ko, ka soṇbo bie meṇ naṇ kpi aṇ ko o?*

‘When the blind person’s child died, they said it is the work of the witch, but what about the witch’s child that dies?’

The riddle cited above paints the picture of ignorance. *Taṇa zu* means hill top and *taṇaa* also stands for shea nut tree. *Taṇa zu taṇaa* therefore refers to a shea nut tree standing on top of a hill. As the hill is higher than the land that surrounds it, any time it rains the water runs down making it dry before the low land. So people attribute the death of the tree to drought but surprisingly another Shea nut tree in the low land also died. The question then is what is responsible for its death too?

Zoṇ in the response refers to a visually impaired person; however, its usage here metaphorically means someone who is not a witch or an ordinary person who has not got witchcraft powers. An ordinary person’s child dies and people attribute it to witch

hunting and a witch's child also died. The question then is: is the death of this child also attributable to the work of a witch? Why will a witch kill her own child?

In this riddle, the Dagaaba always want people to reflect about their society and be positive about their way of life. The riddle encourages the people to always be curious and ready to find answers to new things as they occur. This is because society is dynamic. The imagery created in the riddle suggests to the people to stop saying their own stories for instance, *ka baa tanɔa meɲ naɲ kpi?* 'What about the shea nut tree in the valley that dies?'

This is because good things and behaviours are worked for. *Tanɔa zu* 'hill top' refers to an area of land that is higher than the land that surrounds it. This question exposes the people ignorance about the issues they are talking about and that they do not have facts of. The riddler advises that people should always get the true information and speak with facts. From the above riddle, the riddler reveals that it is not everything that one should know and therefore should stop saying or doing things one does not have much knowledge on or know about.

The riddle response which questions that *ka soɔbo bie meɲ naɲ kpi?* 'What about the death of a witch child? This suggests that even the witch child is not spared death how much more an ordinary person's child. The imagery depicted in the riddle response suggests that, there is something more powerful than all human beings. Through these remarks the riddle wondered why the witch who is regarded more powerful and miraculous and through whom the unseen and unknown are discovered and the lives and prospects of individuals and community are saved or destroyed should suffer just as the ordinary being. The riddle provides avenue for the society to reflect on their belief system

and paints the picture that as far as the destiny of the human being is concerned, the supernatural being controls our lives. The riddle employed parallelism as an imagery to present the message.

There is a synonymous parallelism. In the riddle question *Taŋa zu taŋaa* ‘a Shea nut tree on top of a hill’ and *Zoŋ bie* ‘blind person’s’ child’ in the response both express the same sense in different ways but in equivalent terms. Therefore, a synonymous parallelism is drawn between the Shea nut tree on top of the hill that died,(that is the riddle) and the blind person’s child that died (that is the response) since the two expressions are both talking about death.

Riddles cover every sphere of human life. As a result, the riddle below expresses secrecy in our communities.

Example: 10

Riddle: *Ɖmanee naŋ kyey peey aŋ nye o gbɛɛ?*

‘Who sees the foot prints of a dove when it walks in a basket?’

Response: *Paare naŋ la dieŋ aŋ nye o nyeme?*

‘Who sees the teeth of a vagina when it laughs in the room?’

The above riddle cited paints the picture of secrecy. Secrecy is deliberately hiding information or behaviour from other people (Kelly, 2002). Secret in this work refers to knowledge permitted only to those who deserve it. Dagaaba riddles just like the riddles in other cultures are good reflection of the societal values such as honesty and respect for the traditional norms viewed as a cultural practice that upholds the best tradition.

The riddler uses *Dmanee* ‘dove’ in the riddle and *Paare* ‘vagina’ in the response to present the message. Dove is often used as symbol of peace in many cultures. When a dove walks on the ground one finds it difficult to see its foot prints not to even talk about walking in a basket. In the basket the dove foot prints will not be seen, one can never know a dove entered a basket through the appearance of its foot prints. A dove normally will not be at where there are people. Even when it comes it will hide. When no one’s attention is on it, it will then move to do what it wants to do. *Paare* ‘vagina’ naturally, the position of it is such that no one can see it unless you are permitted. As a result one cannot see it when it laughs and not to talk about seeing the teeth of it.

The imagery in the riddle underscores the essence of secrecy and confidentiality regarding society and the Dagaaba cultural practices. Traditionally *Paare* ‘vagina’ is not mentioned in plain language and issues relating to it are not also discussed in public. Dagaaba regard vagina as the path that brings life. Respect and other moral activities concerning it are held secretly and in confidentiality.

The imagery in the riddle suggests that there is the need for individuals to learn the rules of etiquette regulating the society in order to safeguard the traditional norms and cultural values of the people. The reason for Dagaaba marriage is to give birth but the time for the couple to bring forth a child is confidential. Among the Dagaaba when a young married girl gets pregnant for the first time, tradition demands some rituals to be performed by an elderly woman in the family to officially announce the pregnancy before anybody can talk about it openly. If this is not done before somebody talks about it openly, the woman will miscarry. This is done in a secret sometimes to even surprise

the pregnant lady in question because they are always not told of the activity before the performance is done. Sometimes the girl is not even aware she is pregnant.

Dagaaba riddlers who are observant and part of the society refer to a woman accepting her male counterpart in bed as vagina laughing. As the activities of the couple in bed are known to them only it is referred to by the riddle as the foot prints of the dove in the basket. The activity of a man and woman in bed results in pregnancy. This suggests that the riddle refers to the pregnancy as the teeth of the vagina. The riddle demands certain logic and that induces critical thinking. The logic is embedded in a comparison of the dove that walks in the basket and vagina that laughs in the room.

There is a synonymous parallelism in the above riddle. The verbs *kyeŋ* ‘walked’ means to move forward by putting one foot in front of the other in a regular manner and *la* ‘laugh’ means to make a sound with the throat while smiling and showing that you are happy or amused. However, *la* is metaphorically used here to refer to a woman accepting a male partner on bed. There is a synonymous parallelism drawn in the riddle statement and the riddle response because they both express the same idea of secrecy, something one cannot see in equivalent words. Riddles advise society to eschew certain behaviours. This is embedded in the riddle below.

Example: 11

Riddle: *Sɔgloo be tandaa pare*

‘Darkness under the bamboo tree’

Response: *Degreŋ be nyemε seε*

‘Filth beneath the teeth’

In the riddle cited above, the riddler created the picture of filth in our mind. Bamboo is a tall hard plant with hard hollow stem that mostly stand together. Dagaaba call it *Tandaa* meaning “bow tree”. A bow is a weapon for shooting arrows which consists of a long piece of curved wood with a string attached to both of its ends. Bamboos are found in the forest which is always dark due to the closeness nature of the trees. In the bamboo forest, there are many things that one can find lying on the ground such as dry leaves making the forest filthy. Bamboo forest is not an area that one can easily make clean if it does not burn. Therefore, has a lot of accumulated dirt under them.

The Dagaaba oral artist (riddlers) being creative and observant about the society’s daily activities and nature enlists the image of a bamboo to foreground his message to the people which is found in the riddle response *Degreŋ be nyeme seɛ* ‘Filth beneath the teeth’. The teeth always team up in the gums just as the bamboo in the forest do. The imagery created in the riddle suggests how our gums will gather dirt if we do not clean our teeth always. The riddle seeks to advise that we should always clean our teeth regularly to avoid dirt: otherwise, our teeth will be like the under of the bamboo tree that is full of leaves and other bad things.

The riddle draws the people’s attention to the importance of personal hygiene. They should learn to keep themselves clean in order to live long. It is even stated in the Holy Book of the Bible that ‘cleanliness is next to Godliness’. This means that it is their social and moral duty to keep themselves and the surroundings clean.

There is a synonymous parallelism in the above riddle. *Be* ‘there’ is adverb of place showing direction. It gives vivid direction to where one can find *sɔgloo* ‘darkness’ as stated in the riddle question and *degre* ‘filth’ in the riddle response.

A correlation is made between *sɔgloo* in the riddle question and *dɛgrɛ* in the riddle response. There is a synonymous parallelism drawn between the under of the bamboo tree that is full of darkness because of falling leaves and other things and the filth that engulf the teeth gums as a result of no cleaning. In effect, one can draw a conclusion that the parallelism identified in the riddle cited above is synonymous since the riddle and the response expressed the same idea of filth.

Example: 12

Riddle: *Gbogborikyile koŋ ka hũũ wãã hũũ wãã*

‘A hyena cries with joy *hũũ wãã hũũ wãã*

Response: *Pɔgenyaanƙpoŋ kɔre ka ɛɛ hem, ɛɛ hem*

‘An old lady coughs with pain *ɛɛ hem, ɛɛ hem*

The riddle cited above paints the picture of mood. Every living organism has a way of conducting itself in the event of happiness, sadness or both. In the riddle question, *hũũ wãã hũũ wãã* are onomatopoeia words referring to the sound made by a hyena as a result of happiness. The riddle suggests that there are many ways of communicating and some actions or behaviours best describe the situation or the inner feeling which has no equivalent expressions in words or in another language.

Hũũ wãã hũũ wãã are onomatopoeic words employed by the riddler to express something pleasant; a hyena crying with joy to create a rhyming sound and this is very characteristic of Dagaaba riddles since the role of riddles in the Dagaaba community among other things is to entertain. This goes to confirm Kyoore (2010:33) that sounds that have a specific meaning can be used to express animal or human behaviour.

