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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

iii

PROFILE OF PROFESSOR FLORENCE ABENA DOLPHYNE

Figure 1: Professor Florence Abena Dolphyne

Professor Florence Abena Dolphyne holds a PhD in Phonetics and Linguistics from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. She obtained her first degree, a BA Honours in English, from the University College of Ghana (now University of Ghana) in 1961.

She began her career as a Lecturer at the University of Ghana in 1965. She rose through the ranks and earned the status of Professor of Linguistics in 1996. During this period, she became the first female Pro Vice-Chancellor of the University. Earlier, she served as the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Head of the Department of Linguistics. She served on the University of Ghana Council and was the Hall Warden of Volta Hall. Altogether, she served the University of Ghana for 36 years, from 1965 to 2001. The last three years were her post-retirement service.

Professor Dolphyne held visiting scholar positions in other universities. These include University of Ibadan, Nigeria; Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone; Michigan State University, and University of California, Los Angeles. She is a Fulbright Senior Scholar.

Professor Dolphyne's research interest is in Instrumental Phonetics, Phonological Theory, Phonology of the Akan language and its dialects, the Phonology of English and its variations in Ghanaian English, Historical Linguistics with reference to Akan, Language in Education in Ghana with reference to the place of Ghanaian languages and English, especially at the Primary school level.

In her active research years, Prof. Dolphyne produced key publications that influenced the discipline. Among these are: A phonological analysis of Twi vowels; A classification of Akan verb stems; Dialect differences and historical processes in Akan; The Brong (Bono) dialect of Akan; Tone and grammar in Akan: the tone of possessive constructions in the Asante dialect; The Akan (Twi and Fante) language: Its sound systems and tonal structure; A course in oral English; A Course in oral English: Teachers' handbook.

Professor Dolphyne's contribution to the discipline of Linguistics went beyond her teaching and research at the University of Ghana. She was instrumental in the work of the Linguistics Circle of Accra, the precursor to the Linguistics Association of Ghana, as well as the West African Linguistics Society (WALS).

Professor Dolphyne has made a huge impact not only in the field of academia but also in national development and Christianity in Ghana. She was the Vice Chair for the National Council on Women and Development and later became Chairperson for the Council. She was the Chairperson of the Ghana Education Service (2002-2006). She also served as a Board Member of the Ghana Education Trust Fund and VALCO Trust Fund. She also served on the Council for National Reconciliation Commission (2002-2004). She has held the positions of first and second Vice President of the Bible Society of Ghana. She was a member of Methodist University College Council and has been a Conference Member of Methodist Church, Ghana since 1999.

In recognition of her sustained role in the development of higher education in Ghana, Prof. Dolphyne was awarded an honorary doctorate (D.Litt) by the University of Ghana in 2004.

Guest Editor,

Prof. Gordon S.K. Adika

ON NOMINALIZING THE SERIAL VERB IN MABIA LANGUAGES

Adams Bodomo
Hasiyatu Abubakari
Dewei Che

Abstract

Verb serialization and nominalization are two prominent phenomena in descriptive and theoretical syntax. This paper raises a number of issues that result from the interaction between these two widely attested phenomena in the literature: nominalization (e.g. Chomsky 1970, Roeper 1993, Alexiadou 2011, Lieber 2016) and verb serialization (e.g. Foley and Olson 1985, Baker 1989, Bodomo 1993, Lord 1993, Collins 1997, Stewart 2001, Foley 2010, Haspelmath 2016). Based on data from Dagaare and Kusaal, two Mabia languages of West Africa, this paper analyses a serial verb construction which is a type of complex predicate construction in which all the verbs in a series are nominalized, with only one of the verbs carrying the nominalization affix (Bodomo and Oostendorp 1993, Bodomo 2004, Hiraiwa, Bodomo 2008, and Abubakari 2011). Such a rare complex predicate construction is then the basis for renewed questions about the nature of complex predicatehood, diathetic syntactic alternations, and lexical categorial differences involving nouns and verbs across languages. The paper proposes a syntactic representation of these nominalized serial verbal predicates in which the verbal predicates are basically interpreted as VPs headed by a nomP functional projection. Semantically, we propose that nominalized serial verbs, like their purely verbal counterparts, express a complex event. It is thus concluded that while verbal and nominal predicates obtain from the same minimal constructs, the difference between pure serial verbs and nominalized serial verbs is due to the fact that a semantic feature, [+nom], parallel to the syntactic functional projection, nomP, imposes nominal features on the whole complex. This analysis is extended to complex verbal constructions in English.

Keywords: Syntax, lexical semantics, complex verbal constructions, nominalization, serial verb constructions, Dagaare, Kusaal, English.

1. Introduction[1]

This paper analyses a type of complex predicate construction in Dagaare and Kusaal (two members of the Mabia branch of the Niger-Congo language family, spoken in West Africa by about five million people) involving not only verb phrase (VP) phenomena but also noun phrase (NP) phenomena. Specifically, this concerns the nominalization of serial verbal predicates. We term this nominalized serial verbal predicates or even serial verb nominalization (SVN) (Bodomo and Oostendorp 1993). The construction in (1b) which is an example from Dagaare, serves as a first example of the phenomenon. As can be seen, the last of the verbs in the SVC in (1a), *dí* 'eat' is nominalized and the object NP *à tàŋmà* 'the shea fruits' is preposed.

(1) a. ***dɛ́rɛ́   nà   zó   gàà   dí   lá   á   tàŋmà***
        Dery   FUT   run   go   eat   FOC   DEF   shea fruit.PL
        'Dery will go and eat the shea fruits (by running)'

     b. ***à   tàŋmà   zó   gàà   díí-ú***
        DEF   shea fruit.PL   run   go   eat-NOM
        'The run go eating of the shea fruits' i.e.
        Running there in order to eat the shea fruits

In Kusaal, on the other hand, a prefix *à-* is introduced before V$_1$ which scopes over the entire complex structure by nominalizing all the verbs as illustrated in (2b).

(2) a. **Bá   dàà   zɔ̃   kĩŋ   dī   táˈámá**
        3PL   PAST   ran   go   eat   shea fruits
        'They run and went and ate shea fruits.'

     b. **à-zɔ́-kiŋ-dí-táˈamá**
         NOM-ran-go-eat-shea fruit
         'the act of running to go and eat shea fruit/running in order to go and eat shea fruits'

    The non-trivial effect of these syntactic alternations is that the whole verbal construction is now a nominalized construction. The consequence of this alternation is that the original SVC, headed by a VP, is now headed by an NP or a determiner phrase (DP). The

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[1]The following are among abbreviations that have been used throughout the paper for interlinear translations. Other abbreviations not listed here have been explained in situ:

1.SG. = First person singular pronoun; 3.SG = Third person singular pronoun; COMP = Complementizer; DEF = Definite article; DEM = Demonstrative item; DET = Determiner; FOC = Focus; FUT = Future tense marker; IMP = Imperfective aspect; INTENS = Intensifier; LOC = Locative marker; NEG = Negative marker; NOM = Nominative case marker; OBJ = Object; PAST = Past tense marker; PERF = Perfective aspect; PL = Plural; SG = Singular; SUBJ = Subject.

SVN construction is therefore an interface zone for VP and NP phenomena, bringing issues of serialization and nominalization in focus.

Even though nominalization and verb serialization are widely attested phenomena in the generative linguistic literature, there exists only a little published attempt at accounting for the interaction between the two grammatical phenomena (see Bodomo 2004). The Dagaare and Kusaal data presented here can be used for further debate and analysis on these syntactic and semantic phenomena across languages. Aspects of the data and analysis on Dagaare, in this work, are sourced from Bodomo (2004). The paper will focus more on issues of description than formalization.

The paper is organized as follows: First, since SVN partially involves NP phenomena, we give a brief presentation and representation of the facts of the Dagaare and the Kusaal NPs in section 1, mainly using the DP hypothesis. We look at the structure of Dagaare and Kusaal nominal phrases in section 2. In section 3, we present the SVN facts, and offer in section 4 a syntactic representation of SVNs in the DP hypothesis, along with Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG)-type functional structures to capture certain syntactic alternations in the SVN. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. The Structure of the Nominal Phrase in Dagaare and Kusaal

We begin this section of the paper with a discussion of the basic structure of the Dagaare and the Kusaal noun phrases, including information on earlier studies and a brief discussion about some issues of constituency in the noun phrase. The following sentences in (2) and (3) illustrate simple Dagaare and Kusaal noun phrases, along with some basic facts about grammatical categorial markings within the noun phrases in these languages.

(3) a. ***à   gán-è   é   lá   bɛ́róŋ***   Dagaare
         DEF   book.SG   be   FOC   fat
         'The book is fat.'

     b. ***gámá   lá   kà   ǹ   bóɔ́-rɔ̀***
         book.PL   FOC   COMP   1.SG   want-IMP
         'It is books that I want.'

(4) a. ***gbán   lá   àn   títáˈr***   Kusaal
         book   DEF   COP   big
         'The book is big.'

     b. ***gbáná   kà   ǹ   dāˈ***
         book-PL FOC   1SG   buy
         'It is books that I bought.'

(5) a. ***ǹ   dà   dé   lá   áyúó   bíé   gán-è***   Dagaare
         1.SG   PAST   take   FOC   Ayuo   child   book-SG
         'I took Ayuo's child's book.'

b.   *áyúó*   *bíé*   *gán-è*   *é*   *lá*   *gán-vílàà*   *yágà*
         Ayuo   child   book-SG   be   FOC   book-good   INTENS
         'Ayuo's child's book is a very good one.'

(6)   a.   *ǹ*   *sà*   *dīˈē*   *Àdúk*   *bííg*   *gbán*   Kusaal
         1SG   PAST   take   Aduk   child   book
         'I took Aduk's child book.'

b.   *Àdúk*   *bííg*   *gbán*   *lá*   *àn*   *gbán-súm*   *hálé*
         Aduk   child   book   DEF   COP   book-good   INTENS
         'Aduk's child boom is a good one.'

As can be seen in (3-4), the grammatical categories, number and definiteness are overtly marked and distinguished within the Dagaare and Kusaal noun phrases. The noun, *gáne* (Dagaare) and *gbán* (Kusaal) 'book' alternates between a singular and a plural form. Also, the definite form of this same noun is preceded by the definite marker, *á* in Dagaare while same is followed by the definite marker *lá* in Kusaal. However, the indefinite form does not have any such items marking it.

Case and gender, on the other hand, do not have overt markings within the Dagaare and Kusaal lexical noun phrases. This is illustrated in (5-6), where there is no morphological difference in the nominative/subjective and accusative/objective occurrences of the noun phrase, *Áyúó bíé gáne*⟨ 'Ayuo's child's book' and *Àdúk bíig gbán* 'Aduk's child book in Dagaare and Kusaal respectively. Gender, as mentioned, is not also overtly marked, as there is no morphological difference between the nominative and genitive uses of the first person pronoun, *ń*, in both languages. Earlier studies of the nominal phrase in Dagaare, Kusaal and other related languages give us more substantial facts for understanding the nature of noun phrases and nominalization in Dagaare and Kusaal.

2.1. Earlier Studies

Earlier studies of the Dagaare noun phrase include Angkaaraba (1980), Bodomo (1993), Bodomo and Oostendorp (1993) and Bendor-Samuel (1971). The latter is a study of general Mabia NP, Mabia being the group of languages Dagaare and other Mabia languages belong to. Previous studies of NP/DP in Kusaal include Abubakari 2011; 2018)

a)   Angkaaraba (1980)
Whereas Bendor-Samuel (1971) claims a very simple NP structure for Mabia languages, including Dagaare, for example suggesting that only one adjective could follow a head noun, the much richer possible structure of Dagaare NPs was clearly laid out in Angkaaraba (1980). The diagram below shows the complexity of the Dagaare noun phrase, according to Angkaaraba (1980):

(7)

6	4	2	0	1	2				3
					.2	.4	.6	.8	
Art	np	nm	NH	(pl)	Adj	Adj	Adj	Adj	(pl)

4	6	7	8		10
			.2	.4	
Q	D	(pl)	int	int	loc

Key: Art - Article; np - nominal phrase; nm- noun modifier; NH; Noun Head; pl - plural; Adj - Adjective; Q - Quantifier; D - Demonstrative; int - intensifier; loc - locative. Even numbers show slots where major constituents of the nominal phrase occur, while odd numbers indicate affixes of the preceding item.

  According to the diagram, the head noun can be followed by adjectives, quantifiers, demonstratives, intensifiers, and locative markers. On the other hand, it can be preceded by modifiers, another noun phrase, and articles. Indeed, contrary to Bendor-Samuel (1971) which claims that Mabia languages never exhibit a string of adjectives after the head noun, this actually happens in Dagaare according to Angkaaraba (1980). The following construction illustrates this and all the other structures in the diagram:

(8)   **à**   **ń**   **bíé**   **ngá**   **sùkúúlí**   **gán**   **bíl**   **zí**   **wóg**   **sòn-né**
    DEF   my   child   this   school   book   small   red   long   good-PL

    átà   **ámà**   **záá**   **pàà**   **póɔ́**
    three   these   all   INTENS   LOC
    'Among all these three small red long good school books of this my child'
    'Gán' is the head noun. It is followed by as many as four adjectives.

b)   Bodomo (1993)

This study builds on Angkaaraba (1980). While Angkaaraba (1980) sets only a maximum of four adjectives to follow the head, we can have more than that, as shown below.

(9)   *à*   *gán*   *bíl*   *zí*   *wóg*   *bàà*   *sòn-né*   *ná*
      DEF   book   small   red   long   slender   good-PL   those
      'Those small, red, long, slender, good books'

c)   Abubakari (2018)

This work observes that a series of adjectives can follow the head noun in a flexible order in Kusaal. Aside nationality which must precede the head noun, colour, shape, size, and quality can be reordered in a series of adjectival stacking in the language. Number can either be marked on the last adjective in the series or on all the adjectives in the series but not on only the first or any medial adjective.

(10) *gbáná*   *àtáˈ*   *títáˈdá sábìlá*   *vénlá*   *lá*
      book-PL   three   big-PL black-PL   nice-PL   DEF
      'The three beautiful black books'

      In effect, the argument about whether strings of adjectives can or can never follow a noun head in Mabia is partly also an argument about whether we consider nouns and adjectives to form one or more than one word. This issue may be clarified when we look at the following data in (11) from Dagaare, (12) from Mampruli and (13) from Kusaal respectively.

(11)   a.   *yírí*   'house'
             yíé   'houses'
             zéέ   'red'
             kpóńg   'big'

 but

       b.   *yí-zéέ*
             house-red
             'red house'

             yí-zéέ -ré
             house-red-PL
             'red houses'

> ***yí-zé-kpóńg***
> house-red-big
> 'red big house'

> ***yí-zé-kpón-ní***
> house-red-big-PL
> 'red big houses'

Mampruli

(12) a. *gbangngu*   'book'
      bila   'small'
      gyia   'red'

but

    b.   ***gbang-bili-gyea***
        book-small-red
        'small red book'

        gbang-bili-gyee-se
        book-small-red-PL
        'small red books'

Kusaal

(13) a. ***búʋg***   'goat'
      búʋs   'goats'
      bíl   'small'
      bílá   'small-PL'
      zɛ́nˈɔ̀ǵɔ̀   'red'
      zɛ́nˈɛ́d   *'red-PL'*

    b.   ***bʋ́-bíl-zɛ́nˈɔ́g***
        goat-small-red
        'small red goat'

        bʋ́-bíl-zɛ́nˈɛ́d
        goat-small-red-PL
        'small red goats'

In all three languages, as can be seen from the data, only the root form of the noun, thus the part without any inflectional suffix, is available when the noun takes on one or more adjectives.

Indeed, adjectives also lose part of their endings when they combine with a following adjective in which instance the noun and adjective(s) can be seen as forming one word. This observation is supported by the fact that the plural of the whole complex appears at the end of the last adjective in Dagaare while it may appear on all the series or only on the last adjective in Kusaal.

Looking at these constructions in Dagaare, Mampruli and Kusaal as single words would probably be the only way to defend the claim made by Bendor-Samuel (1971) that a noun (word) is never followed by a string of adjectives (as separate words) in Mabia. Even then the data do not dispute the fact that a noun or its stem is followed by adjectives or adjectival stems. This therefore shows that the data from these languages confirm the fact that the structure of the nominal phrase in Mabia is much more complex than observed by earlier works.

d)   Bodomo and Oostendorp (1993)

This study even went further to show more complexities of the nominal phrase in terms of processes such as serial verb nominalization. Besides the descriptive advances, the study gave a formalization of the nominal phrase structure within the DP hypothesis of the GB grammatical framework.

The noun phrase has traditionally been described as that part of the sentence headed by the noun or pronoun. However, there are analyses within the linguistic literature (e.g. Hellan 1986, Abney 1987) that have challenged this conventional wisdom, arguing that the noun phrase is headed by the determiner, in which case then one would talk of the Determiner Phrase (DP). In this work we do not undertake an evaluation of which of the two approaches are better suited for nominal phrase formalization; we simply attempt to show how the DP approach can represent SVNs.

Abney (1987) argues that the determiner within the noun phrase should be analyzed as a functional head like other functional or non-lexical items such as INFL and COMP. In the same way that we have IP and CP in many languages of the world it is rational to have a DP cross-linguistically, according to this hypothesis. The DP is assumed to contain elements like determiners and demonstratives, and quantifiers. Quantifier phrase (QP) contains elements like numerals and other quantifier heads or phrases, as shown in (14).

(14)
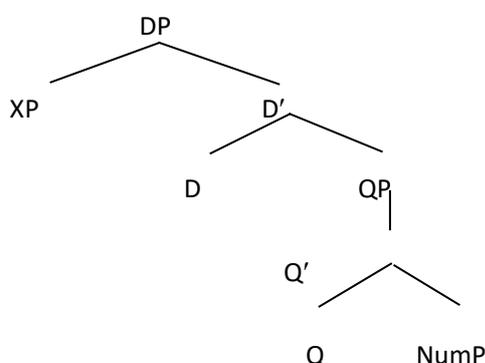
Now look at the Dagaare DPs in (15):

(15) a.   ***à***   ***ɔ́r-rɛ̀***   ***ámɛ̀***   ***áyì***
        DEF   berry-PL   DEM.PL   two
        'These two berries'

     b.   ***báyúó gán bìl- zì- wóg- bààl- sòn-né áyì***
        Bayuo book small red   long   slender good-PL   two
        'Bayuo's two small, red, long, slender, good books.'