Gbogborikyile refers to a well matured hyena. Dagaaba consider a hyena as a very wicked and powerful animal. It eats the flesh of both human beings and other animals. When Dagaaba equate someone to a hyena, they are referring to the powers of that individual and the unpleasant things that he can do.

In the riddle response, *εε hem, εε hem* are also onomatopoeic words referring to how an old lady is coughs. This expresses an unpleasant situation. It depicts the pain experienced by an old lady through coughing. Though the old lady did not speak out about the pain she is going through when she is coughing, *εε hem, εε hem* depicts it clearly in the riddle response. This onomatopoeic sound in the language shows a pressure to cough however, there are certain short falls causing the ability to cough normal. *Pɔgenyaankpon* refers to a very old lady. As a result of her age, she has lost energy and is weak.

This it suggests, is the cause of her condition that makes her to cough in this manner as it can be deduced from the riddle response. The imagery depicted teaches society that, stages in life has a role to play in behaviour. Strong people have their way of doing things while weak individuals also have theirs. Dagaaba riddlers being creative and observant embedded this into their riddles to draw the people's attention to these stages in life so that everyone can prepare for it.

There is a parallelism in the above riddle which is one of the features of Dagaaba riddles. The riddle question and response are marked with a special type of unity. The type of parallelism embedded in this riddle by the riddler is antithetic parallelism. As already stated in the above, antithesis parallelism occurs when the correspondence of lines is by means of opposition in expressions or in sense. The onomatopoeias in both the riddle statement *hũũ wãã hũũ wãã* and the riddle response *εε hem, εε hem* are expressions

of the sounds that the two characters made. A correlation is made between cry of joy by a hyena in the riddle statement and a cough of pain by an old lady in the riddle response respectively. These expressions are in contrast and therefore embed in the riddle an antithesis parallelism. In the riddle question, the repetition underscores the joy of the hyena while in the riddle response it depicts the pain or suffering of the old lady.

Saanchi (2002:422) states that, “parallelism is not an empty repetitive device that the dirger uses because of paucity of repertoire, neither is it monotonous and tautologous, nor is it merely an ornamental poetic device”. This study observes that on the significance of parallelism what Saanchi (2002) says about the Dagaaba dirge also applies to their riddles. Apart from unity of structure that Parallelism gives to the performance of the Dagaaba riddles, it also makes it easy to remain in one’s mind.

4.7. THE USE OF *DAMANNE* ‘SIMILE’ IN DAGAABA RIDDLES

Agyekum (2013) notes that a simile is a comparison of two things, indicated by some connectives usually like, as, than, or a verb such as resemble. He added that a simile expresses similarity and for a simile to exist, the things compared have to be dissimilar in kind. This means that the two things under comparison must come from different categories. Thus a simile is a figure of speech where by two concepts are imaginatively compared using as or like.

Dagaaba riddlers use simile in their riddles and these riddles demand certain logic and that induces critical thinking on the part of the riddlees who are participating in the riddling section. The logic is often embedded in a comparison of two things to depict the imagery. The riddle below is an example with such features.

Example 13

Riddle: *Nma bie kaŋa la be be bebie o maŋ yi ne la vaare kye ka ŋmenaa ka o e sɔglaa.*

Boŋ bal le?

‘My mother has a certain child, in the morning he is like leaves and in the afternoon he is black. What is it?’

Response: *Haaraa*

‘Blackberry’

The riddle cited creates the picture of the developmental stages that human being goes through or the stages in human life and their roles. The riddler employs a simile to foreground his message.

The riddle suggests that there are stages in human life. The riddler uses blackberry to present his message. He compares the blackberry to leaves using a connective word *aŋa* ‘like’. The riddler refers to the blackberry using a sibling term *N ma bie* ‘my mother’s child’.

Anang (2013) reported of similar terms being used in Ga riddles, for instance my father and others. The *bebie* ‘morning’ symbolizes the immaturity period of the blackberry. Within this period the blackberry appearance is just like the leaves hence earning it the simile ‘it is like leaves’. *Ŋmenaa* ‘afternoon’ refers to the maturity stage of the blackberry in the riddler’s analogy where it is changed to black. It is true that a matured blackberry is always black in its appearance.

The blackberry tree is one of the economic trees in the region. It serves a lot of purposes in the Dagaaba society such as eating its fruit, using it to prepare porridge and

drinks. Leaves in general are also used for many purposes including eaten by human beings and animals. The riddler uses this riddle to depict the developmental stages of human beings and their roles. The riddler uses *bebie* ‘morning’ to refer to the childhood stage in human life just as it represents the immaturity period of the blackberry.

The early life stage of a human being is fully dependent on the adults. During this childhood stage the child is not included in any major decision making process in the family just as the blackberry cannot be used for anything during its immaturity period and therefore does not have any relevance in the society. *Imenaa* ‘afternoon’ refers to the adulthood in the human life just as the blackberry correlates maturity in this dimension. The adulthood is also known as youthful stage in human life. At this stage in one’s life, society expects one to be responsible and can help your family with some basic needs of life such as food, shelter and others depending on the situation just as the matured blackberry does in the above for society.

The Dagaaba use riddles to create an imagery to depict the developmental stages and their social significance. The riddle suggests that there is time for everything and every minute in one’s life is unique and important. This means that every stage in life has its responsibility in society. The capturing of societal discourses concurs with Wellek & Warren (1965) cited in Gachanja & Kebaya (2013) when they observe that literature is an expression of society. In this regard, the riddler depicts the discourses in the society in the above riddle showing how the community recognizes the stages in life and their roles that hold the society together.

4.8 NENSAALOD 'PERSONIFICATION' IN DAGAABA RIDDLES

Personification is a figure of speech in which a thing, an animal, or an abstract term is made human. Agyekum (2007) stated that personification endows animals, ideas, abstractions and inanimate objects with human form, character or sensibilities and emotions. Another term that is used by some literary scholars in place of personification is *prosopopoeia* (Agyekum 2007:109, 2013:188). *Prosopopoeia* according to Agyekum comes from the Greek word *prosopoiia*, made up of the noun *prosopon* meaning 'face, person, and character' plus the verb *poiein* meaning 'to make'. It is a literary device in which an imaginary or absent person is represented as speaking or acting. Agyekum (2013) confirms that *prosopopoeia* is sometimes used as a synonym for personification.

Personification is a very popular imagery Dagaaba riddlers often employ to drive home their message and create more fun in the course of riddling. Each personified object is often made to be symbolic of some kind of good or evil attributes which the riddle wants to praise or condemn. Riddlers cleverly make the non-humans behave and act like human beings by the use of certain verbs, adjectives, nouns and sometimes pronouns. A riddle may require a one-word answer and it is the answer part that helps one to determine whether or not personification has been employed in the riddle. It is noted from the following riddles below that certain human attributes are given to some inanimate and concrete objects in order to give them life and personality.

Example: 14

. Riddle: *N saa la taa o biiri mine ka ba ηmaara teεε gaη ba wogri. Boη bal la?*

‘My father has some children and the short ones shoot more than the tall ones. What is it?’

Response: *puluη*

‘Spear grass’

The riddle cited above paints the picture of strength. The image described is *puluη* ‘spear grass’ which is referred to as *biiri* ‘children’ to disguise the riddle response. In the riddle question, *ba ηmaara teεε gaη ba wogri* ‘the short ones shoot more than the tall ones’ depicts a competition scene where there is a challenge for people to display and show their talents about their knowledge, skills and strength.

The riddle suggests that in life there are winners and losers, young and old, as human beings develop from one stage to another, their strength is also reduced. *Ba ηmaara* ‘the short ones’ (Spear grass) refers to the youthful stage or adulthood where the maturity level of the individual is fully attained. *Ba wogri* ‘Spear grass’ (the tall ones) depicted the old age of the individual where as a result of the old age is weak and cannot any longer exhibit much energy in doing things in life.

Puluη wogri ‘tall spear grass’ in some communities serves as a basic necessity for life. People use it in roofing their houses which gives them shelter. *Teεε* ‘shooting’ in the riddle literally among the Dagaaba refers to the use of bow and arrow. Bow and arrow

are the main weapon of the Dagaaba. Male children learn the shooting of bow and arrows either from their parents, peers or older siblings.

The Dagaaba use bow and arrows during hunting, war and male funeral activities. In the past, whenever there was war it was the youth who go or who are in front of the battle field while the elders stay at home or behind them. This is because the youth have more strength and can shoot more or better than the old just as the short spear grass can pierce your feet more easily than the tall ones which the riddle refers to as shooting. The imagery depicted in the riddle advises that every stage in life is important. Though the elders do not stay in the battle front, they support the youth just as the tall spear grass which is weak in piercing yet also good for roofing thatch houses which the short ones cannot also do.

The riddle response *puluj* 'spear grass' is seen to be endowed with human qualities and is capable of performing human activity and therefore, there is personification. For instance, the *Puluj* 'spear grass' (short ones) are shooting. It is known that only human beings have the power to shoot but in this riddle, the riddler has endowed this human quality with a non-human character that is seen to be performing it. This goes to confirm Agyekum (2007) that Personification endows animals, ideas, abstractions and inanimate objects with human form, character or sensibilities and emotions. *Puluj* 'spear grass' which is non-human entity is accorded human traits. The riddle below also illustrates personification.

Example: 15

Riddle: *N ba kaja la be be a maŋ kɔ a kɔ kyɛ ba daŋ ba bore. Boŋ la le?*

‘I have a certain friend that always farms and farms but they have never sown. What is it?’

Response: *Dobaa*

‘Pig’

The above riddle creates the image of occupation. *Kɔ a kɔ* ‘farm and farm’ in the riddle question depicts the emphasis the riddle attaches to work. This suggests that people should work hard. The main tool used for farming among the Dagaaba is the hoe. It is used for clearing the land, sowing, and weeding. In most of these communities the farms are far from the houses and their pigs are not enclosed. The hoes are mostly used by the farmers because of the nature of most of their lands being full of stones. The pig performs similar activities as done by the people and is useful to them. The pig uses its nose to remove grass and levels the ground just as the hoe does on the farm but nobody will sow. The pig does it for two main reasons: in search of food and for pleasure. Whether the pig gets the food or not, it never loses hope in doing it because of the pleasure component it attaches to doing it.

The imagery in the riddle is suggesting that there are other things that can clear the land and not the hoe only as the people always do. This implies that the people should add other innovations in doing their farming activities. The activities of the pigs have some usefulness in the community. Even though some people do not weed around their houses yet it does not pose much danger to their health and security. Due to the activities

of the pigs, their surroundings are not bushy to attract reptiles and bush fires to their houses. The riddle therefore advises society that just as the pig does not know its activities are useful to the well being of the community, people should also work hard even when they think they are not making gains as expected of them.

The riddle employs personification to present the message. *Dobaa* ‘pig’ in the riddle response is a non-human being which is endowed by the riddle with human character and sensibility. It is human beings that farm but in the riddle through the creative use of language, a pig is seen to be farming where no one sows for it. The effective use of personification in the riddle by the riddler does not only add beauty to the language but also depicts the creative and manipulation of language among the Dagaaba oral artist. The imagery in the next riddle below depicts strength.

Example: 16

Riddle: *Sibiri va kakala nyaan*

‘A bee beats the kakala tree’s chest’

Response: *Kũũ nyɔge pɔlkpeɛnaa nuŋ*

‘Death grabs a strong young man’s hand’

The riddle cited above paints the picture of strength. In the riddle question *sibiri va* means ‘a bee beat’ shows the strength and character of this small insect known as bee. Kakala is a type of tree. Among the Dagaaba it is one of the strongest trees in the region. Even in the event of rainstorm, when a kakala falls, the people are always surprised. It serves a lot of purposes including the use of the stem in making xylophones and the leaves are also used to feed animals.

A bee, is a small insect which beats *kakala* (a type of tree) in the chest implies that the bee has been able to overpower *kakala* with its knowledge or deceived it and gets its objectives achieved. The *va* ‘beat’ in the riddle suggests that, the bee using its knowledge strength got what it wants from *kakala*. This includes the bee getting nectar from the tree flowers and space (hole) from *kakala* to make honey. This suggests that the bee only benefit from *kakala* that is why the riddle says a bee beats *kakala*.

Kũũ nyɔge pɔlkpeɛŋaa nuŋ meaning ‘death grabs a strong young man’s hand’ in the riddle response teaches the people that, death has no respect for persons whether young, old, rich, poor, strong or weak. It comes unannounced and whoever it comes to call cannot refuse its call. *Pɔlkpeɛŋaa* refers to a strong young man. Strong men in many communities are highly respected just like the military personnel because of their strength. In the event of any war, they step in to defend their people. Yet death grabbed the strong man by his hand and he has to obey death’s commands. This suggests to the people that there is something stronger or more powerful than everyone and at the same time there is time for everything to happen and when that time reaches no one can do anything to stop it.

The riddle uses the imagery of personification to present the message. The riddle cleverly makes the non-human being *sibiri* ‘bee’ and *Kũũ* ‘death’ behave and act like human beings by the use of certain verbs in the riddle and response respectively such as *va* ‘beat’ and *nyɔge* ‘grab’. Naturally, it is human beings that ‘beat’ but in the riddle question, it is used by a non-human bee that ‘a bee beats *kakala* chest’. The bee is endowed with human qualities, sensibilities and emotions to act in this manner.

In the riddle response, death a non-human entity is seen having the strength, ability and courage to grab a strong young man by the hand without fear. This implies that ‘death’ has picked up the strong young man suddenly. The use of the verb ‘beat’ by the riddler, made it clear that the bee is personified to be stronger than the *kakala* ‘a tree’ and beats it on the chest so as *Kũũ* ‘death’ is also personified in the riddle response to overcome a physically strong man by grabbing him by the hand. The creative and figurative use of language to personify non-human characters with human behaviour, does not only depict the beauty of language in the riddle but also employs Dagaaba society to engage in reasoning skills to learn various developments in their society. The riddle below portrays character;

Example: 17

Riddle: *N ma kaŋa la e sɔglaa kyɛ maŋ dɔge o bie ka o e pelaa*

‘I have a certain mother who is black but always gives birth to a child who is white’

Response: *Saala*

‘Charcoal’

The riddle cited above paints the picture of character. The response to the riddle is charcoal. When charcoal is burned and turned into ash, it is white. Anytime, charcoal is burned and becomes ash it is automatically white which the riddler being observant and creative embedded into the riddle referring to it as a woman who is black but always gives birth to a white child. The implied meaning of the riddle may not be easily understood. Therefore, the charcoal is compared with a woman (a certain mother) to render the imagery tangible.

In the riddle, the imagery created is not referring directly to charcoal as we have seen. Rather it suggests that parents often give birth to children who are not like them. This implies that the riddle is referring to individual characters that exist in the society. For instance, some hardworking parents give birth to lazy children; intelligent parents give birth to unintelligent children and so on. The imagery in this riddle provides the picture of the situation and at the same time evokes the appropriate emotion. From the riddle, it suggests that sometime it is not what society wants that they will get. It advises that sometimes when people do not get what they expect or meet some characters that they find difficult understanding their behaviour; they should learn to accept them.

The riddler uses personification to present this message. The charcoal is personified because only people and animals that give birth and not charcoal. But the charcoal is personified to possess human character and womanhood capable of giving birth. By personifying the charcoal, the riddler achieves the meaning of the riddle presented. The image depicted in the riddle can only be deciphered through inferences hence demanding that one should not only be logical but also analytical. This calls for the knowledge of the immediate environment because riddles are cultural based for one to be able to decode the embedded meaning in the riddles.

4.9 THE USE OF *SO-ED* 'METAPHOR' IN DAGAABA RIDDLES

Metaphor occurs frequently in everyday speech and adds beauty to the language. Agyekum (2013) states that it is a poetic device which concisely compares two things by saying that one is the other. If the comparison is made by omitting the connective of a simile, the result is a metaphor.

In this study a metaphor is a statement that one thing is something else which in literal sense is not. Metaphor abounds in Dagaaba riddles due partly to the way the people see nature.

Agyekum (2013) stated that “metaphor usually uses the verb to be (am, is, and are)”. If a metaphor uses neither a connective nor the verb to be, it is termed an implied metaphor. Metaphors in Dagaaba riddles among other things are either implied metaphor, conditional metaphor or zero metaphor. In conditional metaphor, the riddle image states the condition under which the metaphor holds true. This condition is seen from the logical point of view and the true premiss given in the riddle image. In a zero metaphor, an image is evoked entirely by means of contexts but not explicitly named. A careful study of the following riddles below shows that they are metaphorically constructed.

Example: 18

Riddle: *N saa naasɔglɔ mine la be be a maŋ kpeere tuuŋ. Boŋ la ɛ?*

‘My father has some black cattle that stay in the forest. What is it?’

Response: *Kpibii*

‘Lice’

The riddle above depicts bad behaviour or disunity in the society. The riddler enlists the image of lice which the riddle termed as cattle to foreground the message. Cattle are animals that stay at home and have numerous benefits to the society just as the people have to society. Cattle in the Dagaaba community represent a symbol of wealth. This is because by means of cattle, debts are paid or a woman is married and anything is

possible as long as one has cattle. the cattle move to stay in the forest means that there is something wrong and they are deserting the home also losing their identity as cattle.

The imagery in the riddle means that there are certain human behaviours which society does not uphold. Traditionally, among the Dagaaba when a man has sex with a close brother's wife, or someone continues indulging in the destruction of human life, that individual is expelled or asked to leave the home and therefore losing his membership in the community just as when an individual gets lice in the hair, either chemicals are used to do away with the lice in the hair or the hair is shaved off from the head to prevent the lice from staying or spreading to other people. This individual is what the riddle refers to as 'black cattle staying in the forest' because one has lost his noble identity in the society just as the lice in the hair are destroyed.

All Dagaaba riddlers are familiar with this cultural practice. This riddle captures the fears, feelings and wishes of the society. The capturing of societal discourses in the Dagaaba riddles concur with Wellek & Warren (1965) cited in Gachanja & Kebaya (2013) when they observe that literature is an expression of society. This suggests that the riddle urges the community members to put up good behaviours so that they can all stay together as a unit since bad behaviours can band one from the society.

The riddler referring to the nominal *kpibii* 'lice' as *naasɔglɔ* 'black cattle' is a metaphorical language used to construct the riddle. Lice by their nature are black but the riddler alludes to black cattle which represent a bad person in the community and not lice which due to his behaviour lost his membership. This really shows that, one has to exercise his intellectual and inferential skills in order to respond to such a riddle question since it is metaphorical and it is not vivid.

The riddle can be viewed further as the riddler's attempt to express some usefulness of the cattle in the Dagaaba society. Cattle serve as a source of income to the people. The people sell some of them to manage both their domestic and business activities. Beef serves as a source of food and protein to the people. They (people) use some of the male ones (bull) for farming transportation of some foodstuff and other products from the farms to their houses and some market centers. Some Dagaaba also accept cattle for their bride price.