Apart from the determiner, *á*, and possessive phrases, all elements in these phrases follow the head noun. Tentatively, we may conclude that this means that, except for DP, all projections in the Dagaare nominal phrase are head final. We thus get the structures in (16b) and (16c) for (15a) and (15b) respectively (some of the irrelevant intermediary structure is omitted):

(16) a.

b.

```
                      QP
                   ╱      ╲
                 DP         Q
               ╱    ╲       │
            NumP      D    áyí
           ╱    ╲     │
         DP     Num   ámὲ
         │       │
       á-ɔ́r-     rè
```

c.

```
                              DP
                           ╱      ╲
                         DP        D′
                         │       ╱    ╲
                       báyúó    D      QP
                                │    ╱    ╲
                                Ø  DemP     Q
                                  ╱    ╲     │
                               NumP  Dem    áyí
                              ╱   ╲    │
                            AP    Num  Ø
                          ╱   ╲    │
                        AP     A   né
                      ╱   ╲    │
                    AP     A  son-
                   ╱  ╲    │
                 NP    A  baal-
                 │     │
               gán    wóg
```
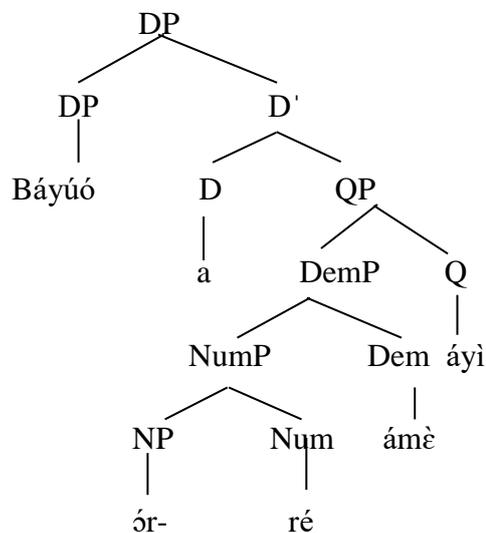
Contrary to what we claimed above, the demonstratives and determiners have been given their own projections here. This is not a matter of necessity. We could also assume a structure as in (16c). In this structure all nominal functional projections are right-headed. The determiner *à* behaves as a clitic, coindexed with D^0. [2]

e) Abubakari (2011): The Derivation of the DP in Kusaal

Abubakari (2011:12) shows that the DP in Kusaal is strictly head final on the surface: (Poss) N Adj Num Dem (Q). It is only the quantifier that occurs after the demonstrative or determiner as the case may be. Within the NP, the head noun, apart from cases involving the possessor, is the initial element with all modifiers occurring as postnominal elements. The postnominal elements in Kusaal correspond to one of the orders allowed by Greenberg's (1963) Universal 20. It will be assumed following the work of Cinque (2005:318) that the word order of the DP in this language is derived by movement of the NP. The NP is assumed to undergo successive movement to the specifier position of its dominating node and pied-piping the entire category that dominates it to the next Spec. This continues successively until the desired order is derived. The structure below is used as an illustration following Cinque (2005:318).

(17) a. *Múfá   gbáná   títáˈdá ànú   lá*
　　 Mufa   book-PL   big-PL five   DEF
　　 'Mufa's five big books'

---

[2] Regarding the representation of A's as heads in (16b), our attention has been drawn to the idea that in most DP analyses As are represented as complements and not as heads. We will like to believe, however, that the Dagaare data seem to justify the representation of As as heads. In any case, some studies treat adjectives as heads [of AGR] in a French construction like: *La fille intelligente* 'The intelligent girl.'

b.
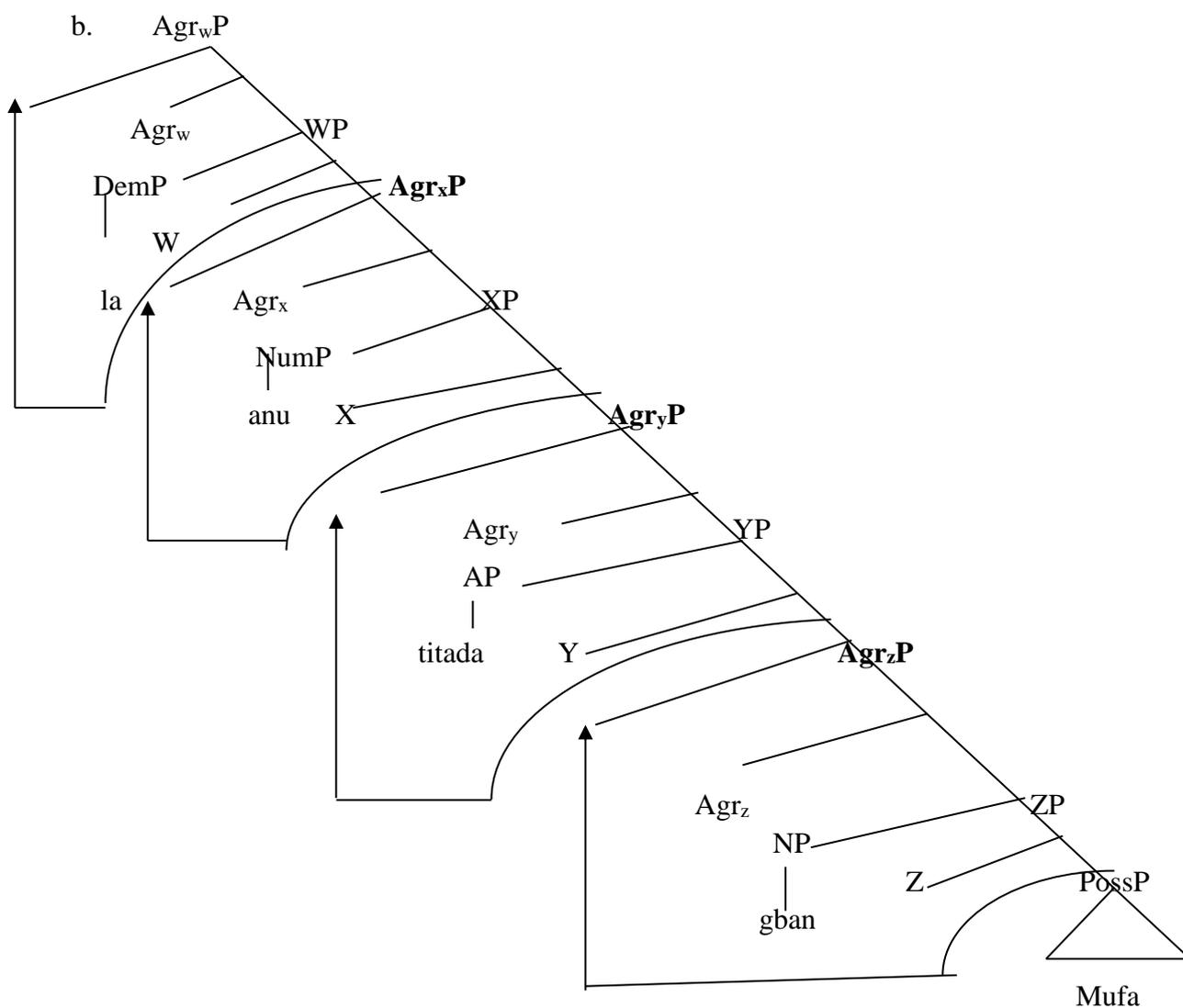
PossP '*Mufa*' moves to Spec Agr$_z$P to derive '*Mufa gban*'. Agr$_z$P moves to Spec Agr$_y$P to derive '*Mufa gban titada*'. The entire Agr$_y$P '*Mufa gban titada*' also moves to Spec Agr$_x$P to form '*Mufa gban titada anu*' Then Agr$_x$P also moves to Spec Agr$_w$P deriving the order '*Mufa gban titada anu la*' "Mufa's five big books". This derivation corresponds to the order Poss N A Num Dem.

Having now given a survey of earlier treatments of the Dagaare and the Kusaal nominal phrases and a short representation of this in the DP framework, we shall in the next subsection state the facts of nominalization in both languages.

2.2. Nominalization in Dagaare and Kusaal

Nominalization is a process which involves the formation of nouns from verbs and adjectives. The following table shows how a number of verbs and adjectives are nominalized in Dagaare and Kusaal:

(18)   a.   **Verb**   **Nominalized item**   Dagaare

zó	'run'	**zóóú/zóóbú**	'the act of running'
wá	'come'	**wááó/ wáábó**	'the act of coming, arrival'
tɔ́	'touch'	**tóɔ́ó/tóɔ́bó**	'the act of touching'
ngmɛ	'beat'	**ngméɛbó/ngméɛbó**	'beating'
zéɛ	'swoop'	**zéɛó/zéɛbó**	'the act of swooping'
gbé	'grind roughly'	**gbíébú**	'grinding roughly'
gàà	'go'	**gààó/gààbó**	'going/departure'
sɔ́ɔ́	'darken'	**sɔ́ɔ́ó/sɔ́ɔ́bó**	'darkening'

   b.   **Verb**   **Nominalized item**   Kusaal

kūā	'farm, weed'	**kúób**	'the act of farming/weeding'
kūaˈān	'brew'	**kúánˈáb**	'the act of brewing'
nwɛ̄ˈɛ	'beat'	**nwɛ́ˈɛb**	'the act of beating'
kūōs	'sell'	**kúósím**	'trading/ items for sale'
nū (kuom)	'drink (water)'	**kuomnuudim**	'the act of drinking water'
dī-púˈá	'marry (woman)'	**púˈá-díré**	'act of getting married (by a man)'

Nominalization rule:
The following are examples of morpho-phonological derivational (i.e. word class changing) rules in Dagaare and Kusaal. These rules operate on a word to form another which belongs to a different word class (specifically the rules change verb forms to nominal forms):

(19)   Verb + V (C) U   —————> Noun

(A V (standing for any vowel) may be lengthened or diphtongised; if the vowel of verb is already long or diphtongised, no further lengthening or diphtongization is required; U (standing for high, back vowel) is unspecified for Advanced Tongue Root (ATR): it takes the ATR of source word)

(20)   a.   **Adjective**   **Nominalized item**   Dagaare

fáá	'bad'	**fààlóǹg**	'bad deed, evil'
vèlàà	'good'	**vèèlòǹg**	'goodness, beauty'
pèlàá	'while'	**pèèlóng**	'whiteness'
kpóǹg	'big'	**kpónnúng**	'bigness, seniority'
wógì	'long, tall'	**wógrúng**	'length, height'
sɔ́gláá	'black, dark'	**sɔ̀glóng**	'blackness, darkness'
ngmàà	'short'	**ngmààlóǹg**	'shortness'

   b. Adjective + LUN ——————> Noun

   (L is meant to be any liquid but note that if the adjective ends in a nasal the derivation involves a nasal gemination rather than L. Again, U is unspecified for ATR: it takes the ATR of vocalic items in the source word.)

(21)   a.   **Adjective** **Nominalized item**   **Kusaal**

-píél	'white'	**píélím**	'whiteness'
-píl-píl	'bright/clean'	**pílím**	'brightness'
-gɔ́lá	'high'	**gɔ́l**	'height'
-wáˈám	'long/tall'	**wáˈálím**	'height'
pɔ́ɔ́d	'small (quantity)'	**pɔ́ɔ́dím**	'smallness'
búk	'weak/tired'	**búgúsúm**	'weakness'
-súŋ	'good'	**súˈúm**	'goodness'
gɛ́ɛ́nm	'mad'	**gɛ́ɛnmis**	'madness'
gɛ̀n	'tired/weak'	**gɛ̀ɛ̀lís**	'weakness'
-tɔ́ɔg	'bitter'	**tɔ̀ɔ̀g**	'bitterness'
-túúlúg	'hot'	**túúlúg**	'heat'

   b.   Adjective + Vm/s, or Adjective + Ø ——————> Noun

The adjective usually takes a suffix which is often in the form of a vowel plus the nasal /m/ or the consonant /s/. There are instances where the root form, thus the adjective, still serves as the nominal form.

   With these data and rules showing how verbs and adjectives are nominalized,[3] we now state the facts of nominalizing the simple VP in Dagaare to give us more extended NPs.

---

[3] There are other nominalization processes such as the formation of agentive nouns with the suffix -ráá (or any liquid and/or a V related to the V of the stem) 'doer' put on the imperfective form of the verb (with various vowel and tone changes) e.g. kɔ́ 'farm' → kúɔ́rɔ̀ 'farming' → kúɔ́ráá 'farmer'; yɔ́ 'roam' → yúɔ́rɔ̀ 'roaming,

A verb like ***dí*** 'eat' can be nominalized by marking it with the ending ***-(i)ú***. If it appears, the direct object stands to the left of the head in these constructions. Compare (22a) to (22b), for example.

(22) a. ***báyɔ̀ɔ̀***   ***dì-ré***   ***lá***   ***à***   ***tàŋ́gmà***
        Bayor   eat-IMP   FOC   DEF   shea fruit.PL
        'Bayor is eating the shea fruits '

      b.   ***à***   ***tàŋ́gmà***   ***dí-íú***   ***wá***   ***báárè***
            DEF   shea fruits   eat-NOM   NEG   finish.PERF
            'The eating of the shea fruits is not finished'

The verb ***nwɛˈɛ*** 'to beat', in Kusaal, is nominalized by adding the consonant /b/ as illustrated in (23b) below.

(23) a. ***bà***   ***nwɛ̄ˈɛ̄d***   ***góógi*** [4]
        3PL   play.IMPERF googi/music
        'They are playing googi'

      b.   ***góógí***   ***lá***   ***nwɛ̄ˈɛ̄b***   ***pʋ̀***   ***básɛ̀***
           googi   DEF   play-NOM   NEG   stop
          'The playing of the googi has not stopped.'

The construction in (22b) is introduced by the definite article *á* in Dagaare while the head noun has the article *lá* after it in (23b) for Kusaal. Instead of this, we could also have an NP in the position of this determiner (22a) or a pronoun as in (23b). This NP would then denote the agent of the action. Finally, the position can also be left empty, as in (24b) from Dagaare and (25b) from Kusaal respectively.

(24) a. ***báyúó tàŋ́gmà***   ***dí-íú***   ***véɛ́lɛ́***   ***lá***
        Bayuo shea fruit.PL   eat-NOM   good   FOC
        'Bayuo's eating of shea fruits is good'

      b.   ***tàŋ́gmà***   ***dí-íú***   ***nòmɔ́*** ***lá***
          shea fruits   eat-NOM   sweet   FOC
          'Eating shea fruits is nice'

---

roving' → yʋ́ɔ́ráá 'roamer/rover, tourist'; zó 'run' → zòró 'running' → zóró 'runner, athlete'. Dakubu (1996) also reports that the related language, Gurune nominalizes verbs by giving the verb roots nominal suffixes.

[4] Local name for a type of music as well as the instrument used for playing that music.

(25) a. ***Àdúk góógì nwɛ̄ˈɛ̄b   málís***
          Aduk googi play-NOM   sweet
          'Aduk's playing of googi is nice.'

      b. ***Góógì nwɛ̄ˈɛ̄b   málís***
          googi play.NOM   nice
          'Playing of googi is nice.'

Báyúó or ***Àdúk*** in (26a, b) in this position could be a genitive or it could be a nominative. We cannot tell because the languages lack overt case markings.

(26) a. ***báyúó gáné wá   véélέ***   Dagaare
          Bayuo book.SG   NEG   good
          'Bayuo's book is not good'

      b. ***Àdúk gbán   káí   sứm***   Kusaal
          Aduk book   NEG   good
          'Aduk's book is not good.'

The direct object can be a bare noun like in (24b, 25b), but it can also be an NP of more complexity (27b-c, 28b-c):

(27) a. ***ɔ̀ràà dí-íú   nòmɔ́ lá***
          berry eat-NOM   sweet FOC
          'Eating a berry is nice'

      b. ***à   ɔ̀ràà nyὲ   dí-íú   nòmɔ́ lá***
          DEF   berry DEM. SG eat-NOM sweet FOC
          'The eating of this berry is nice'

      c. ***á   ɔ̀rré   ámὲ   áyì   dí-íú   nòmɔ́ lá***
          DEF   berry-PL DEM.PL two   eat-NOM   sweet FOC
          'Eating these two berries is nice'

(28) a. ***Góógì nwɛ̄ˈɛ̄b   málís***
          googi play.NOM   nice
          'Playing of googi is nice.'

      b. ***Góógì lá   nwɛ̄ˈɛ̄b   málís***
          googi DEF   play.NOM   nice
          'Playing of the googi is nice.'

c.   ***Góógì àyí   nwá   nwɛ̄ˈɛ̄b   málís***
       googi   two   these   play.NOM   nice
       'Playing of these two googi is nice.'

The resulting structure can be modified by an adjective - which is incorporated into the head as in (29a) or by an adverb as in (29b). The variant with the adverb is far more common, however.

(29)   a.   ***à   tàŋgmà   dí-vèɛ̀lòŋg***
              DEF   shea fruit.PL   eat-good/nice
              'The good eating of the shea fruits ' i.e.
              The nice way of eating the shea fruits

       b.   ***à   tàŋgmà   vèlàà   dí-íú***
              DEF   shea fruit.PL   good   eat-NOM
              'The good eating of the shea fruits ' i.e.
              The nice way of eating the shea fruits

These are then some of the facts of nominalizing the simple VP in Dagaare and Kusaal. In the next section we shall focus on the more complex case of nominalizing the serial verbal predicates.