Just as the cattle have a lot of benefits to the people, so do the lice have harmful effect to them that is why the metaphor in the riddle is drawing our attention to paint the picture for us to see in these two images. When there are lice in your hair they (lice) feed on the blood and therefore will make you fall ill. Dagaaba believe that the lice when they are in the hair can cause one some misfortune in life and also invite some bad spirits on the individual. The aim of the metaphor in this riddle is to enlighten us to understand the role of these two images as evoked by the figurative language of the riddler as having benefits and side effects to human life which is meant to advise society for its welfare. The next riddle below is a metaphor of strength.

Example: 19

Riddle: *Daa kaŋa la be be a maŋ baa kyɛ ba taa nyaga. Boŋ la lɛ?*

‘There is a certain tree that always grows but does not have roots. What is it?’

Response: *Nensaala*

‘A human being’

The riddle cited above paints the picture of strength. Among the Dagaaba the word *baa* which means grow is used for both the development of a human being and a tree. The nominal *daa* ‘tree’ in the riddle question and *nensaala* ‘a human being’ in the riddle response are used metaphorically in the riddle. The riddle refers to the human being as a tree that has no roots yet always grows. The tree is substituted for a human being.

Trees in the Dagaaba society are regarded among other things as basic supporters of life. The tree provides shelter, food and shade for some people, birds and animals. Some parts of some trees are used for medicinal purposes and firewood. Trees are planted around buildings to protect the structures from strong wind. Therefore, it is not surprising when the Dagaaba believe in the old adage that “when the last tree dies, the last man dies”.

Similarly, human beings are each other’s neighbour’s keeper and provide support to the less privileged in society. Their subordinates are free and safe from all troubles and are under the loving care of their superior. Physiologically, there is no correlation between a tree and a human being. However, in riddles they (tree and human beings) are made to satisfy the same purpose. As Scheub (2002) cited in Anang (2013) articulated, “Metaphor deals with the unlocking of mystery, the unknown... Metaphor speaks about one thing in terms that suggests another, involving the presentation of the facts of one category in the idioms appropriate to another, two things active together interacting and in the interaction producing meaning”

The message the riddler embedded in these two images using the figurative language evokes the rich imagery in the riddle. It is therefore, enough to side with Finnegan (1970) that metaphorical rather than a literal emphasis seems to be the characteristics of African riddles. The riddle suggests to us that we should use our strength judiciously to help and provide the necessary support that our subordinates need. The riddle below laments about individualism.

Example: 20

Riddle: *N saa ŋmaa la yiri kaŋa ko ma ka Nyon kpeere*

‘My father built a certain house for me that I am staying in alone’

Response: *Nɔɔtee*

‘Foot wear’

The above riddle cited paints the picture of ownership. The response to the riddle question is straight forward *nɔɔtee* ‘foot wear’. Foot wears in the Dagaaba society are not transferable or shared. They believe that when someone has bad luck and you use the person’s foot wear, you will get that bad luck. Dagaaba say that a foot is a witch in that it can take you to places that you do not know or sometimes did not even dream about.

The message embedded in the riddle suggests that, individualism is taking a center stage in the Dagaaba society as opposed to communalism which is the traditional practices of the people. The first person singular pronouns (I and me) and the first person singular possessive determiner (my) used in the riddle show that they are personal, implying that they all reveal a close relationship between the nominal *yiri* ‘house’ and the activity *kpeere* ‘staying’ as mentioned in the riddle question.

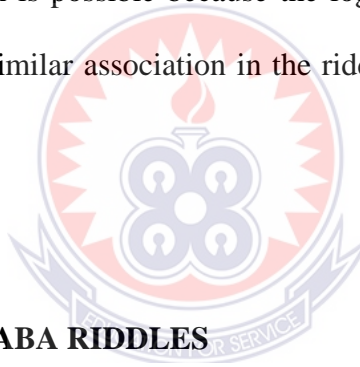
This depicts the imagery that the riddle metaphorically refers to individual actions in the society. In this manner, one can deduce the dominion of a single individual over the action or activity mentioned in the riddle. This also shows individual ownership of the item *yiri* 'house' stated in the riddle question that finally unraveled the riddle response *nɔɔteɛ* 'foot wear'. Therefore, it suggests that the riddle alludes to the rise of individualism in the Dagaaba society. This is so because an individual implied in the riddle as the owner of the house depicts him as the only one allowed to stay in his own house.

The riddle is seen as an attempt by the riddler to advise the society against individualism and expresses the dangers that come as a result of the negation of the traditional practices (communalism) among the Dagaaba. In the Dagaaba community, individual ownership was unheard of since communalism was widely practiced. They stay together as extended family, cook and eat together, have a single farm that they all go to work on, the family head marrying for every young man up to the age of marrying and among others. This makes the Dagaaba to be used to the saying '*te boma* 'our things' as opposed to *N boma* 'my things'.

Therefore, the riddle laments the loss of communal practices in the community as individualism takes the center stage. For instance, extended families are now broken into nuclear families where individuals are fully responsible for handling their own problems. The riddle shows that members of the community are uncomfortable with the advent of individualism in the society since it encourages selfishness and greed which are widely regarded as vices among the Dagaaba.

The riddle employs metaphor to foreground its message. The response to such a riddle is not fixed, and demands creativity on the part of the riddlees. A logical comparison of a house is fairly open. This is the reason why some Dagaaba riddles have more than one possible response. The riddle response shows that some metaphors are considered more generally applicable than others.

The riddle suggests that *nɔɔteɛ* ‘a foot wear’ being represented by *yiri* ‘a house’ is a metaphor. A correlation is made between a foot wear in the riddle response and a house in the riddle question. This evokes the imagery of metaphor. There is no direct correlation between these two objects. However, in Dagaaba riddles they are made to fulfill the same function. This association is possible because the logical association established in the riddle question invites a similar association in the riddle response that follows the same logic.



4.10 LOGIC IN DAGAABA RIDDLES

Dagaaba riddles just as the riddles in other cultures reveal and demand certain logic in their performance. This induces critical reasoning or thinking on the part of the riddlers and riddlees who take part in the riddle performance sessions.

Maritain (1979:109) defines “logic... a means to help our reasoning correctly and efficiently in the attainment of truth. Reasoning is the process by which certainties are arrived at on the basis of known statements”.

Gwaravanda & Masaka (2010) are of the view that the answer to a given riddle acts as a conclusion of the logical process and it is often a one word answer which is both precise and clear to the participants. This study concurs with Gwaravanda & Masaka.

In the Dagaaba culture, all the different types of riddles and responses demand certain degree of analogy and it is not only the one word response that involves logical reasoning. The logic is always embedded in a comparison of two things or two types of behaviours. For instance,

Riddle: *Kyu yeni kye pore laare zie zaa*

‘One moon, yet it brightens everywhere’.

Response: *Saalon yeni kye doge n sene zeere*

‘One okro yet it prepares soup for my boyfriend’

In the riddle cited above, one moon roaming around all the places and brightens everywhere on earth’ and one okro being used to cook enough meal for a boyfriend veils the meaning of both the riddle and the response. In this riddle, there is ambiguity in the manner in which both the riddle and the response are expressed but in Dagaaba riddling culture, it is correct. This is true of riddles from other African communities.

It is confirmed by Noss (2006) in his study of Gbaya riddles establishes that the metaphor in a riddle veils the reality of the object, behaviour or the event that is in focus through the expression of an apparent ambiguity. *Kyu yeni* ‘one moon’ in the riddle question is compared to *Saalon yeni* ‘one okro’ in the riddle response. In the same manner, *zie zaa* ‘everywhere’ is also compared to *n sene zeere* ‘soup for boyfriend’. Therefore, the corresponding words and phrases in the riddle and the response respectively are similes because they express dissimilarities in kind. Connective words are not employed due to the fact that the riddle question and the riddle response have to be separated.

The response to this riddle is based on analogy and is justified on the similarity attributes. There is analogous comparison between the moon and the okro in that just as the one moon brightens everywhere so is one okro enough to prepare soup for a boyfriend. Therefore, one of the logics that the Dagaaba riddles employ is that of analogous comparisons. It is enough to side with Horner & Westacott (2001) that an analogy is a similarity between two things or situations. This implies that every analogy made proceeds from the similarity of the two things in one or more respects. Analogical reasoning plays a critical role in the enunciation of the Dagaaba riddles. Both the similarities and the differences are always considered within the riddling context. This helps to discern how relevant they are in arriving at an acceptable response to the riddle in question.

Hurley (1995) mentions two types of reasoning used by logicians; inductive and deductive reasoning. Dagaaba riddles employ the two types of reasoning in their riddling process. According to Glover (2005) inductive reasoning involves extrapolation from experience to further conclusions. This implies that known issues can give information about unknown cases. This can be seen in the following Dagaaba riddles:

Riddle: *Nɔnyaa peele ayi ũũ peele taa kyɛ ba nyɛɛ taa*

‘Two white hens incubating side by side but they don’t see each other’

Response: *Nimie*

‘Eyes’

Riddle: *N ma biiri mine la su kparpeele ba zaa kye are peelee taa.*

‘My mother has some children and they all wear white shirts, standing close to one another’

Response: *Nyeme*

‘Teeth’

Riddle: *N ma kaŋa la taa o yoe mine ayi ka foon wa nye a nan taa koɔ saana kpe la a yiri.*

‘I have a certain mother with two pots and any time they are filled with water it means there is stranger in the house’

Response: *Bere*

‘Breasts’

In the riddles cited above, the known cases are the *Nɔnyaa peelee ayi* ‘two white hens’, *kparpeele* ‘white shirts’ and *yoe mine ayi* ‘certain two pots’. The unknown cases are the things that resemble or have attributes similar to that of the two white hens, white shirts and two pots. These items are the *nimie* ‘eyes’, *nyeme* ‘teeth’ and *bere* ‘breasts’.

There is a logical analogy between the riddles and their responses in that just as the two white hens are incubating side by side but they do not see each other, the two eyes have similar attributes standing side by side yet they do not see each other.

A logical comparison of two white hens incubating side by side is fairly open and this explains why some Dagaaba riddles have more than one possible answer. What this riddle demands is some logical association of objects and actions. Maranda (1971) observes that, the fact that one riddle image or its slight variation can signify several

answers does not prove that riddles are accidental. It only shows that some metaphors are considered more generally applicable than others.

Also, some children wearing white shirts, standing close to each other so as teeth are white standing close to each other on the gums and finally, a certain two pots are filled with water means there is stranger in the house, the breast are two and only have water (breast milk) when a child is born. A new born baby among Dagaaba is considered as a stranger. All Dagaaba riddlers are aware of it.

Dagaaba riddles empower the participants to cross check the acceptable riddle response in a manner that makes meaning of the riddle. This goes to concur with Awedoba (2000) that riddling equipped language user, among other things with analytical skills in some cases are similar to those language education seeks to provide to students in schools and universities.

Besides analogy, Dagaaba riddling process also relies on inference. Inference is a conclusion drawn about something on the basis of information that is available. Dagaaba riddles cover every sphere of life or nature making their content widely varied throwing a big challenge to riddlers. For one to be able to easily respond to the riddles, one need to have ample knowledge of the things in life and nature since the riddles require one to observe and discern various features that characterize his surroundings, hence demanding inference knowledge.

The various things that Dagaaba riddles can be grouped under include natural or artificial phenomena, zoological world, and human body among others. Riddles whose enunciation is on these natural features call upon inferential reasoning.

This implies that for a riddle to fall under man made world for instance, the response to the riddle should point to an aspect of artificial phenomena. The riddles below illustrate these features.

Riddle: *N taa la biiri bata, ka kagaŋ ba kyebe, bayi koŋ baŋ toŋ toma*

‘I have three children, if one is absent, two cannot work’

Response: *Dããkubo*

‘Hearth stones’

Riddle: *N ba la taa o bie kaŋa ka onaŋ wa kyene o meŋ maŋ kyene la, ka o wa are ka o*

meŋ are. Boŋbal la?

‘My father has a certain child, whenever he is walking the child is also walking and when he stops, he also stops. What is it?’

Response: *Dasuoluŋ*

‘Human shadow’

The above riddles cited require one to make inferences on the similarities. *N taa la biiri bata, ka kagaŋ ba kyebe, bayi koŋ baŋ toŋ toma* ‘I have three children, if one is absent, two cannot work’ whose response is *Dããkubo* ‘hearth stones’ requires one to make inferences on the similarities between three children and that which appears in the environment with similar features. The same applies to the riddle: *N ba la taa o bie kaŋa ka onaŋ wa kyene o meŋ maŋ kyene la, ka o wa are ka o meŋ are*. ‘My father has a certain child whenever he is walking the child is also walking and when he stops, he also stops,

whose answer is a human shadow. The human being is likened to the inseparability of the shadow from the object that gives birth to it. Hence, the response to this riddle is based on this close relationship. This depicts the close bond that exists between fathers and children among the Dagaaba.

In these two riddles cited above, inferential reasoning is invoked. The imagery used in the two riddles can only be deciphered through inferences hence demanding that Dagaaba riddlers should not only be logical but also analytical. For one to come out with the acceptable response to a riddle, one must be familiar with many aspects of reality to derive the appropriate response of the riddle from it. Therefore, this calls for broader knowledge of the immediate environment and culture for one to be able to decode the embedded meaning of imagery in the riddles.

4.11 CONCLUSION

This chapter has analyzed the data collected. The data is analyzed under imagery that is embedded in Dagaaba riddles. Riddles appeal to our imaginations and evoke mental pictures referred to as imagery. The riddles use special types of grammatical forms to introduce metaphorical expressions. Riddles employ common types of imagery as many abound in figurative language: symbolism, repetition, satire, parallelism, simile, personification and metaphor to veil their meaning. The study highlighted the common unique features of the imageries in the context of the Dagaaba community and their aesthetic values.

In order to understand imagery in Dagaaba riddles, one must be familiar with Dagaaba culture, language (Dagaare) and customs. This is because the imagery embedded in the riddles is handed down orally from generation to generation.

Didacticism in riddles relies in the knowledge that can be acquired directly or indirectly from the riddles. These rely on analogical and inferential skills of both the riddlers and riddlees. Riddles are based on critical observation of the environment. These include the natural phenomena, the human society and how the society operate, how animals and other living organisms behave among others. This is important in forming the analogical and inferential reasoning skills of the people as they work through the possibilities and probabilities until the most acceptable response is found to a given riddle question.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives a brief summary of the major findings, conclusions drawn from the findings and recommendations made on the analysis of imagery in Dagaaba riddles.

5.1 GENERAL SUMMARY

The study was purely descriptive. The objective of the study was to identify and analyze the types of imagery employed in Dagaaba riddles as well as explain the functions of this imagery. It illustrated how figurative language evokes imagery in the riddles. The study provided examples of the riddles together with an analysis of the types of imagery employed. The research data were drawn from both primary and secondary sources. Some riddles were recorded at natural setting during organized riddling sessions which was augmented with written sources. Observation, elicitation and documentation were the instruments used to gather the data.

The transcription of the data was based on the current Dagaare orthography. The riddles and their responses were translated from Dagaare into English. After the transcription was done, the relevant parts of the data were given to a lecturer as well as two M.Phil students for scrutiny.

The analysis of the research was based on the qualitative approach to identify and interpret the imagery embedded in the riddles as identified in the data. The qualitative approach was appropriate in that the aim of the research was not to recognize the frequencies of the occurrences of a particular imagery in the riddles but rather to identify

and analyze the general meaning of the imagery embedded in the riddle in the Dagaaba context.

A lot of data was gathered for this study as a result the researcher adopted Miles & Huberman (1994) model to reduce it through editing and summarizing with the intention to selecting riddles with only useful information to the study and develop conclusions without altering the meaning of the riddles.

5.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS.

The study found that Dagaaba riddles, with a few exceptions, are short utterances with a hidden meaning. Such statements call for a response which may be a single word, phrase or an utterance like the riddle statement. The riddles are used to reflect on aspects of human existence. They give courage and warning to both young and old. They are used to advise and guide. Two parties are required in a typical riddling session. It takes a minimum of two individuals but usually a bigger group makes the session interesting. Riddles vary according to the customs, values and beliefs of a particular community.

Again, Dagaaba riddles can be in the form of a question especially the normal riddles. They have a question word at the end of the riddle only. There were riddles which contained complete statements as well as phrases. These riddles were well understood by the listeners and appropriate responses were provided. In formulating the riddle, the riddler is not only interested in the linguistic manipulation of Dagaare (language) but also how the riddle and the response sound aesthetically to the audience. The riddles were performed before or after the evening meal during moon light and sometimes when people were engaged in light work in the evening session such as shelling of maize and groundnuts.

It was noted during the study that, Dagaaba riddles use onomatopoeic words to depict the analogy of sound and rhyming however, these words do not always have specific meaning in the language but the participants understand them. This goes to confirm with Awedoba (2000) when he states that onomatopoeia provide the means for the expression of shades and nuances of meaning that conventional words like the regular nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs alone are inadequate to convey. The riddle responses can take the form of an explanation, a phrase or word.

Furthermore, the study revealed that analogical reasoning plays a critical role in the enunciation of the Dagaaba riddles. All the different types of riddles and responses demand certain degree of analogy and that involved logical reasoning skills which assist the riddlee as he works through the possibilities and probabilities until the acceptable response is gotten for a given riddle. Dagaaba riddles involve logical association of objects and actions, rather than an association of themes in the riddle questions and responses.

Also, the study shows that some Dagaaba riddles have more than one possible response; however, this does not pose challenges to participants in searching for the acceptable response. This study concurs with Maranda's (1971) observation that, the fact that one riddle image or its slight variation can attract several answers does not prove that riddles are accidental and that it only shows some metaphors are considered more generally applicable than others. There are reinventions in the Dagaaba riddles and this brings about some riddles depicting recent development.

Another finding is that, Dagaaba riddles are characterized by figurative meaning and employed both perceptual and conceptual imagery. Imagery refers to images taken collectively. The imagery paints the picture of the situation and at the same time evokes

the appropriate emotion. Imagery is often used for the sake of giving clarity to certain objects or events and they (imagery) are revealed by the material world surrounding the people. The imagery employed shortens and delivers the thought forcefully.

Not only this but also the study revealed that, for one to understand the imagery employed in the riddles, one must be familiar with the culture and have the understanding of how Dagaaba disguise movement, shape, colour, size, and the words themselves which form the responses to certain riddles. This is confirmed by Motebele, (1997) that imagery in riddles can only be understood by the people of the same locality and habits. The imagery in the riddles covers every sphere of natural and human life.