3. The Facts of Serial Verb Nominalization

In nominalizing serial verb constructions in Dagaare, the last of the series of verbs gets the nominalized suffix. If there is a direct object to the last verb, it can only occur at the outer left of the verbal cluster:

(30)   ***à   nɛ́ǹ   dóg   ɔ́ɔ́-ó***
              DEF   meat   boil   chew-NOM
              'The cook chewing of the meat' i.e.
              'The cooking of the meat in order to eat'

(31)   a.   ***à   tàŋgmà   zò   gàà   dí-íú***
              DEF   shea fruit.PL   run   go   eat-NOM
              'The run go eating of the shea fruits ' i.e.
              'Running there in order to eat the shea fruits '

       b.   * ***à zò   gàà   à tàŋgmà   dí-íú***

c.　*　*à zó à tàṅgmà gàà dí-íú*

Not just the direct object NP, but also other constituents appear obligatorily to the left of the verbal cluster. This is the case with adverbials such as ***wíéwíé*** 'quickly' as can be seen in (32).

(32)　a.　| ***à*** | ***tàṅgmà*** | ***wíéwíé*** | ***zò*** | ***gàà*** | ***dí-íú*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DEF | shea fruit.PL | quickly | run | go | eat-NOM |

　　　'The run go eating of the shea fruits quickly' i.e.
　　　'Running there quickly in order to eat the shea fruits '

　　b.　*　***à wíéwíé   zó gàà tàṅgmà dí-íú***

　　c.　*　***à wíéwíé   zó tàṅgmà gàà dí-íú***

It seems that for one reason or another, the verbs have to be obligatorily adjacent in these constructions. This is a first indication by the facts of SVN in support of our theoretical analysis of serial verb constructions as complex predicates which undergo syntactic operations as a single unit. It is impossible to use the imperfective aspect in these constructions; they all seem to be in the perfective aspect or lack aspectual marking altogether:

(33)　a.　*　| ***à*** | ***tàṅgmà*** | ***zò- ró*** | ***gè-rɛ́*** | ***dí-íú*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| DEF | shea fruit.PL | run-IMP | go-IMP | eat-NOM |

　　b.　*　| ***à*** | ***nɛ̀ǹ*** | ***dúg-rɔ̀*** | ***ɔ́ɔ́-ó*** |
|---|---|---|---|
| DEF | meat | boil-IMP | chew-NOM |

Perhaps we can conclude that the nominalized form is inherently in the perfective aspect or that, since the whole construction is now nominal, aspect is not even marked at all. Tense can also not be expressed in nominalized constructions. Compare the sentences in (34) with the nominalized constructions in (35):

(34)　a.　| ***à*** | ***bíé*** | ***ná*** | ***zó*** | ***gàà*** | ***dí*** | ***lá*** | ***à*** | ***tàṅgmà*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DEF | child | FUT | run | go | eat | FOC | DEF | shea fruit.PL |

　　　'The child will run there (and) eat the shea fruits'

　　b.　| ***à*** | ***bíé*** | ***dà*** | ***zó*** | ***gàà*** | ***dí*** | ***lá*** | ***á*** | ***tàṅgmà*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DEF | child | PAST | run | go | eat | FOC | DEF | shea fruit.PL |

　　　'The child has run there and eaten the shea fruits.'

(35) a. * *à* *tàŋgmà* *ná* *zó* *gàà* *dí-íú*
         DEF shea fruits FUT run go eat-NOM

      b. * *à* *tàŋgmà* *dà* *zó* *gàà* *dí-íú*
         DEF shea fruits PAST run go eat-NOM

Another characteristic feature of these SVN constructions in Dagaare is that it is difficult to get an acceptable reading when two NP objects are involved. This is the case with instrumental SVCs. An example of instrumental serialization is provided in (36a).

(36) a. *ó* *dà* *dé* *lá* *sòɔ́* *ngmàà* *nɛ́ǹ* *ɔ́ɔ*
         3.SG PAST take FOC knife cut meat chew
         'S/he cut meat with a knife and ate it.'

      b. ? *à* *nɛ́ǹ* *á* *sòɔ́* *dé* *ngmàà* *ɔ́ɔ-ó*
         DEF meat DEF knife take cut chew-NOM

      c. ?? *à* *nɛ́ǹ* *dé* *á* *sòɔ́* *ngmàà* *ɔ́ɔ-ó*
         DEF meat take DEF knife cut chew-NOM

      d. * *à* *sòɔ́* *dé* *nɛ́ǹ* *ngmàà* *ɔ́ɔ-ó*
         DEF knife take meat cut chew-NOM

As can be seen in (36b-d) there are acceptability problems when we try to nominalize the SVC in (36a). These constructions were discussed at length on various occasions with four other native speakers (two men and two women). All five agreed on (36d) as ungrammatical, while we were divided about the grammaticality status of (36b and c). The construction in (36b) was generally said to be better than (36c) but the general agreement was that both (36b and c) are quirky and do not look very natural Dagaare sentences. We may therefore speculate at this point that SVN is more naturally derived from the object-sharing type of serial verb constructions. It is probably no sheer coincidence that it is these types of SVCs which seem to behave more as a unit under various syntactic alternations.

Situations involving the preposing of an object and the internal nominalization of a verb in SVCs in Kusaal are not immediately clear compared to the form and structure the phenomenon takes in Dagaare where the object is pre-posed and the last verb gets nominalized. The following seem quite unnatural to speakers though further research is required to ascertain their ungrammaticality.

(37)   a.   **Bà   dàà   dāˈ   nííg   kūōs**[5]
                3PL   PAST buy   cattle sell
                'They bought cattle and sold them.'

       b.   *??nííg dāˈ   kūōsīm*
                cattle buy   sell.NOM
                'Buying cattle in order to sell.'

What is commonly attested in SVCs in Kusaal is cleftting the verb to the left and nominalizing it whilst a copy remains at the original position (Abubakari 2011, 2015).

(38)   a.   **Bà   zɔ̄ɔ̄   kēŋ   kūānˈā dáám   lá**
                3PL   run   go   brew   alcohol   DEF
                'They ran and went and brewed the alcohol.'

       b.   **Dáám   lá   kūānˈāb   kà   bà   zɔ̄ɔ̄   kēŋ   kūānˈā**
                acohol   DEF   brew   FOC 3PL   run   go   brew
                'It is brewing the alcohol that they ran there and did.'

(39)   a.   **Bà   dà   zɔ̄ɔ̄   kēŋ   dĩ   dīīb   lá**
                3PL   PAST ran   go   eat   food   DEF
                'They run and went and ate the food.'

       b.   *zɔ́ɔ́g   kà   bà   dà   zɔ̃   kēŋ   dĩ   dííb   lá*
                ran.NOM FOC 3PL   PAST ran   go   eat   food   DEF
                'It was running they did and went and ate the food.'

In addition, Kusaasi speakers predominantly create names out of (verb) phrases by prefixing the supposed phrases with the morpheme *à-* as illustrated in (40):

(40)   a.   **à-dáˈá-níígì**
                NOM-buy-cattle
                '(Mr) cattle buyer',

       b.   **à-mí-wús-dím**
                NOM-know-all-owners
                'know all'

---

[5] The perfective aspectual form is, here, marked using zero morpheme.

c. ***à-pʋ́-níŋ-yɛ́ddá***
NOM-NEG-put-trust
'Mr Have no Faith'

The interpretation derived by the use of the prefix in this form is often seen as offensive by some speakers. Similarly, the same prefix can also result in an interpretation connoting an act referred to by a verb: ***à-dá ˈá…*** 'the act of buying' ***à-kúá ˈá…*** 'the act of brewing' ***àdúg…*** 'the act of cooking'. Using the prefix in SVCs creates a complex structure where the entire series of verbs as well as arguments, if any, are combined for usually a single interpretation. This interpretation is mostly connected to an agent who is involved in the act referred to by the series of verbs or a meaning connoting the act of carrying the complex actions as a single event. The V₁ in the SVC is commonly prefixed with the *à-* morpheme and all subsequent verbs are intuitively believed to be affected by the same interpretation. In effect, internal nominalization of SVCs in Kusaal is inherently realized on all the verbs in the series represented by the prefix on V$_1$.

(41) a. ***Bà   kūan ˈ dáám   kūōs***[6]
3PL   brew   alcohol   sell
'They brewed alcohol and sold it.'

b. **à-kúa ˈá-dáám-kúós**
NOM-brew-alcohol-sell
'The act of brewing alcohol for sale.'

(42) a. ***Àdúk dá ˈá   nííg   kúós***
Aduk   buy   cattle sell
'Aduk bought cattle and sold them.'

b. ***à-dá ˈá-nííg-kúós***
'The act of buying and selling cattle/trading in cattle'
'A cattle trader'

(43) a. ***Àyípók dúg   dííb   kúós***
Ayipok   cook   food   sell
'Ayipok cooked food and sold it.'

b. ***à-dúg-dííb-kúós***

---

[6]   The perfective aspectual form is, here, marked using zero morpheme.

'Cooking for sale/trading in cooked food.
'Mr cook food for sale'

(44)   a.   ***Ò   zɔ̃   kũl.***
           3SG   ran   go.home
           'He run and went home.'

       b.   ***à-zɔ́-kúl***
           NOM-ran-go.home
           'The act of running and going home (e.g. a recalcitrant pupil/worker)'

       It is important to add that the series of verbs and any internal argument if present remain at their canonical positions with a nominal interpretation assigned to the predicates.

(45)   a.   ****Dáám-à-kúáˈá-kúós***
           alcohol-NOM-brew-sell

       b.   ****Dííb-à-dúg-kúós***
           food-NOM-cook-sell

       Further evidence of the ungrammaticality of preposing the object whilst nominalizing the verb internally in Kusaal, is observed from the ungrammaticality of the instrumental SVCs below. These examples are renditions of the Dagaare data in (36) into Kusaal.

(46)   a.   ***Ò   nōk   súúg   nwāˈē   níím   ɔ̃nb.***
           3SG   take   knife   cut   meat   chew
           'She took knife and cut meat and ate it.'

       b.   ****Níím lá   súúg   nōk   nwāˈē   ɔ̃bim***
           meat DEF knife   take   cut   chew-NOM

       c.   ****níím lá   nōk   súúg   nwāˈē   ɔ̃bim***
           meat DEF take   knife   cut   chew-NOM

       d.   ****súúg lá   nōk   níím   nwāˈē   ɔ̃bim***
           knife DEF take   meat   cut   chew-NOM

       Again, unlike V₁, all other verbs in the series cannot take the prefix *à-* in the event of nominalizing the entire complex predicate construction.

(47)   a.   ***à-dáˈá-nííg-à-kúós***
                  Nom-buy-cattle-NOM-sell
                  'The act of buying and selling cattle/trading in cattle'
                  'A cattle trader'

         b.   *** dáˈá-nííg-à-kúós***
                  buy-cattle-NOM-sell
                  'The act of buying and selling cattle/trading in cattle'
                  'A cattle trader'

         c.   ***à-zɔ́-à- kúl***
                  NOM-ran-NOM-go.home
                  'The act of running and going home (e.g. a recalcitrant pupil/worker)'

         d.   ***zɔ-a-kul***
                  ran-NON-go.hom
                  'The act of running and going home (e.g. a recalcitrant pupil/worker)'

4. A Syntactic Representation for Serial Verb Nominalization

       Having documented SVN facts in the last section, we now turn our attention to a brief syntactic representation and analysis of these facts, first in Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG)-type functional structures, and then in DP-type phrase structures. Since Dagaare and Kusaal present different structures in nominalizing the series of verbs in an SVN, we will limit our analysis of the phenomenon to Dagaare for the sake of space.
       Recent versions of LFG show clearly that this grammatical framework belongs to a family of formal grammars that are increasingly developing a grammatical architecture of parallel structures in correspondence (Sadock 1991, Jackendoff 1997, Bodomo 1997, Bresnan 2001, Falk 2001, Dalrymple 2001, Kroeger 2004, and Bresnan et al. 2015), where rather than one level of representation being derived from another, all levels are independent of each other but only interface through rules of correspondence.
       This alternative architecture of grammar is based on parallel structures, three of which include a-(rgument) structure, f-(unctional) structure and c-(onstituent) structure. These belong to the syntactic component and so far are the most developed. These are illustrated below in (48):

(48)   a.   a-structure: $R< q 1 \ldots\ldots q_n >$
                                           $[f_1] \ldots\ldots [f_n]$

         b.   f-structure:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & [\ \ldots\ ] \\ \text{SUBJ} & [\ \ldots\ ] \\ \text{OBJ} & [\ \ldots\ ] \end{bmatrix}$$

c.　　c-structure:

```
                    VP
                  /    \
                V'      PP
              /    \
            V        NP
```
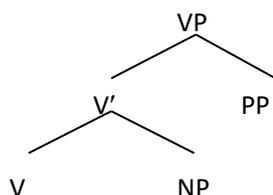
Bresnan (2001:20) explains these levels of representation as follows:

Each structure models a different dimension of grammatical substance: role, function, and category. Roles correspond to the grammatically expressible participants of eventualities (modelled by a-structure), syntactic functions belong to the abstract system of relators of roles to expressions (modelled by f-structure), and phrase structure categories belong to the overt structure of forms of expression (modelled by c-structure). The structures are associated by principles of functional correspondence (also called "linking" or "mapping" principles).

The relevant levels as far as the present paper is concerned are the f-structure and the c-structure, and it is SVN representations at these levels that we briefly illustrate in the next sub-sections.

4.1 Functional Structure of SVNs

Here, we provide LFG-type f-structure representations of this type of phenomena.[7] The construction in (49) is the example of SVN to illustrate the various f-structure phenomena of this type of construction.

(49)　a.　***à　　tàńgmà　　zò　　gàà　　dí-íú***
　　　　　DEF　shea fruits　go　run　eat-NOM
　　　　　'The run go eating of the shea fruits' i.e.
　　　　　'Running there in order to eat the shea fruits. '

---

[7]In this framework, it is in the f-structure that grammatical functions, such as Subject, Object, etc. are stated. They are not defined in terms of phrase structure configurations. These grammatical functions are thus hardly reducible to phrase structure configurations which mostly vary from language to language.

b.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \textit{zò-gàà-dí-íú} <(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})(\uparrow\text{OBJ})> \\ \text{SUBJ} & [\text{PRED 'atangma'}] \end{bmatrix}$$

The f-structure in (49b) is a straightforward representation of SVN. As can be seen, the three verbs, *zó* 'run' *gàà* 'go' and the nominalized form of *dí* 'eat' — *dííú* 'eating' together form a complex predicate, PRED, which is now monadic, as shown by the one argument slot (detransitivization seems to occur with nominalization). This slot is filled by the SUBJECT functional argument.

Evidence that the NP *à tàńgmà* 'the shea fruits' becomes the subject of the whole nominalized construction can be adduced from pronominalization in the language. Even though we observed in examples (3-6) above that lexical NPs in Dagaare and Kusaal do not mark case, this does happen with the first person singular pronominal argument in Dagaare. The first person object/accusative pronoun of a normal SVC, which gets nominalized into an SVN, takes the form of nominative/subjective pronoun at the outer left of the whole construction. This is evidence for the fact that the lexical NP of SVCs which gets nominalized becomes the subject of the whole nominalized construction. We will illustrate this argument with the following sentences in (50), also see Abubakari (2011, 2015) for similar observation in Kusaal.

(50) a. **báyúó dá   zò   wà   ngmέ   má   lá**
          Bayuo PAST run   come   beat   1.SG.OBJ   FOC
          'Bayuo ran here and beat me'

     b. * **à   má   zò   wà   ńgméέ-ó**
          DEF   1.SG.OBJ   run   come   beat-NOM
          Bayuo's coming here to beat me.'

     c. **á   ń   zò   wà   ńgméέ-ó**
          DEF   1.SG.SUBJ run   come   beat-NOM
          Bayuo's coming here to beat me'
          (Lit: The run coming here to beat me.)

The construction in (50b) is ungrammatical because the pronoun contains an objective pronoun case form, *má* 'me'. However, when its subject pronoun case form, *ń* 'I', 'my', is used in this position, as is the case in (50c), the sentence is grammatical. It seems then that the diathetic alternation involving argument NPs in nominalized complex verbal predicates in Dagaare is one of object - subject alternation.

There seems to be only slight differences between the f-structure of nominalized serial verbal constructions and their purely verbal counterparts. This is illustrated in (51).

(51) a. ***báyúó dà   zó   gàà   dí   lá   à   tàŋgmà***
          Bayuo PAST run   go   eat   FOC   DEF   shea fruits
          'Bayuo went and ate shea fruits by running.'

  b.
$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & \textbf{\textit{zò-gàà -dì}} <(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})(\uparrow\text{OBJ})> \\
\text{SUBJ} & [\text{PRED } \textbf{'báyúó'}] \\
\text{OBJ} & [\text{PRED } \textbf{'à tàŋgmà}} \quad '] \\
\text{TENSE} & \text{PAST}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

  c. ***báyúó tàŋgmà   zò   gàà   dí-íú***
          Bayuo shea fruits   run   go   eat-NOM
          'The run go eating of the shea fruits by Bayuo' or
          'The run go eating of Bayuo's shea fruits by someone else.'

  d.
$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & \textbf{\textit{zò-gàà-dí-íú}} <(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})(\uparrow\text{OBJ})> \\
\text{SUBJ} & [\text{PRED } \textbf{'báyúó'}] \\
\text{OBJ} & [\text{PRED } \textbf{'à tàŋgmà}} \quad '] \\
\text{TENSE} & \text{PAST}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

  e.
$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & \textbf{\textit{zò-gàà-dí-íú}} <(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})> \\
\text{SUBJ} & [\text{PRED } \textbf{'báyúótàŋgmà'}]
\end{bmatrix}
$$

The construction in (51c) is a nominalized version of the SVC in (51a). This SVN is ambiguous, having two readings depending on whether Bayuo is seen as being agentive or simply a possessor. As observed above in several places, such as the examples in (3) and (5), Dagaare lacks case marking on lexical nouns, thereby making it impossible to read off a nominal or genitive case. This ambiguity is easily disentangled with the different f-structures in (51d and e) with ***báyúó*** being an agentive SUBJECT on its own in the former and a genitive within the SUBJECT in the latter.

4.2 Phrase Structure Representation: A DP Analysis of SVNs

Having discussed the f-structure representation of SVNs in the foregoing subsection, we now focus on a representation of these phenomena at the c-structure level of our parallel grammatical architecture. In terms of X-bar phenomena we shall attempt to extend the DP approach introduced in section 1 to the representation of SVN.