In addition to this, the study showed that Dagaaba riddles employed different types of imagery such as symbolism, parallelism, satire, repetition, simile, personification and metaphor to veil their meanings which enrich the human intellect and encourage the hidden solutions. This goes to confirm Heese & Lawton (1991) cited in Motebele (1997) who also mention some of these different types of images. A single image may serve a multiplicity of purposes.

From the study, it was realized that imagery depicts diversity of meaning in the riddles and therefore is not subject to a single interpretation since the same riddles may be interpreted differently by different scholars and therefore the analysis of the imagery in this study is based on the Dagaaba culture (Daffiama and Tuori) and context in which they were used.

Based on the research, it was identified that metaphor, personification and symbolism occur frequently; however, metaphor tops all the images. Metaphor is mostly used due partly to the way Dagaaba see nature.

Again, on the functions of imagery, the study realized that imagery in Dagaaba riddles performs explanation, enrichment, concentration and beautification functions. This goes to confirm Motebele (1997) citing Staden (1980) mentioned the four functions of imagery as functioned in Southern-Sotho proverbs and riddles. Imagery is used to create mood, atmosphere and also reveal characters in Dagaaba riddles and therefore, beautifies and serves a decorative purpose which promotes concentration.

5.3 CONCLUSIONS

Based on the evidence of the findings of the study in section 5.3, the following conclusions can be drawn: the primary purpose of the Dagaaba riddles is entertainment. However, apart from the amusement that riddles give to the people, they also constitute a formidable moral, cultural and intellectual exercise and are used as a medium for developing the people's reasoning power as well as skills in decision making.

Also, riddles empower the people with analogical and inferential reasoning knowledge which serves as a tool for creative thinking. Creative thinking is seen displayed in the people in the form of individual and group deliberations on associations that are embedded in the riddles. The individual or the group tries to analyze and appreciate correctness of the associations upon the acceptable response being given to the participants.

Furthermore, Dagaaba riddles are association of ideas, objects and actions, rather than an association of themes in the questions and responses and since the riddle is an exercise on association of ideas which are derived from observations made of nature and human life, it affords an opportunity for Dagaaba riddles to be reinvented as well as learning the Dagaaba culture.

Again, the riddles are never literal due to their use of symbolic language; and the imagery in the riddles is revealed by the material world surrounding the people. The main function of imagery is pictorial. Imagery in Dagaaba riddles paints the picture of the situation and at the same time evokes the appropriate emotion. It is metaphor that occurs frequently in Dagaaba riddles due partly to the manner Dagaaba see nature.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations have been suggested for consideration.

1. It is recommended that future research on Dagaaba riddles can focus on the syntactic analysis of the riddles as well as how the riddles reflect historical and contemporary issues.
2. It is recommended that other researchers conduct further research into the area of a comparative study of imagery in Dagaaba riddles and proverbs to probably establish the relationship between them in terms of:
 - i. What images are employed to evoke imagery and the roles of NPs and VPs in contributing to meaning in these two genres?
 - ii. Their syntactic structures and if there is any differences and / or similarities in their communicative structures.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX: A

PRIMARY DATA: Field Work – Noember, 2015.

The riddles were recorded at Daffiama and Tuori in the the Daffiama-Bussie-Issa District in the Upper West Region.

DAFFIAMA

Group A:

1. Riddle: *N ma la taa o pɔgeyaa kaŋa ka o maŋ are dɛlle dankyini lɛŋ ka zie te soɔ*

ka o gaŋ. Boŋ bal la?

‘My mother has a certain daughter who always leans against the wall until night before she lies down. What is it?’ Response: *sɛŋ* ‘A type of mat’

2. Riddle: *N ma la taa o biiri mine ka ba maŋ gaŋ popelaa tegitegi lɛ. Boŋ bal la?*

‘My mother has some children and they are always lying with their back. What is it?’ Response: *Neere* ‘Grinding stone’

3. Riddle: *Ɖmentɔnzeɛ puri kyɛ kyɛ puri kyɛ* ‘Sun shines here and there’.

Response: *Dagaŋgarema gare kyɛ kyɛ gare kyɛ*. ‘Sticks cross here and there’.

4. Riddle: *Kyileŋ ka N kyileŋ* ‘Kyileŋ I kyileŋ’

Response: *Kpããɔ yere kolee*. ‘Guinea fowl hangs a gourd’

5. Riddle *Kpaglan kpaglan* ‘Kpaglan kpaglan’

Response: *Naabin sense*. ‘Cow dung cake’

6. Riddle: *Torata kaṅa la be be a maṅ kɔ a kɔ kye ba daṅ ba bore. Boṅ bal la?*

‘There is a certain tractor that always ploughs and ploughs but they have never sown what is it?’ Response: *Dobaa* ‘pig’.

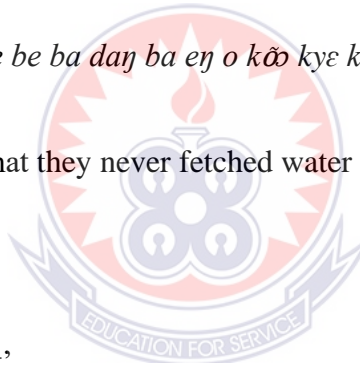
7. Riddle: *M ma kaṅa la be be ka o bie ba kyebe o koṅ baṅ di*

‘I have a certain mother when her child is not there, she cannot eat’

Response: *Neere ane nebiri* ‘A grounder and its grinding stone’

8. Riddle: *Doge kaṅa la be be ba daṅ ba eṅ o kɔ̄ kye ka o maṅ taa kɔ̄*

‘There is a pot that they never fetched water into it, yet it is always having Water’



Response: *Kugbe* ‘coconut’

9. Riddle: *Boṅ kaṅa la be be a maṅ sege kye daṅ ba la do*

‘There is something that comes down but never went up’

Response: *Saa* ‘rain’

10. Riddle: *N ma kaṅa la maṅ wuo o pee ko o tɔ ka o kpiire a noɔre*

‘I have a certain mother who weaves a basket for another woman to complete’

Response: *Kpãão* ‘Guinea fowl’

11. Riddle: *N saa ηmaa la yiri ka dendɔre kyebe*

‘My father builds a house without a door’ Response: *Gyɛle* ‘An egg’

12. Riddle: *N ma biiri mine la su kparpeele ba zaa kye are peele taa.*

‘My mother has some children and they all wear white shirts, standing close to one another’ Response: *Nyeme* ‘Teeth’

13. Riddle: *N ma kaŋa la yeli ka sɔlee na baare o biiri zaa.*

‘I have a mother who said a knife will finish all her children’

Response: *Noɔ* ‘fowl’

14. Riddle: *N saa la taa o pɔge kaŋa ka o nan tun o, o koŋ ban gaa kye ka o wa gere ka o tuuro.*

‘My father has a certain wife when he sends her, she cannot go but when he is going she follows him’ Response: *Dasuolun* ‘shadow’

15. Riddle: *Neekaŋa la ηmaa o yiri kɔɔ pɔɔ kpeere kye ba nyuuro a kɔɔ*

‘There is somebody that builds his house in water, staying there but does not drink water’ Response: *Ebaa* ‘Crocodile’

The riddles were recorded on 09/11/2015. Danyi Baalayeli was the gatekeeper.

Group B:

1. Riddle: *Tenɛ kaŋa la be be ka o noba zaa waa lezare ne pie ane bayi*

‘There is a town that has thirty-two people in all’

Response: *Noɔre ane nyeme* ‘mouth and the teeth’

2. Riddle: *Boŋ kaŋa la be be a maŋ zoro wagre zaa dan ba are*

‘There is something that always runs without stopping’ Response: *Baa* ‘A river’

3. Riddle: *Boma mine la maŋ yi tensoga ka ba ba boole a, kye bore ŋmenaa meŋ ka ba ba la zu a meŋ*

‘There are some things that come out at night without being called and get lost in the day without being stolen’ Response: *ŋmarebie* ‘stars’

4. Riddle: *N taa la N ba kaŋa ka o maŋ tuuro ma ziezaa N naŋ gere*

‘I have a certain friend who follows me wherever I go’

Response: *Dasuolon* ‘shadow’

5. Riddle: *Boŋ kaŋa la be be ka nezaa daŋ ba nye o kye ka o be ziezaa*

‘There is something that no one has ever seen before but it is everywhere’

Response: *Sasee* ‘wind’

6. Riddle: *Boŋ kaŋa la be be ka onan wa la o maŋ ko te la seemaa*

‘There is something when it laughs it gives us food’

Response: *Kyeraa* ‘achia apple’

7. Riddle: *N ba bie kaŋa la be be a maŋ tuuro o, ka o wa booro ka o e yelfaa ka a bie lee*

‘My father has a child who follows him wherever he going but when he wants to do something bad the child disappears’

8. Riddle: *Laabiliŋ duo yelaa pare* ‘Lots of earth bowls under a yelaa tree’

Response: *Bereberen duo nyaan* ‘Big breasts on the chest’

9. Riddle: *N boore waa la yaga zageŋ kye miyeniŋ leŋ a zaa*

‘My goats are many in the pen but one rope tied all of them’

Response: *Saare* ‘broom’

10. Riddle: *Nɔnyaa peeŋe ayi ũũ peeŋe taa kye ba nyere taa*

‘Two white hens incubating side by side but they don’t see each other’

Response: *Nimie* ‘eyes’

11. Riddle: *N saa taa o wiri kaŋa ka o maŋ are o zageŋ kye ka o zoore te sãã yeŋeŋ*

‘My father has a horse in the pen but its tail appeared outside’

Response: *Nyoore* ‘smoke’

12. Riddle: *Penteŋ penteŋ kubo* ‘penteŋ penteŋ stones’

Response: *Gbere waa bile kye kɔ sori* ‘A leg is small but constructed a road’

13. Riddle: *N ma biiri mine la su kparpeeŋe ba zaa kye are peeŋe taa.*

‘My mother has some children and they all wear white shirts, standing close to one another’ Response: *Nyeme* ‘Teeth’

14. Riddle: *Těě mine la be be ka neŋ wa waa bile o maŋ nyuuro a la, kye ka onaŋ wa lee neŋkpoŋ o ba la nyuuro a. Boŋ bal la?*

‘There is some medicine when one is young he always takes but as soon as he grows he stops taking it. What is it? Response: *Berekã* ‘breasts milk’

15. Riddle: *N deeme doge semie ne suroo* ‘My in-law boils bambara beans with la ladle’

Response: *Te gaa be teŋbeŋeŋ ne a ziiri* ‘Go away with the lies’

The riddles were recorded on 20/11/2015. Kansang Kpieo was the gatekeeper.