We now turn back to the nominalization facts. We have already seen that the nominalized forms can be modified by an attributive adjective as well. We assume a nominalization is a VP with a nominal functional projection set on top of it. Some of these functional heads are never realized for semantic reasons. For instance, because

nominalizations cannot occur in the plural (cf (52a) for English and (53b) for Dagaare) we also cannot quantify them (cf (52b) for English and (53c) for Dagaare).

(52) a. * Johns readings these books

    b. * after three readings these books

(53) a. ***dɛ́ré gá-mà   ámὲ   sɔ́r-òò***
           Dery book-PL   DEM.PL   read-NOM
           'Dery's reading of these books'

    b. * ***dɛ́ré gá-mà ámὲ sɔ́r-rè***
             Dery books these reading-PL

    c. ****à***   ***gá-mà   ámὲ   sɔ́r-rè   átà***
           DEF book-PL   DEM.PL reading-PL three

Focusing now on nominalization, Abney (1987) has proposed that English nominalization constructions have the following structure:

(54)
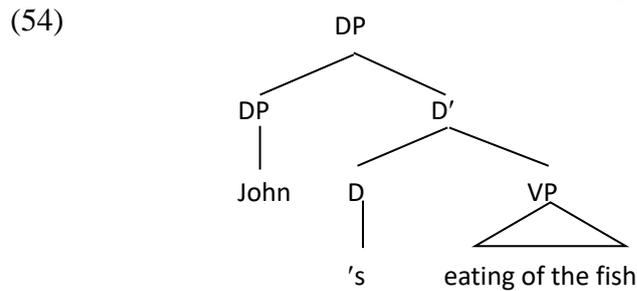
In this view, the nominal gerund constitutes a determiner which exceptionally takes a verbal projection as its complement, instead of a nominal projection. Following this proposal and Bodomo and Oostendorp (1993), we assume that an SVN is a VP with a nominal functional projection set on top of it. This is shown in (55).

(55) a. ***à   tàńgmà   zò   gàà   dí-íú***
           DEF shea fruits   go   run   eat-NOM
           'The run go eating of the shea fruits' i.e.
           'Running there in order to eat the shea fruits. '

b.

```
                              DP
                              |
                              D'
                          /       \
                         D         NomP
                         |        /     \
                    à táńgmà    VP       Nom
                             /     \      |
                           VP       VP    -íú
                           |       /   \
                           V      VP    VP
                           |      |      |
                           zò     V      V'
                                  |      |
                                 gàà     V
                                         |
                                         dí
```
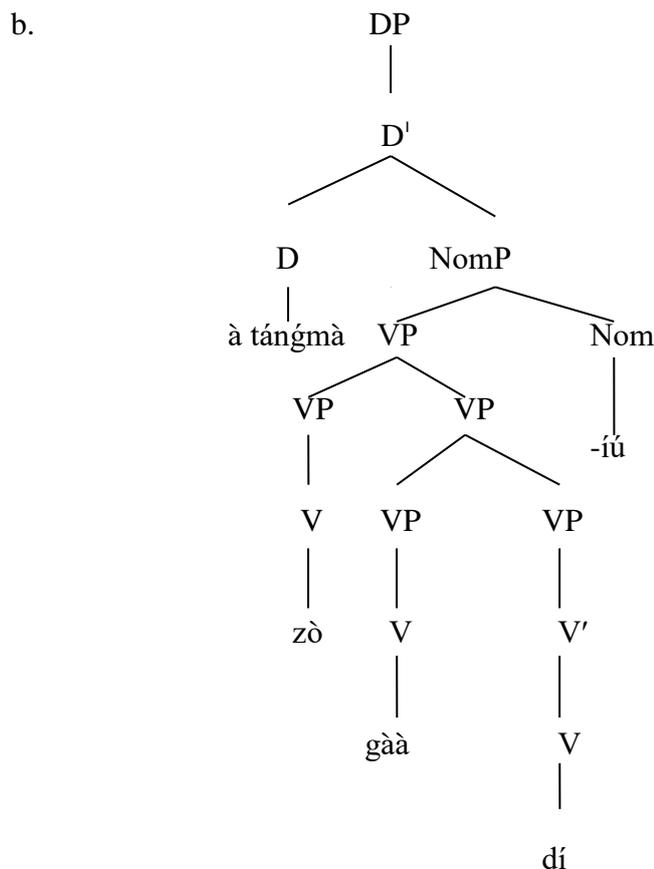
As may be seen in this diagram, we represent Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) as a succession of VPs with each subsequent VP adjoined to the other. This is different from the object sharing structures in Baker (1989) where an object in the SVC may stand as a complement of two lexical Vs. The obvious question would then be how objects are expressed in this configuration. This is an issue that has been discussed at length in Bodomo (1993, 1997). In this kind of configuration, as indeed in many of Baker's (1989) configurations, objecthood does not always need to be expressed configurationally as the sister of V. Basically, the idea of expressing objecthood in such a configuration is to say that objects of the first V are expressed as sisters of V but that objects of subsequent Vs are expressed as referring back to the objects of the first V. If an NP occurs as a sister of a subsequent V and is not co-referential with the object of the first V, the sentence would be ungrammatical.

With this representation we can now predict/explain quite a number of issues concerning the syntax of SVN such as why there is no tense, aspect or other functional categories normally associated with VP. To license the presence of tense for instance, there must be a TP (tense projection). But TP is normally located outside of the VP. However, as

can be seen in the above diagram, the NomP projects on top of VP, i.e. where a TP would have been. There is thus no position for TP outside of the VP. The NP, *à tàŋmà*, can now also move to the beginning of the nominal complex (leaving the verbs adjacent to each other) since it is the subject of the whole construction. Evidence that it is the subject of the construction has already been adduced with the facts of diathetic alternation involving pronouns in (50).

We now bring this representation of the syntax of nominalized complex verbal construction in Dagaare to a close by drawing attention to one of the many possible cross-linguistic generalizations that the analysis seems to capture. This concerns the fact that predicate and functional items, as distinct from arguments, of nominalized complex constructions seem to cluster across languages. Chomsky (1970), for instance, observed the following contrast for (American) English:

(56)   a.   He looks the information up.
        b.   He looks up the information.

(57)   a.   * The looking of the information up (is difficult).
        b.   The looking up of the information (is difficult).

Hoekstra (1986) observes a similar contrast for Dutch:

(58)   a.   **Hij   zoekt de   informatie   op**.
               he   looks the   information up.

        b.   **...dat hij de informatie   op   zoekt.**
               that he the information   up   looks.
           '...that he looks up the information.'

(59)   a.   * **Het   zoeken van de   informatie   op (is moeilijk).**
            the   looking of   the   information up (is difficult).

        b.   **Het   op zoeken van de informatie (is moeilijk).**
            the   up looking of   the   information (is difficult).

Just as in Dagaare where the predicate verbal items cluster in a nominalization, in both English and Dutch, as illustrated in (58) and (59), the predicate verbal items 'look'/'looking' and 'up' for English and 'zoekt'/'zoeken' and 'op' for Dutch do not have to cluster in the non-nominalized constructions but must cluster in the nominalized versions for the construction to be grammatical in each language. These, therefore, seem to be quite relevant cross-linguistic evidence in support of the Dagaare analysis we have presented in the paper.

5. Summary and Conclusion

This paper has presented a discussion of the syntax of a rare kind of complex predicate construction, the Serial Verb Nominalization (SVN) in Dagaare and Kusaal, two Mabia languages spoken in West Africa. Following a presentation of the relevant facts of the Dagaare and the Kusaal NPs and SVNs, we proposed a syntactic representation of SVNs in the DP hypothesis, in the spirit of Bodomo and Oostendorp (1993), along with some LFG-type functional structures of these nominalized complex predicate constructions for the data from Dagaare. Basically, SVNs are VPs headed by a NomP functional projection. The construction was analysed as a nominalized complex predicate, given the fact that verbs tend to form a complex unit in various syntactic operations.

Given all these findings, we may therefore conclude that cross-linguistically, both nominal(ized) constructions and their verbal counterparts obtain from the same minimal configurations. The only difference between them is that a functional projection, NomP which is nominal in nature, influences the construction and cancels out some inherently verbal categories, such as tense and aspect, from the configuration.

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OPTIMAL INFLECTIONS AS ASYMMETRY BETWEEN NOMINAL AND VERBAL REDUPLICATIONS IN AKAN

Charles Marfo and E. Kweku Osam

Abstract

This paper discusses two issues in nominal and verbal reduplications in Akan, a language which is widely spoken in Ghana. These are the respective morphotactic structures of the two reduplications and the claim that an asymmetry obtains between nominal and verbal reduplications in the language. The issues are discussed in connection with a distinction in inflection for the nasal prefix /N-/ in nominal and verbal reduplications of Akan which, respectively, impute negation and plurality and how the individual inflections underscore and inform the morphotactic structures of the two reduplications. Analysis of issues will be done in the light of the Morphological Doubling Theory (Inkelas and Zoll 2005, Osam et al. 2013) and will further be captured within Optimality Theory (e.g. Prince & Smolensky 2004, McCarthy & Prince 1999). The discussions will particularly be narrowed down on the more interesting morphotactics of the verbal reduplication and its inflection for other verbal affixes (besides /N-/). Establishing the suggested asymmetry, we will also endeavour to show the general order of inflection in the verbal reduplication as opposed to what obtains in the nominal reduplication following structural well-formedness in both reduplicated forms.

Keywords: Reduplication, inflection, morphotactics, asymmetry, doubling, constraints, well-formedness

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1. Introduction

This paper looks at reduplication in Akan, a Kwa language widely and chiefly spoken in Ghana.[1] Works on Akan reduplication include Dolphyne (1988), Winkler and Obeng (2002), and Osam et al. (2013). Generally, these works have mainly described the phenomenon with some morphophonological and semantic overtures. In this paper, however, besides the descriptions where necessary, the discussion is devoted to two issues regarding nominal and verbal reduplications in Akan. These are: i) the respective morphotactic structures of nominal and verbal reduplications in the language, ii) the claim that there obtains an asymmetry between respective morphotactic structures of the two reduplicated forms. As will become evident in the course of the discussions, these two issues are actually intertwined in the sense that the said asymmetry explains a distinction in the inflection for a particular prefix /N-/ between the nominal and verbal reduplicated forms in Akan and, therefore, the respective morphotactic structures.

Furthermore, the discussions will be narrowed down to the more interesting verbal reduplication, where we will endeavour to establish the general morphological order with respect to the inflection for /N-/ and other verbal affixes. Particularly, the inflection for the affix /N-/ in verbal reduplication will be observed against what happens when the affix is also inflected for in nominal reduplication. The essence is to underscore individual morphotactic structural well-formedness for/between the nominal and the verbal reduplicated forms in Akan and to emphasize the asymmetry we contend obtains between these two reduplications with respect to how the affix is inflected for in each case.

1.1 Reduplication

Among other definitions, reduplication has generally been described as a morphological process involving systematic recurrence of a unit within a word for semantic or grammatical purposes (e.g. Marantz 1982, Rubino 2005, and Inkelas 2005). As the data in (1) exemplify, reduplication occurs in all the major word classes in Akan. In defining reduplication, Haspelmath (2002: 274) dwells on the formal changes associated with reduplicated words. He defines it as "a morphological process which repeats the morphological base either entirely or partially". These are respectively shown in (i)-(iv) and (v) of (1).

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[1] Akan includes Asante, Akuapem, Fante, Bono, and Akyem. In this paper, data is mainly taken from Asante.

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(1)			*Basic form*	*Reduplicated form*
<u>Noun:</u>	i.		**dua** 'piece of wood'	**duedua** 'woody'
			kasɛɛ 'bone/thorn'	**kasɛɛkasɛɛ** 'boney/thorny'
<u>Adjective:</u>	ii.		**kɔkɔɔ** 'red'	**kɔkɔɔkɔkɔɔ** 'red ones'
			fɛɛfɛ 'beautiful'	**fɛɛfɛfɛɛfɛ** 'beautiful ones'
<u>Adjective:</u>	iii.		**kɔkɔɔ** 'red'	**kɔkɔkɔkɔ** 'very red'
			fɛɛfɛ 'beautiful'	**fɛfɛɛfɛ/fɛɛfɛɛfɛ** 'very beautiful'
<u>Adverb:</u>	iv.		**bɔkɔɔ** 'slow'	**bɔkɔbɔkɔɔ** 'slowly'
			dinn 'quiet'	**dinndinn** 'quietly'
<u>Verb:</u>	v.		**horo** 'to wash/clean'	**hohoro** 'to wash (extensively)'
			kyere 'to tie'	**kyekyere** 'to tie (extensively)'

Specifically, in (i)-(iv) of (1), we observe a total reduplication in the sense that the stem is repeated although in (iii) there is some sort of vowel elision in one part or the other in the stem of the adjective. In (v), on the other hand, the succeeding syllable of the stem is strictly elided and preceded to the basic form (as the reduplicant), hence a partial reduplication.[2]

1.2 Theoretical framework

Analysis of the structures of nominal and verbal reduplications will be done with recourse to stipulations of the Morphological Doubling Theory (Inkelas 2005, Inkelas and Zoll 2005, Osam et al. 2013, etc.) which, among other assumptions, critically suggests that daughters in a reduplication (i.e. reduplication members) are semantically identical. For the purposes of achieving clarity in the nominal and the verbal reduplication structures and how they are individually constrained, which contributes to a comprehensive presentation of structure, the analysis will further be couched within Optimality Theory (e.g. Prince & Smolensky 2004, McCarthy & Prince 1999), a linguistic machinery which proposes that the heart of grammar lies in the interaction of universal constraints.

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[2] The partial reduplicated forms given in (v) of (1) could further be reduplicated as well. In this wise, total reduplication is realized; i.e. 'hohoro' becomes *hohorohohoro* 'to wash several times or several places' and *kyekyere* becomes *kyekyerekyekyere* 'to tie several times or several places'. It is also interesting to note that the so-called basic forms of 'horo' and 'kyere' could actually be said without the last syllable in Asante-Twi; i.e. *ho* and *kye* respectively.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: Section 2 looks at reduplication in Akan, focusing on the two types that are of interest in this paper – the nominal and verbal reduplications. The inflection of the prefix /N-/ in nominal and verbal reduplications is discussed in section 3, where some comparison is also done. In section 4, the Morphological Doubling Theory, as our theory of analysis, is employed to examine the individual structures of the nominal and verbal reduplications. Along with optimality theoretic analysis, the theory will also be explored to establish the asymmetry that is suggested to obtain between the individual morphotactic structures of the nominal and verbal reduplications. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Reduplication in Akan

As noted in section 1.1, reduplication is a morphological process and occurs in all the major words classes – i.e. nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs – in Akan. In fact, it obtains in idiophones in the language as well; e.g *kyakaa* 'of a wetly ground' is reduplicated as *kyakakyaka*. In terms of the structure of reduplication, Osam et al. (2013) show that a verbal reduplication is constructed via an extension to the left of the morphological base of the verb in the case of Akan. They, therefore, describe reduplication as left-directed and this seems to obtain in the nominal reduplication of Akan as well. With examples from total reduplication, they explain that the left direction of reduplication in Akan is due to the fact that, where the reduplication members are phonetically different, the morphological base is the member that reflects the original stem; i.e. the phonetic form of the base. The other then becomes the reduplicant.

In both the nominal and verbal reduplications, we observe that the succeeding reduplication member reflects the stem that undergoes reduplication, as shown in (2a). Therefore, it is assumed to constitute the base and the structure is captured as 'CONSTITUENT$^1_{\text{REDUPLICANT}}$-CONSTITUENT$^2_{\text{BASE}}$'(C$^1_{\text{RED}}$-C$^2_{\text{BASE}}$). The 'left-directed' argument in the reduplication is further enforced by what happens in the case of verbs that undergo partial reduplication. As could be observed in (2b), a recast of (v) of (1) for ease of reference, it is important to note that it is the base that reflects the basic stem of the verb, with the reduplicant partially reflecting the base.

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(2)	a			*Basic form*	*Reduplicated form* (C¹RED-C²BASE)
		<u>Noun:</u>	i.	**dua** 'piece of wood'	[**duedua**] 'woody'
				sika 'money/gold'	[**sikesika**] 'golden/like gold'
		<u>Verb:</u>	ii.	**tua** 'to pay'	[**tuetua**] 'to pay (more than one item)'
				hyɛ 'to wear/arrange'	[**hyɪhyɛ**] 'to wear (one after another)'
				bɔ 'to hit/break'	[**bʊbɔ**] 'to hit/break (one after another)'

	b			*Basic form*	*Reduplicated form* (C¹RED-C²BASE)
		<u>Verb:</u>	i.	**horo** 'to wash/clean'	**hohoro** 'to wash (extensively)'
			ii.	**kyere** 'to tie'	**kyekyere** 'to tie (extensively)'

Let us note that the change in the phonetic form of the vowel at the right-edge of each reduplicant in (2a) (i.e. [e] in '[[due]dua]'; [ɪ] in '[[hyɪ]hyɛ]' and [ʊ] in [[bʊ]bɔ]) is due to a phonological rule that requires a rise in the vowel height to the immediately preceding height relative to the corresponding one in the base. From the Akan vowel chart given in (3) and the vowel harmony principle in Akan,[3] therefore, the rise from [a] to [e]; [ɛ] to [ɪ] and [ɔ] to [ʊ] as indicated by the arrows is understandable. That is, the advanced (i.e. [+ATR]) vowel /a/ rises to /e/ rather than its immediately preceding high /ɛ/ because /ɛ/ is an unadvanced (i.e. [–ATR]) vowel and could not have harmonized with the vowels in the base, hence the preference for /e/, the next preceding high, which is also [+ATR]. The same explanation goes for rest.

(3)

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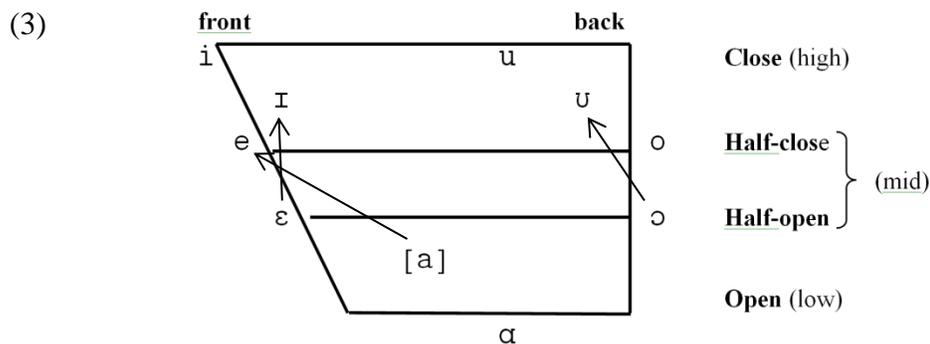
[3] Observe that, in addition to the vowel heightening, the advancement of the tongue root (ATR) vowel harmony must apply. As a regressive rule in Akan, the spreading of [+/-ATR] feature is initiates from the stem-final vowel of the constituent at the right-edge and that can only be in the morphological base – i.e. [C¹RED-C²BASE]ᴬᵀᴿ. See Osam et al. (2013) for details.

One may describe what we strive to do as a mere comparative study between nominal and verbal reduplications. However, considering the differences in inflection for the affix /N-/ between the two reduplications, in this paper, we strive to establish a reduplication asymmetry between them as well. In this respect, asymmetry is explained in terms of the morphemes that undergo reduplication in the nominal and verbal reduplications and, for that matter, how reduplication is individually realized. Specifically, we show in the following sections that /N-/ as a nominal affix reduplicates along with its host, whereas /N-/ as a verbal affix does not duplicate along with its host. In effect, what matters here is not that we have two different word classes, but the fact that these two different word classes both inflect for the affix /N-/, which imputes different grammatical forms and, for that matter, designates two different morphemes; i.e. number in nouns and negation in verbs. Sato (2009) looks at a similar asymmetry in reduplication in Bahasa Indonesia and claims that verbal affixes allow only stem reduplication, whereas nominal affixes allow both stem and stem-affix reduplication in the language.

2.1 Nominal Reduplication in Akan

Semantically, the reduplication of nouns immediately imputes plurality. Following Dolphyne (1988: 136), Boakye (2015: 26) makes two observations in connection with nominal reduplication in Akan. First, he observes that only nouns in their plural forms may be reduplicated. Secondly, he notes that the reduplication is usually total in nature as it basically involves a repetition of the (plural) noun; i.e. the reduplicant is a copy of the base. These could be observed from the data in (4). On first observation, the unstated suggestion from Dolphyne (1988) and Boakye (2015) is that reduplication of nouns in the singular would be ill-formed. However, as could be seen in (5) our current data show otherwise; there are cases where nouns in the singular are reduplicated. We acknowledge, however, that nominal reduplication in Akan generally occurs with the plural forms.

	Noun	*Plural form*	*Reduplication*
(4)	**dompe** 'bone'	**n-nompe**	**n-nompe-n-nompe** 'of bones/bony'
	dua 'stick/wood'	**n-nua**	**n-nue-n-nua** 'woody'
	a-kwadaa 'child'	**n-kwadaa**	**n-kwadaa-n-kwadaa** 'little children'
	e-kuro 'town'	**n-kuro**	**n-kuro-n-kuro** 'several towns'

_____

	Noun	***Reduplication***
(5)	**dompe** 'bone'	**dompe-dompe** 'of bone'
	dua 'stick/wood'	**due-dua** 'of wood'
	a-kwadaa 'child'	**a-kwadaa-ø-kwadaa** 'of a child'
	e-kuro 'town'	**e-kuro-ø-kuro** 'towns'

An interesting observation that would later be further discussed in connection with the matter of asymmetry between nominal and verbal reduplications is the status of the nominal prefix in reduplication. We observe that, unlike in the plural case of nominal reduplication in (4) where there is total reduplication (i.e. both the prefix and the stem are reduplicated), in the singular case, only the stem is reduplicated. Hence, as indicated in (c) and (d) of (5), in particular, no morph (ø) is realized in the reduplicant.

We also observe that nominal reduplications could serve as modifiers, in which case they behave like adjectives. In this modifying role, a nominal reduplication imputes the semantic of content of increase in magnitude. Where this is the case, a nominal reduplication as adjective could appear in both the attributive case as in (6a) and in the predicative case as in (6b).

(6) a   ***Attributive case***
       i.   **ɛnam nnompennompe**   'bony meat'
       ii.   **bankye nnuennua**   'woody cassava'

    b   ***Predicative case***
       i.   **Ɛnam no yɛ nnompennompe**
             meat DEF. to-be bony
             'The meat is bony.'

       ii   **Bankye no yɛ nnuennua**
             cassava Def. to-be woody
             'The cassava is woody.'

Furthermore, it is important to point out that some of the nouns in Akan that are often readily subjected to the process of reduplication are what have been referred to in the literature as nominalized nouns (e.g. Appah 2003, Adomako 2015); they are nouns that have been derived from other word classes, particularly verbs and adjectives in the case of

Akan. Respective examples of these are given in (7a) and (7b). It is interesting to note that, when the nominalized (Nom.) form is reduplicated, the semantic content of increase in magnitude is well catered for with the repeated nominal affix /A/, which doubles as the irregular plural affix.[4]

(7) a   ***Verb***   ***Nom. Form***   ***Reduplication***
     i.   **pra** 'to sweep'   **a-pra** 'sweeping'   **a-pra-a-pra**
     ii.   **tea** 'to punish'   **a-tea** 'punishment'   **a-tea-a-tea**
     iii. **woso** 'to shake'   **a-wosɔɔ** 'shaking'   **a-woso-a-wosɔɔ**

     b   ***Adjective***   ***Nom. Form***   ***Reduplication***
     i.   **kɛseɛ** 'big/large'   **ɔ/a-kɛseɛ** '… of stature' **a-kɛseɛ-a-kɛseɛ**
     ii.   **teaa** 'slim'   **a-teaa** 'slim body'   **a-tea-a-tea**
     iii. **kɔkɔɔ** 'red'   **a-kɔkɔɔ** 'red ones'   **a-kɔkɔɔ-a-kɔkɔɔ**

2.2 Verbal reduplication in Akan

According to Moravcsik (1978), reduplication of verbs is used to express repetitive or iterative and distributive actions. These expressions have been observed in diverse languages including Akan. In Akan, reduplication of verbs (and some other categories) also expresses intensification and increase in number of one or both of the verb's argument functions. For instance, as could be observed in (8a), where the verb ***bɔ*** 'to hit' is reduplicated into ***bobɔ***, the reduplication imputes the meaning of repetition and/or intensity in the act of hitting and the fact that the hitting is on different parts of the target/patient. This results in the meaning 'hit repeatedly' or 'beat up'. We also find in (8) the fact that verbal reduplication legitimizes its object in the plural as in (8b) in the sense that the expression of distribution by the verb rightly demands plurality of the object to mean that the hitting is distributed among many patients; i.e. ***nkwadaa*** 'children'. Likewise, in (8c), the expression of group action by the verb rightly explains the plurality of the subject to mean that the hitting is not done by one person, but two or more; i.e. ***mmaa*** 'women'.

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[4] Let's emphasize that the derivation is marked by the nominal prefix /A-/ or /O-/ in the singular and /N-/ in the common or regular case of plurality and where explicit expression of increase in magnitude is possible. In (7a) and (7b), some of these derived nouns, the class of their source – i.e. verb and adjective – before nominalization and the ensuing reduplicated forms could be observed. See Section 4 for further insight.

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(8) a.   **Kofi** *bobɔ-ɔ* **a-kwadaa no**
           PN. RED.hit-PAST child.Sing. Det.
           'Kofi beat up the child'.

     b.   **Kofi bobɔ-ɔ** *n-kwadaa* **no**
           PN. RED.hit-PAST child.Plu. Det
           'Kofi beat up the children'.

     c.   *Mmaa* **no bobɔ-ɔ a-kwadaa no**
           woman.Pl. Det. RED.hit-PAST child.Sing. Det
           'The women beat up the child'.

     *d.   **Kofi bɔ-ɔ n-kwadaa no**
           PN. hit-PAST child.Plu. Det
           'Kofi beat the children'.

     *e.   **Mmaa no bɔ-ɔ n-kwadaa no**
           Woman.Pl. Det. hit-PAST child.Plu. Det
           'Kofi beat the children'.

If we compare (8b) to (8d) and (8c) to (8e), we observe that, without verbal reduplication, (8d) and (8e) are ungrammatical. That is, respectively, many patients could not have suffered a single punch and many agents could not have given a single punch and, also, to a number of patients. Let us also note that, unlike in the case of nominal reduplication where many nouns and derived ones require the nominal affix for reduplication, the verb needs no inflection before reduplication takes place. Accordingly, as the data in (9) exhibit, the morphological base could immediately be reduplicated.

(9)   *Verb*   *Reduplication*
     a.   **pra** 'sweep'   **pra-pra** 'sweep (around)'
     b.   **kasa** 'speak'   **kasa-kasa** 'speak scornfully'
     c.   **dua** 'plant'   **due-dua** 'plant (around)'
     d.   **pam** 'sew'   **pim-pam** 'sew (here and there)'

_____

3. Inflection for /N-/ as a factor of asymmetry

We have noted that the morphological bases of both the noun and the verb inflect for the prefix /N-/ for different semantic inputs. While the noun inflects for the affix /N-/ for plurality, the verb inflects for it to negate its affirmative form. These are respectively exemplified in (10a) and (10b) below, where the phoneme /N-/ is variously realized according to the place of articulation of the stem-initial consonant. Our major interest, however, is in the inflection for the affix in the individual reduplications of the noun and the verb because, as we have noted earlier and will attempt to evince, the individual morphological orders reveal an asymmetry between the nominal and verbal reduplications.

(10) a   *Noun*   *Plural form*
           i.   **dompe** 'bone'   **n-nompe**
           ii.   **a-boa** 'animal'   **m-moa**
           iii. **a-fenaa** 'servant'   **m-fenaa** [ɱfɪnaa]
           iv.   **e-kuro** 'town'   **n-kuro** [ŋkuro]

       b   *Verb*   *Negative form*
           i.   **sa** 'dance'   **n-sa**
           ii.   **boa** 'help'   **m-moa**
           iii. **fra** 'mix'   **m-fra** [ɱfra]
           iv.   **kum** 'kill'   **n-kum** [ŋkum]

With the nouns, it must be emphasized that their inflection for /N-/ even before reduplication is for the regular manifestation of plurality as shown in (10a). As also noted and shown in (11a), we observed that a few other nouns in the language rather take an alternative plural prefix of /A-/, often described as the irregular case. Yet others, often described as mass or countless nouns, are also noted with the prefix /N-/ in their citation forms and proceed to be reduplicated as shown in (11b).

(11) a   *Noun*   *Plural form*   *Reduplication*
           i.   **bosom** 'idol'   **a-bosom** 'idols'   **a-bosom-a-bosom** 'various idols'
           ii.   **ɛ-dan** 'house' **a-dan** 'houses'   **a-dan-a-dan** 'a number of houses'
           iii. **ɛ-kwan** 'way'   **a-kwan** 'ways'   **a-kwan-a-kwan** 'road after road'
           iv.   **e-tuo** 'gun'   **a-tuo** 'guns'   **a-tuo-a-tuo** 'range of guns'

_____

b		*Noun*	*Reduplication*
	i.	**n-suo** 'water'	**n-suo-n-suo** 'watery'
	ii.	**n-kyene** 'salt'	**n-kyene-n-kyene** 'salty'
	iii.	**m-mogya** 'blood'	**m-mogya-m-mogya** 'of bloodstain'
	iv.	m-paeɛ 'prayer'	m-paeɛ-m-paeɛ 'prayer after prayer'

With the verb, on the other hand, the inflection for the prefix /N-/ is not needed at all for reduplication as we observed in section 2.2. However, as could also be observed in (12), where the prefix /N-/ is inflected for in reduplication, the imputation of negation is evident just as it is with its inflected morphological stem.

(12)		*Verb*	*Neg-Stem*	*Neg-Reduplication*
	a.	**pra** 'sweep'	**m-pra**	**m-pra-pra**
	b.	**kasa** 'speak'	**n-kasa**	**n-kasa-kasa**
	c.	**dua** 'plant'	**n-nua** (/**n-dua**/)	**n-nua-dua**
	d.	fɛm 'loan out'	m-fɛm	m-fɛm-fɛm

On the realization of asymmetry between the nominal and the verbal reduplications, we observe that the morphological stem of the nominal reduplication allows affix-stem reduplication pattern (i.e. [[Affix-Stem]-[Affix-Stem]]), but that of the verbal reduplication blocks this pattern, but rather allows only stem reduplication (i.e. [Affix-[[Stem]-[Stem]]]), hence the asymmetry (a) and (b) of (13) below respectively shows.

(13)	a	*Noun*	*Plural form*	*Reduplication*	
	i.	**dompe** 'bone'	[**n-nompe**]	[[**n-nompe**]-[**n-nompe**]]	
	ii.	**e-tuo** 'gun'	[**a-tuo**]	[[**a-tuo**]-[**a-tuo**]]	
	iii.	**a-kwadaa** 'child'	[**n-kwadaa**]	[[**n-kwadaa**]-[**n-kwadaa**]]	
	iv.	**n-suo**	---	[[**n-suo**]-[**n-suo**]]	
	b	*Verb*	*Neg. form*	*Reduplication*	**Reduplication*
	i.	**pra** 'sweep'	[**m-[pra]**]	[**m-[pra]-[pra]**]	*[[**m-pra**]-[**m-pra**]]
	ii.	**kasa** 'speak'	[n-[**kasa**]]	[**n-[kasa]-[kasa]**]	*[[**n-kasa**]-[**n-kasa**]]
	iii.	**nua** 'cook'	[**n-[nua]**]	[**n-[nua]-[nua]**]	*[[**n-nua**]-[**n-nua**]]
	iv.	fɛm 'loan out'	[m-[**fɛm**]]	[m-[**fɛm**]-[**fɛm**]]	*[[m-fɛm]-[m-fɛm]]

The data in (13) may be explained further through prosodic considerations of domain categorization (see e.g. Selkirk (1986) and de Lacy (1997)), and we postulate that the morphological stem of the noun is prosodically dependent on the inflected affix for domain sufficiency and/or requisition for reduplication.[5] We further suggest that this requisition explains why the noun stem in Akan generally inflects for the plural affix before reduplication can be realized. Accordingly, as structured in (13a) under 'reduplication' in particular, this dependence ensures the realization of a true total reduplication (i.e. [[Affix-RED]-[Affix-BASE]]) in nominal reduplication. In the case of the verbal reduplication, on the other hand, we contend that the morphological stem is prosodically sufficient and, therefore, independent (of the affix /N-/). Accordingly, unlike the noun, it could immediately be reduplicated in isolation and without the prefix as the data in (13b) illuminates. That is to say, as shown under 'reduplication 2' of (13b), verbal reduplication involving the base and the affix is ill-formed.

Subsequent to the prosodic independence of the morphological base of the verb into reduplication, we posit that where we have affix in verbal reduplication as in (13b), it only comes in or it is inflected for after reduplication of the stem. This explains why the affix is outside the immediate domains of the base and its reduplicant under 'reduplication'; [Affix-[[RED]-[BASE]]]. The data in (14) further explain the fact that, unlike the nominal base, the verbal base does not need the affix for reduplication.

(14) ***Verb***   ***Reduplication***
   a. **pra** 'sweep' **pra-pra** 'sweep around'
   b. **kasa** 'speak' **kasa-kasa** 'speak scornfully'
   c. **dua** 'plant' **due-dua** 'plant (around)'
   d. **pam** 'sew' **pim-pam** 'sew (here and there/one after the other)'

The fact that the verbal base is prosodically sufficient for reduplication is buttressed by the fact that other affixes it inflects for, particularly tenses and/or aspects, are also not individually inflected for by the reduplicant and the base. As shown in (15), we observe a general inflection for the affixes and not an individual inflection of them by the reduplicant and the base (i.e. *[[Affix-RED]-[Affix-BASE]]), as also shown in (15).

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[5] In this paper, we do not assume any particular prosodic domain. All what we need to show is that the morphological base is reduplicated; i.e. either with the affix /N-/ or in isolation.

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		Verb	***Reduplicated verbs***	
(15)	i.	pra 'sweep'	**Kofi** [re-[pra-pra]]	****Kofi** [[re-pra]-[re-pra]]
			PN PROG.-RED-sweep	
			'Kofi is sweeping around'	
	ii.	kasa 'speak'	**Kofi** [bɛ-[kasa-kasa]]	****Kofi** [[bɛ-kasa]-[bɛ-kasa]]
			PN FUT.RED-speak	
			'Kofi will speak scornfully'	
	iii.	nua 'cook'	**Kofi** [[due-dua]-e]	****Kofi** [[due-e]-[dua-e]]
			PN RED-plant-PAST	
			'Kofi planted (around)'	
	iv.	fɛm 'loan out'	**Kofi** [a-[fem-fɛm]]	****Kofi** [[a-fem]-[a-fɛm]]
			PN COMP-RED-loan out	
			'Kofi has loan out a lot'	

4. Reduplicated forms in Morphological Doubling Theory

We have observed in section 2 that nominal and verbal reduplications in Akan are mostly total. Reduplication of the noun and the verb, therefore, involves the doubling of the morphological stem as the Morphological Doubling Theory (Inkelas 2005, Inkelas and Zoll 2005, Osam et al. 2013; etc.) suggests. According to Inkelas and Zoll (2005: 2), the central thesis of the Morphological Doubling Theory (MDT) is that the phonological, morphological and semantic aspects are needed and that their empirical domains of application are almost complementary. They explain further that, key to MDT is the assumption that daughters of reduplication are semantically identical. Thus, as shown in (16) below, a recast of Inkelas (2005: 65), a morphological construction calls for two autonomous inputs/stems whose morphosyntactic features are in agreement.