TUORI

Group A:

1. Riddle: *N ba kaŋa la yeli ka o boɔɔ la boɔ pɔgeyaa kye o ba suoro kɔɔ.*

‘There is a certain fellow who said he wanted to marry goat’s daughter but she doesn’t bath’ Response: *Dobaa* ‘pig’

2. Riddle: *N saa la taa o boŋ kaŋa fo koŋ nye o gbɛɛ weɛ sorɪŋ kye te nye a weɛŋ*

‘My father has something you will not see its foot prints on the road but when you get to the farm you see them’ Response: *Kuuri* ‘hoe’

3. Riddle: *N ba kaŋa la be be a maŋ kyɛnɛ kye taa o yiri*

‘I have a father wherever he is going he goes with his house’

Response: *Kuŋkuni* ‘tortoise’

4. Riddle: *Boŋ kaŋa la be be a taa nyuu kye ba taa zu*

‘There is something that has a neck but has no head’

Response: *Kɔlbaa* ‘bottle’

5. Riddle: *N taa la N ba kaŋa o neɛzaa ba kpi kye ka o maŋ su bonsɔglɔ*

‘I have a friend who has not lost anybody yet he is always in black’

Response: *Saala* ‘charcoal’

6. Riddle: *Boŋ kaŋa la be be ka onaj wa nyu o maŋ kpi la, kye wa di a vooro’*

‘There is something when it drinks it dies, but when it eats it survives’

Response: *Vũũ* ‘fire’

7. Riddle: *Boŋ kaŋa la be be a maŋ waana kyɛ daŋ ba ta*

‘There is something that is always coming but never arrives’

Response: *Beo* ‘tomorrow’

8. Riddle: *N saa ŋmaa la yiri koma ka dendɔre kyebe*

‘My father built a house without a door for me’. Response: *gyele* ‘An egg’

9. Riddle: *Boŋ kaŋa la be be e sɔglaa kyɛ maŋ wa kpi a e pelaa*

‘There is something that is black but when it dies it becomes white’

Response: *Saala* ‘charcoal’

10. Riddle: *Ɖmanee naŋ kyɛŋ pɛɛ poɔ aŋ nyɛ o gbɛɛ?*

‘Who sees the foot prints of a dove when it walks in the basket?’

Response: *Paare naŋ la aŋ nyɛ o nyemɛ?*

‘Who sees the teeth of a vagina when it laughs?’

11. Riddle: *N ba kaŋa la be be a maŋ leŋ noɔre kyɛ de kpɛ daa*

‘I have a certain fellow who refuses himself food but sends it to market’

Response: *Nyiraa* ‘An ant’

12. Riddle: *N saa la taa o nekaŋa ka o ba nyɛrɛ kyɛ maŋ baŋ yeli la yelzaa yele*

‘My father has somebody who cannot see yet knows everything and always

talks’ Response: *zele* ‘tongue’

13. Riddle: *Vintin vintimmu*. ‘Vintin vintimmu’

Response: *Pɔntere ɲmantummu* ‘Toad’s untreated calabash’

b. Riddle: *Vintin vintimm Vintin vintimmu*’

Response: *Pɔntere mɔɲ doɔre* ‘Toad cooked dawadawa flour’

c. Riddle: *Vintin vintimmu*. ‘Vintin vintimmu’

Response: *Ka o sere di beere* ‘And her husband ate and fell ill’

14. Riddle: *N saa la taa o dibilee kaɲa ka foɲ wa kpe o ka fo toɲ toma fo maɲ lee la yeɲyaa*.

‘My father has a certain small room when you enter it to work, you become mad’ Response: *Sunsuɲɔ* ‘bathroom’

15. Riddle: *Dampuori kɔrema kɔrenveve*

‘A partridge behind the house in a low flying motion’

Response *Dendɔre kyeraa kyere gɔnnɔ gɔnnɔ*

‘Achia apple tree in front of a house full of bends’

The riddles were recorded on 11/11/2015. Dakurah Nestor was the gatekeeper.

Group B:

1. Riddle: *N ma la yere seŋ ko ma ka N koŋ toɔ pinli o*

‘My mother spread a mat for me which I cannot roll’ Response: *Sori* ‘road’

2. Riddle: *Boŋ kaŋa la be be bebie o maŋ yi ne la vaa kyɛ ka ŋmenaa ka o e sɔglaa*

‘There is something in the morning it is like leaves but in the afternoon it is black’ Response: *Haaraa* ‘blackberry’

3. Riddle: *Boŋ kaŋa la be be a taa nyemɛ yaga kyɛ o ba dire*

‘There is something that has a lot of teeth but it doesn’t eat’

Response: *Kyaara* ‘Comb’

4. Riddle: *N ma kaŋa la taa o yoe mine ayi ka foŋŋ wa nye a naŋ taa koɔ saana kpe la a yiri. Boŋ la a?*

‘A certain mother of mine has two pots and any time they are filled with water it means there is stranger in the house. What is it?’

Response: *Bere* ‘breasts’

5. Riddle: *N ba la taa o bie kaŋa ka onaŋ wa kyɛnɛ o meŋ maŋ kyɛnɛ la, ka o wa are ka o meŋ are. Boŋ bal la ?*

‘My friend has a certain child whenever he is walking the child is also walking and when he stops, the child also stops. What is it?’

Response: *Dasuoluŋ* ‘shadow’

6. Riddle: *N ba kaŋa la maŋ gaŋ dieŋ kyɛ ka o teene saa yeŋe*

‘I have a father who lies in the room and the beard appears outside’

Response: *Nyoore* ‘smoke’

7. Riddle: *N saa la taa o yɔɔ kaŋa ka o maŋ tuuro o kyɛ ka onaŋ wa boɔrɔ ka o e yelfaa ka o lee*

‘My father has a brother who always moves with him but when he wants to do something bad he returns and leaves him’ Response: *Dasuolun* ‘shadow’

8. Riddle: *N ma kaŋa la e sɔglaa kyɛ maŋ dɔge o bie ka o e pelaa*

‘There is a certain mother who is black but always gives birth to a child who is white’ Response: *Saala* ‘Charcoal’

9. Riddle: *N saa ŋmaa la yiri kaŋa ko ma ka N yon kpeere*

‘My father built a certain house for me that I stay in alone’

Response: *Nɔteɛ* ‘foot wear’

10. Riddle: *Boŋ kaŋa la be be a taa gbɛɛ kyɛ o ba kyɛne*

‘There is something that has legs but it doesn’t walk’ Response: *Dakogo* ‘stool’

11. Riddle: *N ma taa o bileere mine ka ba maŋ gaŋ popeele te nyãã zie*

‘My mother has some babies and they always lie with their backs till day break’

Response: *Neere* ‘grinding stone’

12. Riddle: *N ma kaŋa la e sɔglaa kyɛ maŋ dɔge o bie ka o e pelaa*

‘I have a certain mother who is black but always gives birth to a child who is white’ Response: *Saala* ‘Charcoal’

13. Riddle: *Lɛŋbɛrɛɛ daa kɔɔ kpele* 'Lɛŋbɛrɛɛ tree break once'

Response: *Nen-yeni ba dɔgrɔ gandaa.* 'A hero is not born by one person'

14. Riddle: *Pɔge ne o bie la tu sori gɛrɛ ka saa te pɔɔrɔ a pɔge kyɛ bare a bie.*

'A woman and her child were travelling and it was raining on the woman leaving the child' Response: *pɔgepɔɔ* 'pregnant woman'

15. Riddle: *N ba kaŋa la be be a maŋ de wɛɛ zie zaa ye naŋ gɛrɛ kyɛ o ba puoro noba*

'I have a certain father who takes the lead wherever we are going but doesn't greet people' Response: *Yoɔre* 'Penis'.

The riddles were recorded on 16/11/2015. Banungzaala Samba was the gatekeeper.

Group C:

1. Riddle: *Boŋ kaŋa la be be ka foŋ wa toŋ o, o ba maŋ gaa see ka fo ŋmɛ o zuŋ*

'There is something when you send it; it will not go unless you knock its head'

Response: *Pimbiri* 'nail'

2. Riddle: *Boŋ kaŋa la be be ka foŋ wa taa o, fo maŋ boɔrɔ la ka fo po, ka foŋ wa po o*

meŋ fo ba la taa o

'There is something when you have it you want to share it; if you share it you

don't have it' Response: *Pɔɔyeli* 'Secret'

3. Riddle: *Sɔgloo be tандаа pare* 'darkness under bamboo tree'

Response: *Dɛgreŋ be nyɛmɛ sɛɛ* 'filth beneath the teeth'

4. Riddle: *Boŋ kaŋa la be be a maŋ taa gbɛɛ anaare bebie, ayi ŋmenaa, ka zimaane aŋ e ata.*

‘There is something which has four legs in the morning, two legs in the afternoon and three legs in the evening’ Response: *Nensaala* ‘Human being’

5. Riddle: *Taŋa zu taŋaa naŋ kpi ka ba yeli ka ware la ko, ka baa taŋaa meŋ naŋ kpi boŋ ko o?*

‘When a Shea nut tree on top of the hill died, they said it is because of drought, what about the one in the valley that also died?’

Response: *Zoŋ bie naŋ kpi ka ba yeli ka soɔbo la ko, ka soɔbo bie meŋ naŋ kpi aŋ ko o?*

‘When the blind person’s child died, they said it is the work of the witch, what about the witch’s child that also died?’

6. Riddle: *N taa la biiri bata, ka kagan ba kyebe, bayi koŋ baŋ toŋ toma*

‘I have three children, if one is absent, two cannot work’

Response: *Dããkubo* ‘hearth stones’

7. Riddle: *N makoma la taa o biiri mine ka ba maŋ lee ba zuri tee taa ka o dɔgle*

‘My grandmother has some children and they always put their heads side by side for her to lie on them’ Response: *Sembie* ‘rafters’

8. Riddle: *N ma kaŋa la be be see saŋa o ba maŋ taa zu kɔɔloŋ kye ka unoni ka a buli.*

Boŋ bal la?

‘I have a certain mother, in the raining season she has no hair on her head but in the dry season the hair grows. What is it?’

Response: *Gɔzãŋaa* ‘A type of tree’

9. Riddle: *N saa naasɔglɔ mine la bebe a kpeere tuuŋ. Boŋ la a?*

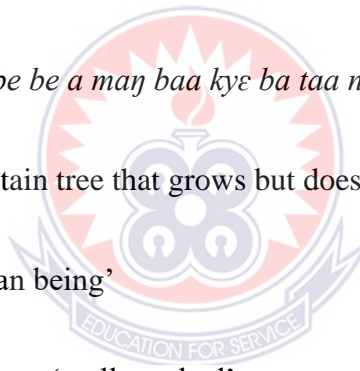
‘My father has some black cattle that stay in the forest. What is it?’

Response: *Kpibii* ‘lice’

10. Riddle: *Daa kaŋa la be be a maŋ baa kye ba taa nyaga. Boŋ bal la?*

‘There is a certain tree that grows but does not have roots. What is it?’

Response: *Nensaala* ‘human being’



11. Riddle: *Dankyini pakama* ‘wall cracked’

Response: *Ka nanne kpe pa* ‘And scorpions entered and filled’.

12. Riddle: *N ma la taa o boŋ kaŋa ka onanŋ wa gere ne o, o ba maŋ tori kye wa lee waana*

ka o tori

‘My mother has something when she is going with it; it is crooked but on her returns it is straight’ Response: *Yuori* ‘pot’

13. Riddle: *Kyu yeni kye pore laare zie zaa* ‘One moon yet it brightens everywhere’.

Response: *Saalɔŋ yeni kye doge n sene zεere*

‘One okro yet prepares soup for my boyfriend’

14. Riddle: *Dɔɔ kaŋa la be be a maŋ doge omeŋa biiri ka ba leε baa gaŋ o. Boŋ bal la?*

‘There is a certain man that gives birth to his own children and they grow more than him. What is it? Response: *yɔɔre* ‘penis’

15. Riddle: *Boŋ kaŋa la be be a taa zu ane gbere yoŋ, kye maŋ zoro wagre zaa*

‘There is something that has only a head and a foot and is always running’

Response: *Baa* ‘River’

The riddles were recorded on 27/11/2015. Dapilah Bal was the gatekeeper.



APPENDIX: B

SECONDARY DATA: Written Documents

MARK, K. K. ALI (2010):

1. Riddle: *Suusuuree daa kɔɔ kpele* 'suusuuree tree breaks once'

Response: *Neɲyeni ba dɔgrɔ gandaa* 'A hero is not born by one person'

2. Riddle: *Tempeloɲ puri ne doge* 'A pot burst with ash'

Response: *Dakoɔre kpi ne tegre* 'A bachelor dies with satisfaction (eating)'

3. Riddle: *Dakyin suglo pie* 'A wall join together ten times'

Response: *Ɔmaadakoraa lane*. 'An old monkey testes'

4. Riddle: *Dakyin ɲmaa gbegli* 'A short wall gbegli'

Response: *Ka boɔre maɲ vare do*. 'And goats always jump on'

5. Riddle: Riddle: *Dankyini pakama* 'Wall cracked'.

Response: *Ka nanne kpe pa* 'And scorpions entered and filled'

6. Riddle: *Kyuu vaa ɔlɔlɔ* 'A moon leaf ɔlɔlɔ'

Response: *Ɔmarebiri kyononno*. 'A star brightens kyononno'

7. Riddle: *N saa la taa o biiri mine ka ba ɲmaara teere gaɲ ba wogri. Boɲ bal la?*

'My father has some children and the short ones are shooting more than the

tall ones. What is it?' Response: *puluɲ*. 'Spear grass'

8. Riddle: *Te de la pɔge velaa ka o yeli ka te ta seene o. Boŋ bal la?*

‘We have married a beautiful wife and she says we should not touch her.

What is it?’ Response: *Nan* ‘scorpion’

9. Riddle: *Vileŋ vileŋ pori* ‘Vileŋ vileŋ pori’ Response: *Baa gaa zie* ‘dog sleeping place’

10. Riddle: *N saa la taa o pɔge kaŋa ka onan wa boɔɔ ka o so kɔɔ o man yage la o pɔɔ*

nyaga zaa sere. Boŋ bal la?

‘My father has a certain wife when she wants to bath, she always remove all her

intestines before, what is it?’ Response: *Kapuro* ‘pillow’

11. Riddle: *Datigeŋ datigeŋ* ‘*Datigeŋ datigeŋ*’

Response: *Dmaadaa le tambɔgeŋ* ‘A male monkey fell in a pond’

12. Riddle: *Pɔge parefane koŋ nye bipɔɔ.*

‘A woman under with pimples yet will not allow young men to go’

Response: *Zeduglifane koŋ doge zεvaare.*

‘A rough cooking pot yet will not cook vegetables soup’

PUOTEGE, J. (2009):

1. Riddle: *Tampeloŋ logɔ logɔ da naa leε zɔŋ* ‘Smooth ash that should have been flour’

Response: *Wiri gyao da naa buli eεε* ‘A well built horse that should have grown horns’

2. Riddle: *Tampeloŋ pa doge* ‘a pot ful of with ash’

Response: *Dakɔba pa yiri* ‘A house ful of bachelors’

3. Riddle: *Zεŋε kaŋ N zεŋε* ‘Zεŋε kaŋ N zεŋε’

Response: *wɔɔ tuo daare* ‘Elephant carry wood’

4. Riddle: *Tengbam tengbam* ‘Tengbam tengbam’

Response: *naazee eele* ‘Red cow horns’

5. Riddle: *N ba kana la be be ka o nan wa boole fo, fo kon ban zagre.*

‘I have a certain friend when he calls you, you cannot refuse’.

Response: *Kũũ* ‘death’.

6. Riddle: *Kogzu dabil baale a nii* ‘Eight sticks on kogzu

Response: *Kũũ tuuri a biveele zaa baare.*

‘Death has finished selecting all the fine children’

7. Riddle: *Tasɔle zo kpɛ bogi* ‘A lizard ran into a hole’

Response: *Ye ta sage ka yiẽu di.* ‘Don’t allow evil to happen’

8. Riddle: *Bozee bosɔglaa* ‘A red goat, a black goat’

Response: *Nanyige en beron.* ‘A thief becomes fat’

9. Riddle: *Bagoolɔ zɛn bagoolɔ zemaa* ‘Bagoolɔ zɛn bagoolɔ zemaa’

Response: *Gɔmɔteebo zɛn dankyin see.* ‘A chameleon sat by the wall’

KYOORE, P. K. S. (2010):

1. Riddle: *Vã vĩ vãã ko loporon.* ‘Vã vĩ vãã ko loporon’

Response: *Ka fo wa nyɛ walee te nee nyɛ.* ‘When you see a small snake step on it and see’.

2. Riddle: *Sibiri va kakala nyaan* ‘A bee beats kakala chest’ (kakala; a type of tree)

Response: *Kũũ nyɔge pɔlkpeɛnaa nuɲ* ‘Death grabs a strong young man by the hand’

3. Riddle: *Boŋkaŋa la be be ka onan wa boɔrɔ ka o zu o man dan tane la.*

‘There is something when it wants to steal, it shouts before’

Response: *Saa* ‘rain’

4. Riddle: *Gbogborikyile koŋ ka hũũ wãã hũũ wãã*

‘A hyena cries with joy *hũũ wãã hũũ wãã*’

Response: *Pɔgenyaanƙpoŋ kɔre ka ɛɛ hem, ɛɛ hem*

‘An old lady coughs with pain *ɛɛ hem, ɛɛ hem*’