(16)

Reduplication **(Output/Mother)** (Meaning = aspect of reduplicant + aspect of base; Phonology = reduplicant phonology + base phonology)

Reduplicant **(Input/Daughter 1)** (Meaning = meaning of base; may have individual phonology)	**Base** **(Input/Daughter 2)** (Meaning = meaning of reduplicant; may have individual phonology)

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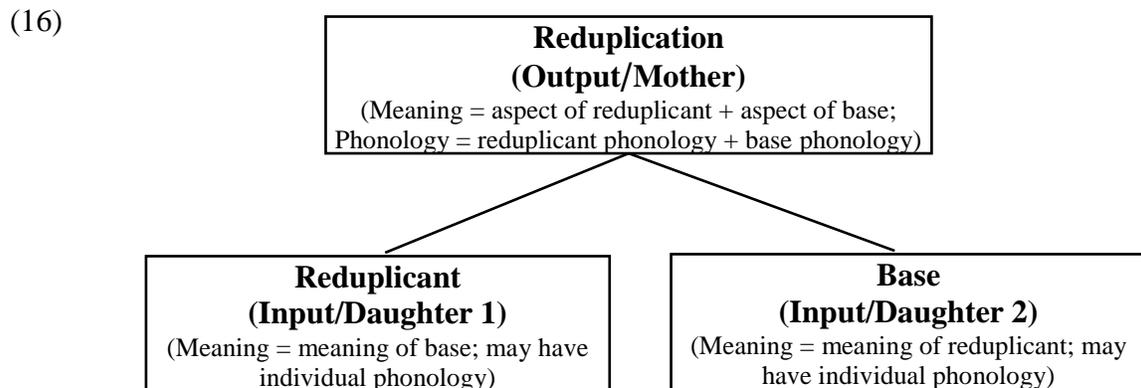
We also note in (16) that, while the individual stems do share the same morphosyntactic features, they may be morphotactically and morphophonologically distinct; a morphological divergence that is unique to MDT. So, each input (noted as a daughter) is also subject to a co-phonology that determines its shape. However, the outputs of the two stems' co-phonologies are combined and subjected to a third co-phonology at a combined stage (noted as the mother node) that produces a surface form. In other words, the reduplicant and the base are also subject to a common phonology that determines a resulting shape (or final morphological structure) of an output. Instances of diverse co-phonologies are seen in some nominal and verbal reduplications in Akan; e.g. ***n-nue-n-nua*** (from the stem, edua/nnua 'stick/wood/tree') and ***do-dɔ*** (from the basic form, ***dɔ*** 'to weed'), respectively. We observe differences in vowel(s) between the daughters, indicating differences in phonology. However, they share a common morphosemantic description.

      In the affirmative state of the verb, the outputs of the nominal and verbal reduplications are commonly captured and straightforwardly explained in MDT.[6] That is, as could be seen in the respective cases of (17a) and (17b) for nominal and verbal reduplications, both inputs (i.e. the reduplicant and the base) are morphophonologically identical. In this case, they are also identical in terms of morphotactics. Accordingly, each one of them is well-formed, resulting in identical order or symmetry. Within optimality theory, the constraints 'MAX-IO' (McCarthy and Prince 1995) as the dominant constraint ensures the doubling or total reduplication in the nominal and verbal cases. Stated in (19a), 'MAX-IO', in this case, outranks any constraint that suggests any morpheme out in the reduplication. One such constraint we employ is 'Truncate', which is also stated in (19b), and ranked lower to 'MAX-IO' in (18).

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[6] Let us be reminded that, unlike the verb which inflects for /N-/ to indicate negation and could be reduplicated without the affix, the noun inflects for /N-/ to indicate plurality and it is generally needed for reduplication.

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(17) a.
$$[[\textbf{n-nompe}]\text{-}[\textbf{n-nompe}]]_{[F\ +\text{Increment};\ +\text{made of}]}$$

Co-phonology Z

/**n-nompe**/$_{[F]}$ /**n-nompe**/$_{[F]}$

Co-phonology X   **Co-phonology Y**

/**n-nompe**/$_{[F]}$ /**n-nompe**/$_{[F]}$ where F = [BONE]

b.
$$[[\textbf{pra}]\text{-}[\textbf{pra}]]\ _{[F\ +\text{Frequency}]}$$

Co-phonology Z

/**pra**/$_{[F]}$ /**pra**/$_{[F]}$

Co-phonology X   **Co-phonology Y**

/**pra**/$_{[F]}$ /**pra**/$_{[F]}$ where F = [FREQ (SWEEP)]

(18)
- Co-phonology X = MAX-IO » Truncate
- Co-phonology Y = MAX-IO » Truncate
- Co-phonology Z = MAX-IO » Truncate (» Expand)

(19) a. MAX-IO: Every element of the input must have a correspondent in the output.

b. Truncate: Truncate where the morphotactic structure of the word demands that.

We further observe in (17a) and (17b) that the co-phonologies 'X' and 'Y' of 'input 1' (i.e. reduplicant) and 'input 2' (i.e. base) share a common constraint ranking (see (i) and (ii) of (17c)) that legitimizes their individual forms, yet identical outputs, which then become the inputs for evolving the main output; i.e. the reduplication. This reduplication also emerged on co-phonology 'Z' (with the same ranking).

Going forward, we have contended in section 3 that where it is necessary for the verb stem to inflect for the affix /N-/ to impute negation, its reduplication is realized within a morphotactic structure that underscores our position of asymmetry between it and the nominal reduplication. We have noted that only the morphological stem reduplicates in

verbal reduplication and that the affix /N-/ (and other verbal affixes) is inflected for only after the reduplication of the base. This is prosodically captured as [Affix-[[RED]-[BASE]]]. For instance, the verb-stems *pra* 'sweep' and *sa* 'fetch' are respectively negated as ***m-pra*** and ***n-sa***. When reduplicated, they, respectively, become ***m-pra-pra*** and ***n-se-sa***, not *m-pra-m-pra and *n-se-n-sa, suggesting the later inflection for /N-/. Therefore, as given in (20), we explain that, where affix /N-/ has to be inflected for in verbal reduplication, an alignment constraint that demands its inflection to the left of the reduplicated verb is needed; i.e. 'ALIGN$L_{[NEG]}$'. As stated in (22), this constraint will have to outrank 'MAX-IO' (and 'Truncate') in co-phonology 'Z' to optimize the morphotactic structure that will also optimally evolve the desired negated verbal reduplication; i.e. 'ALIGN$L_{[NEG]}$ » MAX-IO (» Truncate)'. In co-phonology 'X' and co-phonology 'Z', however, 'MAX-IO' outranks 'ALIGN$L_{[NEG]}$' to ensure the morphotactic structure that will enable reduplication of base without the affix as given in (i) and (ii) of (21).

(20) [**m**-[[**pra**]-[**pra**]]] [F + Frequency]

           Co-phonology Z

    /**pra**/[F]   /**pra**/[F]

Co-phonology X   **Co-phonology Y**

    /**pra**/[F]   /**pra**/[F] where F = [FREQ (SWEEP)]
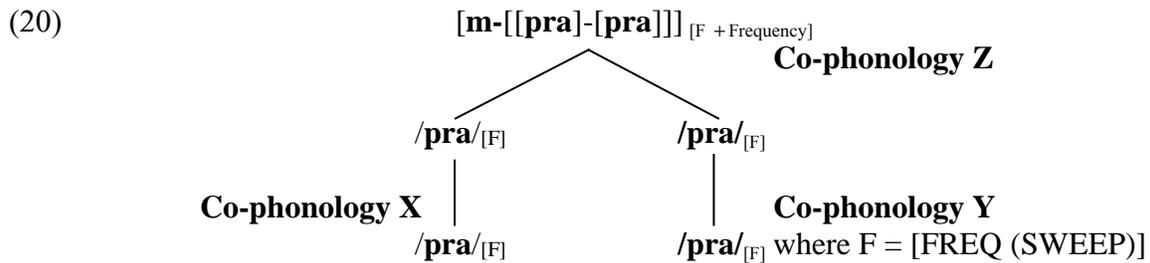
(21)   Co-phonology X = MAX-IO » ALIGN$L_{[NEG]}$» Truncate[Affix]
            Co-phonology Y = MAX-IO » ALIGN$L_{[NEG]}$ » Truncate[Affix]
            Co-phonology Z = ALIGN$L_{[NEG]}$ » MAX-IO » Truncate[Affix]

(22)   ALIGN$L_{[NEG]}$:   The negative affix must be at the left-edge of verbal reduplication where negation is required.

We observe in (16) in particular that, unlike what we saw in (14), co-phonology 'Z' is different from those of 'X' and 'Y' and this is captured by the respective constraints rankings. This is where the morphotactic structure of the reduplicated noun forms in (17a), repeated as (23) below for ease of comparison, is asymmetrical to that of verbal reduplication in (20). That is,

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(23)   [[**n-nompe**]-[**n-nompe**]]_[F +Increment; +made of]
                                                              Co-phonology Z

              /**n-nompe**/_[F]   /**n-nompe**/_[F]

   Co-phonology X | | **Co-phonology Y**
              /**n-nompe**/_[F]   /**n-nompe**/_[F]   where F = [BONE]
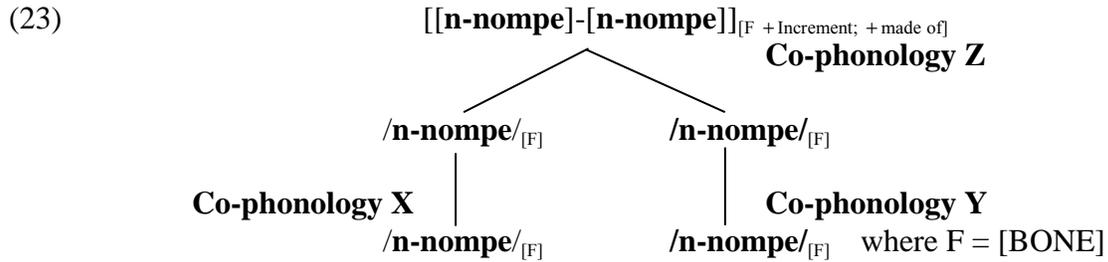
5. Conclusion

This paper has examined the structure of nominal and verbal reduplications in Akan. Towards observing the respective morphotactic structures of the two reduplications, it has particularly been noted that, while the stems of the two syntactic categories or constituents inflect for the affix /N-/ for different semantic purposes in their morphological bases and even in their reduplicated forms, the morphological order of inflection for the affix between them is diverse. We have attempted to describe this diversity in inflection as an asymmetry between nominal and verbal reduplications in the language following Sato (2009). In this respect, it has been observed that, while the inflection obtains in both the base and the reduplicant in the case of the nominal reduplication, in the verbal reduplication, on the other hand, the inflection reflects in the outcome of the reduplication, such that it is only inflected for later in the reduplication and only to the left-edge of the reduplicated form. Through the Morphological Doubling Theory and with the aid of some optimality theoretic manoeuvres, where constraints and their interactions are employed, we have also captured and explained this diversity as an asymmetry between the two reduplicated forms.

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THE SYNTAX OF RECIPROCAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN AKAN

Kofi K. Saah

Abstract

According to König and Gast (2008:2), "[R]eciprocity is not only of interest for linguists. Since this phenomenon lies at the root of social organization, it has fascinated philosophers, social scientists and biologists for many decades and even centuries." In this paper, I examine the kind(s) of construction(s) that are available to Akan speakers for the expression of reciprocal situations. The paper shows that reciprocal relations are expressed in Akan transitive constructions involving the use of: i) a reduplicated verb and a plural anaphor which is possessive pronoun plus **ho** "self"/ "body" construction (the same as what is used for reflexives), ii) an unduplicated verb and reduplicated anaphor, iii) a reduplicated verb and a reduplicated anaphor, and iv) a reduplicated verb and a plural anaphor plus the reduplicated quantifier **nkorkor** (Fa.)/ **baako baako** (Ak. & As.).

Keywords: reciprocals, reciprocity, reflexives, anaphor(s), reduplication, quantifier

1. Introduction[1]

Reciprocal constructions and the issues of reciprocity have been studied for many years by linguists working on languages from the different language groups or families such as Gur (Swartz n.d.); Niger-Congo (Safir & Selvanathan 2016); Australian (Evans et

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[1] I would like to thank the audience at the Dolphyne @ 80 conference for their comments and suggestions on this paper. I would also like to thank Reginald Akuoko Duah for reading the manuscript and making some corrections. Of course, all imperfections are solely mine.

al. 2007); Kavalan (Sung & Sheng 2006); Igbo (Okeke 2008); Bantu (Maslova 2007); Japanese (Nishigauchi 2017); and many more[2].

Reciprocity expresses the notion: *"X did something to/or perceived /felt something about Y and Y did the same thing to/about X."* This refers to a situation where there are two or more people who are doing the same thing to one another. In this paper, I will explore the means by which Akan expresses reciprocal situations and the kind(s) of construction(s) used to achieve this purpose. Using attested data from the three literary dialects of Fante (Fa.), Akuapem (Ak.) and Asante (As.), I will discuss the similarities and differences, if any, in the reciprocal constructions in these three main Akan Twi dialects.

1.1 Interpretation of Reciprocal Relations

The interpretation of reciprocal constructions has been explored by many linguists. Evans et al. (2007: 541-542) give the semantic representations of examples like *John and Mary kissed each other* and *John and Mary quarrelled with each other* as follows:

(1) a.   *John and Mary kissed each other*
            kiss (j, m) & kiss (m, j)
     b.   *John and Mary quarrelled with each other*
            quarrel.with (j, m) & quarrel.with (m, j).
            (Evans et al, 2007: 541-542, ex. 1)

Not being a semanticist, I will not attempt to give any sophisticated semantic representations of the examples I will use. I will rather give a simplified version like: *X V Y and Y V X* (where X and Y are the participants and V is the verb). This characterization works perfectly where the reciprocal expression and its antecedent refer to single individuals. There are complications in the interpretation in situations where both the reciprocal and its antecedent refer to multiple participants, a problem which is beyond the scope of this paper.

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[2]An anonymous reviewer asked me to be specific about the groups of Australian languages mentioned. Evans at al. (2007) mention about 21 languages and listing all of them here is not feasible. Maslova (2007) talks about Bantu in general, so I cannot be any more specific. In each of the works cited here, I have followed the names of languages and or groups of languages provided by the authors.

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The paper is divided into the following sections: Section 1 is the introduction. Section 2 explores the ways of expressing reciprocal situations in Akan, and Section 3 presents the summary and conclusion.

2. Ways of Expressing Reciprocal Relations

Languages differ in the way they encode reciprocal relations. According to Majid et al. (2011:1),

> Linguists have long known that concepts of reciprocity are expressed in various ways through the structure of language: from lexicon ("feast," "exchange"), to special morphology in some languages, to full-blown grammatical constructions (e.g., "gave to each other," "shook one another's hands"). Indeed, many languages have grammatical constructions evolved specially for the purpose of expressing reciprocal actions and reciprocal states (e.g., "loved one another") … In the case of reciprocity, many languages have constructions based on the nominal model, like English each other. Other languages, however, encode the same or a similar concept by means of a verbal affix. Most languages have more than one construction for expressing reciprocity.

Safir and Selvanathan (2016: 495) also state:

> The prevailing idea about the typology of reciprocal constructions is that there are two major types: the constructions which encode reciprocity with a periphrastic anaphor and those that encode reciprocity within the verb itself (König & Gast 2008, Siloni 2012, among others).

They show that in the examples, "*The men hit each other*" and "*The men collided,*" the reciprocal meaning resides in the expression *each other* in the former while "the reciprocal meaning" in the latter "is lexicalized within the verb itself" (Safir & Selvanathan ibid: 495-496).

The two strategies described by Safir and Selvanathan above are attested in Nzema a language closely related to Akan. Chinebuah (1976) shows that Nzema employs "reciprocal verbs" which "necessarily require a conjunction of noun phrases in subject

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position" and are used intransitively as in (2a) and other verbs that are used transitively together with "reciprocal complements" as in (2b) to express reciprocity:

(2) a. **Kofi neé Akyɛ *hón-le***. (Nzema)
Kofi and Akyɛ fight.PST
'Kofi and Akyɛ fought.'
(Chinebuah 1976:11, ex. 1a, interlinear glosses mine)

b. **Kofi neé Akyɛ   zɔhó   bɛ nwó**.
Kofi and Akyɛ   resemble.PRES.STAT 3PL.self
'Kofi and Akyɛ resemble each other.'
(Chinebuah 1976:15, ex. 11a, interlinear glosses mine)[3]

It seems to me that the verb "fight" is inherently reciprocal. Since one cannot literally fight with him/herself, the sentence can only mean *"Kofi fought with Akyɛ and Akyɛ fought with Kofi."* In (2b) reciprocity is conveyed by the periphrastic anaphor **bɛ nwó** "each other" which occurs as the complement/object of the verb **zɔhó** "resemble."

Akan has both strategies described for Nzema as the following examples show:

(3)   a.   **Kofi ne Amma *ko-e***. (Akan)
Kofi and Amma fight-PST
'Kofi and Amma fought (with each other).'
b.   **Kofi ne Amma   sɛ**.
Kofi and Amma resemble.PRES.STAT
'Kofi and Amma resemble (each other).'
c.   **Kofi ne Amma   tan   wɔn ho**.
Kofi and Amma hate.PRES   3PL self
'Kofi and Amma hate each other.'

In these examples the notion of reciprocity is encoded in the intransitive verb in (3a & b) and in the transitive verb and a periphrastic anaphor as in (3c).

It seems to me that a study of those verbs that are inherently reciprocal will yield very interesting results. For example, while **ko** "to fight" can only be used with a

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[3] I wish to thank Emma Sarah Eshun for her help in glossing the Nzema examples.

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conjoined or plural NP to express reciprocity, others like **sɛ** "resemble" can be used both transitively and intransitively for the same purpose. For example:

(4)   a.   **Kofi ne Amma sɛ**.
                Kofi and Amma resemble.PRES.STAT
                'Kofi and Amma resemble (each other).'
    b.   **Kofi sɛ   Amma.**
                Kofi resemble.PRES.STAT Amma
                'Kofi resembles Amma (and by implication, Amma resembles Kofi)'

However, it is the (3c) type of construction in which a transitive verb and a periphrastic anaphora are used that I am interested in in this paper.

2.1 Coding Reciprocal Relations in Akan

Many languages of the world use polysemous anaphors for both reflexives and reciprocals. Otoo (2016:144) indicates that the same "possessive + **he** structure" is used for both reflexives and reciprocals in Ga, another Kwa language spoken in Ghana. For example (5) may be ambiguous between a reciprocal and a reflexive interpretation in Ga:

(5)   **Akwele kɛ Oko sumɔ-ɔ amɛ-he.**
        Akwele and Oko love-HAB 3PL-POS self
        'Akwele and Oko love each other'
                (Otoo 2016: 145, ex. 3e).[4]

Although Otoo translates this sentence as "*Akwele and Oko love each other,*" (Sampson Korsah, personal communication) tells me that the sentence can also mean "*Akwele and Oko love themselves.*"

Haspelmath (2013:354) reports that:

> In the world's languages, identity with reflexives is not uncommon,
> but distinct reciprocal constructions are more common, especially
> in Eurasia. Outside of the Americas, identity of reciprocals and

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[4] I wish to thank Sampson Korsah for his view on this sentence and confirming it by soliciting the views/judgements of other native speakers for me.

reflexives is found especially in western and central Africa and
Australia (Maslova & Nedjalkov 2005).

Talking about specific West African languages, Safir and Selvanathan (2016:497) write:

The Gungbe and Fe'efe'e anaphors are two-way ambiguous
between reciprocal and reflexive reading. The Yoruba anaphor …
even permits a literal interpretation 'their bodies'. Such polysemy is
attested in several other African languages (many represented in the
Afranaph database, including Babanki, Bafut, Ga, Ibibio, Limbum,
Saari and Urhobo.

Akan is not an exception to this. Christaller (1875) writing about pronouns in Akan
remarks:

When pronouns in the objective case are reflexives, they are
compounded with the noun **hõ** = *self* : **me hõ, ne hõ, yen hõ, mo
hõ, won hõ** *myself* **& c.**
Odo ne hõ, *he loves himself*; **yedo yen hõ**, *we love ourselves.*

When the action expressed by the verb is reciprocal, either the
compound form of the object pronoun, or only the last part of it,
or the verb, is doubled:
**Wodo won hõ-won hõ, or Wodo won hõ-hõ, or wododo won
hõ,** *they love each other.*

Christaller's observations are borne out in this study. Akan marks reciprocal relations with
a possessive pronoun + **hõ** construction which is the same structure as that used for
reflexives. These forms function as the complements of transitive verbs which may or may
not be reduplicated. As a result of this, there are situations where there is ambiguity
between a reflexive reading and a reciprocal reading.
    In the following sub-sections, I will outline the main strategies that Akan speakers
use in reciprocal constructions.

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2.1.1 Use of a Reduplicated Verb with a Plural Anaphor

One method of expressing reciprocity is by reduplicating the verb and combining it with a periphrastic reflexive/reciprocal anaphor. Consider the following example:

(6) **Da bi hɔ no,   na⁵   [wiram m-moa   do-dɔ**
Day one there CD   TSRM   bush PL-animal   love-REDUP.PST
wɔn ho]   sɛdeɛ n-nipa   binom   nso dodɔ wɔn ho   wɔn ho
3PL self   as   PL-person some   also love 3PL self   3PL self
yi ara.
DET.PART
also
'Once upon a time, all the animals in the bush loved one another just as some people also loved another.' (My translation).
          (Ayeh 1978, p.37, English glosses and translation, mine.)

Concentrating on the bracketed clause in this extract, we see that the verb **dɔ** "to love" has been reduplicated to **dodɔ**. It takes a plural subject **wiram mmoa** "bush animals" and selects a plural anaphor **wɔn ho** "themselves" which is polysemous with the reflexive pronoun. The sentence could mean: "All the animals in the bush loved themselves" or "All the animals in the bush loved one another." Since the story is not about self-love, we can safely say that it is the reciprocal meaning that is intended.

The underlined section in this extract also contains a reciprocal construction of the kind that we will discuss in section 2.1.3. The strategy of using a reduplicated verb and plural anaphor is attested in all the three literary dialects of Akan as the examples in (7) show:

(7) a.   **Na wo-sɔ-ɛɛr   anapahema, na [wo-dzi-i   nsew**   (Fa.)
and 3PL.wake up.PST early morning and   3PL.swear.PST oath
kyerɛ-kyerɛ-ɛ   hɔn ho].
show.REDU.PST   3PL self
'Early the next morning, the men swore an oath to each other'
(Genesis 26:31 NIV).

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⁵ Some writers such as Boadi (2005) and Kandybowicz (2015) refer to this particle as a past tense marker. I disagree with this analysis. Following Clement (1982), I will refer to it as a temporal switch reference marker (TSRM). It is a means by which Akan speakers form complex tenses. This marker links the tense of the preceding clause/discourse with the tense/aspect of the following clause.

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b. **Na   wɔ-sɔre-e   anpatutu   [keka-a   ntam** (Ak. & As.)
   And   3PL.wake up.PST early morning swear.REDU.PST oath
   kyerɛ-kyerɛ-ɛ   wɔn ho].
   show.REDU.PST   3PL.self
   'Early the next morning, the men swore an oath to each other'
   (Genesis 26:31 NIV).

(8) a. **Na homdze,   e-nua-nom,   wɔ-a-frɛ   hom a-ma**   (Fa)
   And 2PL   PL-sibling-PL 3PL.PERF.call 2PL PERF.give
   adehyedzi na adehyedzi no   m-ma   ɔ-n-n-yɛ
   freedom   and freedom   DEF NEG.let   3SG.INANM.NEG.be
   kwan   m-ma   honam, na mbom
   way   NEG.give   flesh   but rather
   [hom n-dua   ɔdɔ do n-son-som   hom-ho.]
   2PL SUBJUN.take love on SUBJUN.love.REDUP   2PL.self
   'You, my brothers and sisters, were called to be free. But do not use your
   freedom to indulge the flesh; rather, serve one another humbly in love'
   (Galatians 5:13, NIV).

b. **A-nua-nom, adehyedi mu na   wɔ-a-frɛ   mo a-ba;**   (Ak. & As)[6]
   PL-sibling-PL freedom   in   that 3PL.PERF.call   2PL PERF.come
   nanso mo-m-m-ma   adehyedi no n-n-yɛ   ɔkwan
    but   2PL.NEG.SUBJUN.let freedom DEF NEG.SUBJUN.be way
   m-m-ma   ɔhonam, na mmom [mo-m-fa   ɔdɔ so
   NEG.SUBJUN.give   flesh   but rather 2PL.SUBJUN.take love on
   n-son-som   mo ho.]
   SUBJUN.serve.REDU   2PL.self
   'You, my brothers and sisters, were called to be free. But do not use your
   freedom to indulge the flesh; rather, serve one another humbly in love'
   (Galatians 5:13, NIV).

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[6] In all the Akuapem and Asante translations, there were only minor differences reflecting the different pronunciations of certain words. The reciprocal is the same for both of them. As a result of this, I've used the Akuapem version to represent the two dialects in most cases to save space.

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The examples in (7) differ in one significant way. The Fante version in (7a) uses two conjoined sentences (*They woke up early in the morning and they swore an oath to each other*) while the Akuapem and Asante version uses a serial verb construction. Secondly, the Fante expression for "to swear an oath" is **dzi nsew kyerɛ** while the Twi (Akuapem and Asante) version is **ka ntam kyerɛ**. The **kyerɛ** "show" part is reduplicated in both instances and it selects the plural periphrastic anaphor which is ambiguous between a reflexive reading and a reciprocal reading. The reduplicated verb signifies repeated action or multiple participants, and it seems to me, that the reciprocal interpretation is rather strong.[7] The same is true of the examples in (8) in which both Fante and the Twi dialects reduplicate the verb **som** "to serve" which then selects a plural anaphor as its complement. Though a reflexive reading (serve yourselves) competes with a reciprocal reading (serve one another/each other), for one conversant with the Christian message, a reciprocal interpretation is more plausible. In other words, self-love is not what is being encouraged in these texts. This leads me to make the following general statement:

(9) *A reciprocal situation is expressed by using a reduplicated verb which selects a plural periphrastic anaphor as its object/complement*.

2.1.2 Use of an Unreduplicated Verb and a Reduplicated Anaphor

Another way of expressing a strong reciprocal situation is by using an unreduplicated verb which selects a reduplicated anaphor as its complement. Consider the following example:

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[7] This is because, ordinarily, if a speaker wants to say that someone swore an oath, (a) is more felicitous than (b):

    a.   Kwame **dzi-i   nsew/ka-a   ntam.**
              Kwame say-PST oath/say-PST oath
              'Kwame swore an oath.'

    b.   ***Kwame dzi-i   nsew/ka-a ntam kyerɛ-ɛ   no/ne   ho**.
              Kwame say.PST oath/say.PST oath   show.PST 3SG.POSS self

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(10) a. **Yɛ-<u>bɔ-ɔ</u>** **mpaeɛ ma-a** **yɛn** **ho** **yɛn** **ho[8].**
1PL-say-PST prayer give-PST 1PL.POSS self 1PL.POSS self
'We prayed for each other.'

b. **Yɛ-<u>n-ya</u>** **abotrɛ** **m-ma** **yɛn** **ho** **yɛn** **ho.**
1PL.SUBJUN.get patience SUBJUN.give 1PL.POSS self 1PL.POSS self
'Let's have patience for one another.'[9]

In these examples, the underlined verbs are not reduplicated, but their anaphoric complements are. Without the reduplication of the anaphor, the sentence in (10a), for example, will be ambiguous: *We prayed for ourselves* (each person praying for him/herself) or *We prayed for each other*. But with the reduplication of the anaphor, the one plausible explanation is that every person said a prayer for every person in the group.

Initially, I did not have examples for this type of construction in the Fante data I had and I was tempted to think that Fante speakers do not utilize it. Patience Obeng (personal communication) not only confirmed that this option is available in Fante, but also provided me with the following examples:

(11) a. **Hom n-sie** **abotar** **m-ma** **hom-ho** **hom-ho** (Fa.)
2PL SUBJUN.keep patience SUBJUN.give 2PL.POSS.self 2PL.POSS.self
'Have patience for one another.'

b. **Hom n-kyen kɔm m-ma** **hom-ho** **hom-ho**.
2PL SUBJUN fast SUBJUN.give 2PL.POSS.self 2PL.POSS.self
'Fast for one another/each other.'

c. **Wo-kyir** **hɔn-ho** **hɔn-ho.**
3PL.hate 3PL.POSS.self 3PL.POSS.self
They hate each other/one another.'

In these examples, the verb is not reduplicated, but the anaphor is just as in the Twi examples in (10). It seems to me that the reduplicated plural anaphor in such constructions precludes a reflexive reading in these examples.

Based on these facts, we will make a second general statement as follows:

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[8] I heard this example from Pastor Owusu Ansah on a radio programme in the morning of Tuesday 11th July 2006.

[9] I heard and noted this sentence also from a sermon I attended at a wedding at Anum on 29th September 2018. The preacher was exhorting the couple and all present to be patient with one another.

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(12) *A reciprocal situation is expressed by using an unreduplicated verb which selects a reduplicated anaphor as its object/complement.*

2.1.3 Use of a Reduplicated Verb and a Reduplicated Anaphor

The following examples seem to suggest that the Twi dialects allow a construction in which both the verb and the anaphor are reduplicated, while Fante allows only the reduplication of the verb without the reduplication of the anaphor. Consider the following examples:

(13)   a.   **[Na wo-<u>se-se</u>-e   hɔn-ho] dɛ, wɔn-hwɛ**   (Fa.)
                 and 3PL.say.REDU.PST   3PL.self   that 3PL.see
                 ɔ-daasofo no   na ɔ-re-ba   no.
                 SG.dreamer DEF FM 3SG.PROG.come CD
                 'Here comes the dreamer!' 'They said to each other' (Genesis 37:19 NIV)

       b.   **[Na wo-<u>si-se</u>-e   wɔn ho   wɔn ho] sɛ: Hwɛ**   (Ak.)
                 and 3PL.say.REDU.PST   3PL self 3PL self that look
                 ɔ-daesofo no   na   ɔ–re-ba   no.
                 SG.dreamer DEF FM   3SG.PROG.come   CD
                 'Here comes the dreamer!' 'They said to each other' (Genesis 37:19 NIV)

       c.   **[Na wɔ-<u>se-se</u>-e   wɔn ho   wɔn ho] sɛ: Hwɛ**   (As.)
                 and 3PL.say.REDU.PST 3PL self 3PL self that look
                 daesofoɔ no   na   ɔ–re-ba   no.
                 SG.dreamer DEF FM   3SG-PROG-come   CD
                 'Here comes the dreamer!' 'They said to each other' (Genesis 37:19 NIV)

(14)   a.   **Na sɛ emi   Kyerɛkyerɛfo nye Ewuradze, m-a-hohor hom**   (Fa.)
               and if 1SG Teacher   and Lord   1SG-PERF-wash 2PL.POSS
               a-nan   ho a,   hom so sɛ dɛ [hom <u>hohor</u> hom   a-nan ho
               PL.foot body COND 2PL also be.necessary 2PL wash 2PL.POSS
               PL.foot body
               n-korkor].
               PL.one.REDU

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'If I then, your Lord and Teacher, have washed your feet, you also ought to wash one another's feet' (John 13:14, NIV).

b. **Afei sɛ me, Awurade ne Kyerɛkyerɛfo no,   m-a-hohoro** (Ak. & As.)
Now if 1SG Lord   and Teacher   DEF 1SG-PERF-wash
mo   nan ho   a,   na ɛ-sɛ   sɛ
2PL.POSS feet body COND then 3SG.INA.be necessary   that
mo nso [mo-<u>hohoro</u> mo ho   mo ho   a-nan   ho].
2PL also 2PL.wash   2PL.POSS.self 2PL.POSS.self PL-foot body
'If I then, your Lord and Teacher, have washed your feet, you also ought to wash one another's feet' (John 13:14, NIV).

In the examples in (13 b & c) and (14b), both Akuapem and Asante use a reduplicated verb and a reduplicated anaphor to express a reciprocal situation. Fante reduplicates the verb, but not the anaphor, as shown in example (13a). This pattern is consistent in the data I have so far. Consider the next set of examples:

(15)   a.   **Na Moses fi-ir   edzi ke-hyia-a   n'asew,   na ɔ-kotow-ee** (Fa.)
and Moses go.PST out go.meet.PST 3SG.POSS.in-law and 3SG.bow.PST
na o-fe-ew   n'ano;   na [wo-<u>bisa-bisa-a</u>   hɔn apɔw mu;]
and 3SG.kiss.PST 3SG.POSS.mouth and 3PL.ask.REDU.PST 3PL.POSS.health
'So Moses went out to meet his father-in-law and bowed down and kissed him. They greeted each other …'   (Exodus 18:7, NIV).

b.   **Na Mose fi-i   adi ko-hyia-a   n'ase,   na ɔ-kotow** (Ak.)
And Moses go.PST out go.meet.PST 3SG.POSS.in-law and 3SG.bow.PST
no   few   n'ano;   na [wo-<u>kyia-kyia-a</u>
3SG.OBJ kiss.PST   3SG.POSS.mouth and 3PL.greet.REDU.PST
wɔn   ho   wɔn   ho] …
3PL.POSS.self   3PL.POSS.self
'So Moses went out to meet his father-in-law and bowed down and kissed him. They greeted each other …'   (Exodus 18:7, NIV).

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      c.   **Na Mose fi-i   adi ko-hyia-a   n'ase,   na ɔ-kotow** (As.)
            And Moses go.PST out go.meet.PST 3SG.POSS.in-law and 3SG.bow.PST
            no   fe-e   n'ano;   na [wo-<u>kyea-kyea-a</u>
            3SG.OBJ kiss.PST 3SG.POSS.mouth and   3PL.greet.REDU.PST
            wɔn   ho   wɔn   ho]…
            3PL.POSS.self   3PL.POSS.self
            'So Moses went out to meet his father-in-law and bowed down and kissed
            him. They greeted each other …'   (Exodus 18:7, NIV).

The reciprocal meaning in all these examples cannot be disputed and this has to do with the nature of verbs used. In the real world one does not greet himself/herself or ask himself/herself, "How are you?" We assume that "*Moses greeted his father-in-law*" and "*Moses' father-in-law greeted Moses*" is the intended meaning.

        Once again, Patience Obeng (personal communication) informs me that constructions in which both the verb and the anaphor are reduplicated to express reciprocity occur in the speech of Fante speakers. She asserts that a sentence like: **Hom ndodɔ homho** "Love each other/one another" is perfectly acceptable. This means, therefore, that it is not only the Twi dialects which permit the reduplication of both the verb and the anaphor and this leads me to make the third general statement about reciprocal constructions as follows:

        (16) *A reciprocal situation is expressed by using a reduplicated verb which*
               selects a reduplicated anaphor as its object/complement.

2.1.4 Use of a Reduplicated Verb and an Anaphor + quantifier

    The fourth strategy that can be deduced from the data is the use of an anaphor plus the quantifier **nkorkor** "one-one" with the reduplicated verb. This strategy appears to be more prevalent in Fante. Consider the following examples:

   (17) a.   **Mbrasɛm   fofor na   me-dze me-ma hom, dɛ**   (Fa.)
           Commandment new FM   1SG-take 1SG-give 2PL that
           [hom <u>n-do-dɔ</u>   hom-ho n-korkor]:   dɛ mbrɛ m-a-dɔ
           2PL SUBJUN-love-REDU 2PL.self PL.one.REDU as how 1SG-PERF-love
           hom no, [hom so   <u>n-do-dɔ</u>   hom-ho] dɛmara.
           2PL CD 2PL also SUBJUN.love-REDU   2PL.self likewise

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'A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another: just as I have loved you, you also are to love one another' (John 13:34, NIV).

b. **Ahyɛde   foforo na   me-ma   mo, sɛ**   (Ak. & As.)
Commandment new   FM   1SG-give 2PL that
[mo-<u>n-no-dɔ</u>   mo   ho]   sɛnea me-dɔ-ɔ   mo no,
2PL-SUBJUN-love.REDU 2PL self   as   1SG-love-PST 2PL CD
sɛ [mo nso mo-<u>n-no-dɔ</u>   mo ho   mo ho!]
so 2PL also 2PL-SUBJUN-love-REDU 2PL.self   2PL.self
'A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another: just as I have loved you, you also are to love one another' (John 13:34, NIV).

The Fante example in (17a) is a complex sentence which contains two reciprocal constructions as indicated by the square brackets. The first one, **hom <u>ndodɔ</u> homho nkorkor** "love one another" shows that Fante optionally adds a reduplicated quantifier **nkornkor** "one-one" to the anaphor. The second reciprocal construction, **hom so <u>ndodɔ</u> homho** "you are also to love one another" does not have the quantifier as shown in the first one. It is interesting to see that in the same complex sentence involving two reciprocal constructions, two strategies, i) one in which the plural anaphor is modified by a reduplicated quantifier, and ii) another in which the plural quantifier is not modified by a plural quantifier. In other words, the quantifier is optional and this suggests that the two structures are used interchangeably.

The Twi example in (17b) also presents an interesting situation. Again, there are two reciprocal constructions in this complex sentence. The first one, **mo<u>nnodɔ</u> mo ho** "love one another," has a reduplicated verb followed by an unreduplicated anaphor. The second construction, **mo nso monnodɔ mo ho mo ho** "you are also to love one another" has both a reduplicated verb and a reduplicated anaphor. It means that in the same complex sentence, two of the options that we have discussed have been utilized to indicate reciprocity.

(18a) below provides an additional example of the Fante use of the anaphor plus a reduplicated quantifier/numeral **n-korkor** "one-one" (cf. English *each other*, *one another*) to indicate reciprocity. In this example, an adverb **yie** "well" intervenes between the anaphor and the quantifier. The Twi version in (18b) does not have the quantifier.

(18)   a.   **Ennuadɔ   mu a,   [<u>hom</u> <u>n-do-dɔ</u>**   (Fa.)
Brotherly love   in   COND 2PL SUBJUN-love-REDU
<u>homho</u> yie <u>nkorkor</u>],   enyidzi   mu a,

_____

2PL.self well PL.one.REDU respectful in
[hom n-dzi   kan n-dzi-dzi   hom-ho   nyi].
 2PL SUBJUN.take lead SUBJUN-show-REDU   2PL.self respect
'Be devoted to one another in brotherly love. Honour one another above yourselves' (Romans 12:10, NIV).

b.   **Mo-m-fa onuadɔ   n-no-dɔ   mo ho yiye,** (Ak., As.)
2PL-SUBJUN-take brotherly love   SUBJUN-love-REDU 2PL self well
mu-n-ni kan   n-nidi   mo ho ni.
2PL-SUBJUN-take lead   SUBJUN-show-REDU 2PL self respect
'Be devoted to one another in brotherly love. Honour one another above yourselves' (Romans 12:10, NIV).

In all the examples I have gathered so far, wherever the Twi dialects use either the reduplicated verb as in (15b) or a reduplicated anaphor (14b), Fante uses the anaphor + **nkorkor** construction as in (14a and 15a). It seems to me that the idea of reciprocity is unequivocally expressed with the use of **nkornkor** "one-one."

Though the optional use of the quantifier is not found in the Twi examples in (16b and 17b), it appears the strategy is not peculiar to Fante alone. Kofi Agyekum (personal communication) informs me that constructions like **mondodɔ mo ho baako baako** "love one another (one-one)" occurs in the Twi dialects as well.   It means, therefore, that both Fante and the Twi dialects use this strategy to express reciprocal relations and it leads me to make a final general statement about reciprocal constructions in Akan:

(18) *A reciprocal situation is expressed by using a reduplicated verb which selects an anaphor plus a reduplicated quantifier **nkorkor (Fa.)/ baako baako** (Ak. & As.) as its object/complement.*

Table 1 summarises the strategies for expressing reciprocity in Akan.

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Table 1: Strategies for Coding Reciprocal Relations in Akan

	Reduplicated Verb + plural Anaphor	Unreduplicated Verb + Reduplicated Anaphor	Reduplicated Verb + Reduplicated Anaphor	Reduplicated Verb + Anaphor + Reduplicated Quantifier
Fante	+	+	+	+
Akuapem	+	+	+	+
Asante	+	+	+	+

3. Conclusion

This paper has shown that reciprocal relations are expressed in Akan transitive constructions involving the use of a possessive pronoun + **ho** structure in object position. These constructions are made up of:

i)   a reduplicated verb and a plural anaphor which is a possessive pronoun plus **ho** "self"/ "body" construction (the same as what is used for reflexives),

ii)   unreduplicated verb and reduplicated anaphor,

iii) a reduplicated verb and a reduplicated anaphor,

iv)   a reduplicated verb and a plural anaphor plus the reduplicated quantifier **nkorkor** (Fa.)/ **baako baako** (Ak. & As.).

From what has been outlined above, it emerges that Akan utilizes at least four strategies in expressing reciprocal relations. These strategies involve either reduplicating the verb or the anaphor or both. The only differences between Fante on one hand, and the Twi dialects have to do with dialectal differences in vocabulary.

It must be noted that in all cases, the reciprocal anaphor agrees with its antecedent in being plural.

List of abbreviations
1, 2, 3 first, second, third person
CM: clausal marker
COND: conditional
DEF: definite
FUT: future
NEG: negation marker
NIV: New International Version of the Holy Bible
PERF: perfective
PL: plural
POSS: possessive marker
PRES: present
PROG: progressive
PST: past
REDU: reduplication
SG: singular
SUBJUN: subjunctive
TSRM: temporal switch reference marker

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VOWEL DOUBLING BEFORE THE VERBAL UNIT -YƐ [jɛ] IN ASANTE TWI

Seth Antwi Ofori

Abstract

This paper offers a derivational account of [**jɛ**], and establishes the motivation for vowel doubling before [**jɛ**] in some past and perfect verb stems in Asante Twi. The paper identifies 'avoidance of an independent high vowel syllable' as the prosodic condition that motivates the formation of the **VVjɛ** subunit in these verb stems. What begins as an attempt to, optionally, resolve a violation of this prosodic condition at the stem final position results in a violation of it stem-medially. A vowel is doubled to avert the violation of this condition at the stem medial position. Vowel doubling feeds the phonological processes that derive the **jɛ** subunit of these verb stems. There is alternation in verb stems; the forms with **…VVjɛ** ending is one of three different permissible outputs in Asante Twi. A constraint-based account identifies four free ranking constraints as responsible for the alternation in these verb stems. These constraints organize into three subhierarchies that select the three different output forms of a verb stem. Interaction among the four constraints within the three subhierarchies is guided by the ranking schemas: Markedness constraints >> Faithfulness constraints, Faithfulness constraints >> Markedness constraints and Segmental/featural constraints >> Prosodic constraints. The arrangement of these constraints into the first schema selects a verb stem with the **…VVjɛ** ending over the other permissible outputs.[1]
Keywords: past, perfect, suffix, doubling, constraints

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1. Introduction

      Akan employs two main suffixing strategies in past affirmative and perfect negative sentences. The suffix is a copy of the verb's final segment when the verb is followed by an object or a complement, but is realized as **-ɪ/-i** in the absence of an object or a complement to follow the verb (Dolphyne 1988). In other words, the two suffixing strategies are mutually exclusive in their contexts of application. Dolphyne (1988) identifies **-yɛ** as another past suffix in the Asante Twi dialect of Akan. She defines **-yɛ** as an alternative past suffix of **-ɪ/-i** in the Asante dialect of Akan. This means that **-yɛ**, whenever it is in use, just like **-ɪ/-i**, is never followed by an object or a complement. She observes that **-yɛ** is always preceded by two identical vowels, but the same is not required before **-ɪ/-i**. The two identical vowels that occur before **-yɛ** belong to separate syllables in Akan phonology: the first vowel is a nucleus of the verb's final syllable, and the second, a nucleus of an undefined (vocalic) syllable that interrupts the verb and **-yɛ** sequence. By the current study, the vowel that immediately precedes **-yɛ** is derived through doubling – that is, by the lengthening of the first of the two identical vowels – hence the use of the term vowel doubling in this paper. Three questions are very important and motivate this study. One, why must **-yɛ** be preceded by a vowel?[2] Two, why must a vowel before **-yɛ** be doubled? Three, is **-yɛ** [**jɛ**] indeed an alternative suffix of **-ɪ/-i**? This paper primarily investigates the motivations for the occurrence and the doubling of a vowel before **-yɛ** in this area of Akan phonology and also refines Dolphyne's (1988) position on **-yɛ** as an alternative past suffix of **-ɪ/-i** in Asante Twi. Specifically, it pursues a derivational account of the **-yɛ** unit of the past affirmative and perfect negative verb stem in Akan. It argues that the formation of **-yɛ** on the past affirmative and perfect negative verb stem in the Asante dialect of Akan

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student. She was there for me, and I am very happy to be able to join with the rest of my colleagues in linguistics to honor her with this publication on her 80th birthday.

[2] A reviewer offered this example to suggest that **-yɛ** may also be preceded by a consonant: '**Aba yam-yɛ**' Aba milled/grinded it? The correct Asante version of this sentence is **Aba yamm-yɛ**. The final consonant of the verb, **yam** 'to grind' is doubled before **-yɛ** [**jɛ**]. My position on this is not different from when [**-jɛ**] is preceded by a vowel. In both case, a segment (i.e. a preceding vowel or consonant of [**-jɛ**]) is doubled/lengthened. The doubling in each case delinks **-ɪ** which then becomes [**j**] before [**ɛ**]. That a verb final consonant doubles before [**-jɛ**] falls outside the scope of the current research, that is, considering the title of the current paper.

is necessary to satisfy certain phonotactic (i.e. segment and syllable sequencing) constraints in this dialect of Akan. Same phonotactic constraints motivate vowel doubling.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section two provides the relevant background information on the data from Akan morpho-syntax and phonology. Section three outlines some basic analytical principles from linear and non-linear phonology, and optimality theory. In section four is the analysis: a rule-based and non-linear approach to the problem, and a constraint-based approach to the problem. This section aims to establish the constraints that motivate **-yɛ** formation and vowel doubling before **-yɛ.** Section five is the conclusion.

2. A brief introduction on Akan syntax and phonology

There are two subsections to this section, subsection (2.1) and (2.2). Discussions in subsection (2.1) focus on defining the problem under investigation. In subsection (2.2) is a short introduction to Akan phonology, and an outline of other phonological choices I deem relevant for this study.

2.1 Suffixation on the verb in Akan

The only instance where a verb undergoes suffixation in the Akan tense-aspect system is in the past affirmative and perfect negative sentence construction. The suffix is attached to the affirmative verb to form the past affirmative sentence, but to the negative verb to derive the perfect negative sentence. There are different suffixal units for different morphosyntactic and phonological contexts, and Dolphyne (1988) and Osam (2003) have defined adequately when the different suffixal units are in use in the language.[3] Below are some of Dolphyne's (1988) observations on the past affirmative and perfect negative verb stems in Akan:

The Past suffix **–i/-ɪ**: This is the only suffix in the verbal forms. It occurs in the Past Affirmative and Perfect Negative forms of the verb. There are two different

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[3]Osam (2003) calls completive aspect what Dolphyne (1988) has called past tense. The reason of Osam's (2003) choice of the term completive aspect over Dolphyne's (1988) past tense is beyond the scope of this paper.

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realizations of this suffix depending on whether or not the verb is followed by an object or a complement.

(i) Where the verb is not immediately followed by an object or a complement, a Low tone suffix **–i/-ɪ** which agrees with the vowel of the stem in being advanced or unadvanced occurs after the stem. In Asante the suffix has two alternative forms, either the high front vowel **–i/-ɪ**, or **-yɛ**, and in each case the suffix is preceded by a long vowel.) If the stem ends in a vowel, the long vowel is the same quality as that of the final vowel. Where the stem ends in the bilabial nasal **m**, the vowel that occurs before the suffix is a high rounded vowel. Where the stem ends in **n**, the vowel that occurs before the suffix is a high vowel that agrees with the vowel of the stem in lip position.

(ii) Where the verb is immediately followed by an object or a complement, the suffix is realised as a lengthening of the final vowel, if the stem ends in a vowel. If the stem ends in a consonant, the suffix does not occur but its tone is carried by the final consonant. The unified Akan orthography represents this by doubling the final consonant letter. In Asante such a stem may also be pronounced with a high vowel after the final consonant (Dolphyne 1988: 93 – 94).

The suffixal forms are: (a) **-ɪ**, (b) **-i**, (c) **-yɛ** (in Asante, Dolphyne 1988), and (d) a vocalic or consonantal copy of the verb-root's final segment (i.e. last letter lengthening, Ofori 2006). **-ɪ** ([-ATR]) is used when the preceding vowel is [-ATR]; Akan operates [+ATR] harmony so there is a change of **-ɪ** to **[-i]** after a [+ATR] vowel. In (1), (2) and (3) below, the past affirmative and perfect negative verb stems are not followed by an object or an adverbial noun and the first three forms (**-ɪ, -i,** and **-yɛ**) are in use there. The suffix is realized as a copy of a verb-root's final (vocalic or consonantal) segment when the verb is followed by an object or an adverbial noun. The abbreviations: As., Ak. and Fa. stand for Asante Twi, Akuapem Twi and Fante, respectively. A dash '-' indicates a morpheme boundary.

The suffix without a succeeding object or noun adverb
(1) The use of **-ɪ**
(a) Past affirmative:
(i) **ɔ̀-sà-ɪ̀** 'She/he fetched (it).' (As/Ak/Fa)
(ii) **ɔ̀-sàà-ɪ̀** 'She/he fetched (it).' (As.)

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(b) Perfect negative:
(i) **ɔ̀-ǹ-sá-ì** 'She/he has not fetched (it).' (As/Ak/Fa)
(ii) **ɔ̀-ǹ-sáà-ì** 'She/he has not fetched (it).' (As)

(2) The use of –i
(a) Past affirmative:
(i) **ò-hù-ì.** 'She/he saw (it).' (As/Ak/Fa)
(ii) **ò-hùù-ì** 'She/he saw (it).' (As)

(b) Perfect negative:
(i) **ò-ǹ-hú-ì.** 'She/he has not seen (it).' (As/Ak/Fa)
(ii) **ò-ǹ-húù-ì** 'She/he has not seen (it).' (As)

(3) The use of **-yɛ** (in Asante Twi):
(a) Past affirmative
(i) CV verb root (**sà**): **ɔ̀sàÀyɛ̀** [ɔ-saa-jɛ] 'She/he fetched (it).'
(ii) CVC verb root (**pàm̀**): **ɔ̀pàmòò-yɛ̀** [ɔ-pamʊʊ-jɛ] 'She/he sewed (it).'
(iii) CVCV verb root (**kàsá**): **ɔ̀kàsàÀyɛ̀** [ɔ-kasa-jɛ] 'She/he spoke.'

(b) Perfect negative
(i) CV verb root (**sà**): **ɔ̀ǹsááyɛ̀** [ɔ-n-saa-jɛ] 'She/he has not fetched (it).'
(ii) CVC verb root (**pàm̀**) : **ɔ̀m̀pámóó-yɛ̀** [ɔ-m-pamʊʊ-jɛ] 'She/he has not sewn (it).'
(iii) CVCV verb root (**kàsá**): **ɔ̀ǹkásááyɛ̀** [ɔ-n-kasa-jɛ] 'She/he has not spoken.'

(4) when the verb is followed by an object or an adverbial noun
(a) Past affirmative:
(i) **ɔ̀sàÀ ǹsúó nò.** 'She/he fetched the water.'
(ii) **ɔ̀pàm̀m̀ àtáádéɛ́ nò.** 'She/he sewed the dress.'

(b) Perfect negative: **ɔ̀-ǹ-sá-á ǹsúó nò.** 'She/he has not fetched the water.'
(i) **ɔ̀ǹsáà ǹsúó nò.** 'She/he has not fetched the water.'
(ii) **ɔ̀m̀pám̀m̀ àtáádéɛ́ nò.** 'She/he has not sewn the dress.'

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In a section of the Asante Twi data, Dolphyne (1988) inserts **ɛ** in bracket after ɪ (the suffixal vowel). Below are such cases and pages of her book they can be found.

(5)

	Asante	English
(5a)	**mìtùì(ɛ̀).**	'I dug it up.' (Dolphyne 1988: 88)
(5b)	**wútùì(ɛ̀).**	'You dug it up.' (Dolphyne 1988: 89)
(5c)	**òtùì(ɛ̀).**	'He dug it up.' (Dolphyne 1988: 89)
(5d)	**ètùì(ɛ̀).**	'It was uprooted.' (It came off.) (Dolphyne 1988: 90)
(5e)	**yètùì(ɛ̀).**	'We dug it up.' (Dolphyne 1988: 90, 91)
(5f)	**mútùì(ɛ̀).**	'You (pl.) dug it up.' (Dolphyne 1988: 91)
(5g)	**Kòfí nà èkɔ̀ì(ɛ̀).**	'It is Kofi who went.' (Dolphyne 1988: 90)
(5h)	**ǹkɔ̀dàá nó nà èhúì(ɛ̀).**	'It is the children who saw it.' (Dolphyne 1988: 90)

This bracketed representation of the **ɛ** segment after **ɪ** (i.e. the past suffix vowel) is relevant to the current study. This mode of representation suggests the optionality of the **ɛ** segment where it occurs. My analytical stance, in this paper, is that **ɛ** is an optional prosodic unit and that **-yɛ** [**-jɛ**] as in (3) above is derived from the **ɪ(ɛ)** vowel sequence.

2.2 A short description of Akan sounds and prosodic units

There are nine vowel phonemes and eighteen consonantal phonemes in Akan, a conclusion based on Dolphyne (1988), page 7 and 48 respectively. Akan has also five nasal vowel phonemes: **ĩ, ɪ̃, ã, ʊ̃, ũ** (Dolphyne 1988: 3). Phonetically, there are ten oral vowel sounds in Akan. Akan operates advanced tongue root harmony and for this reason the low (unadvanced) vowel **/a/** changes to **[æ]** (advanced) to harmonize with a succeeding vowel which is advanced ([+ATR]) in the Twi dialects of Akan (e.g. **/adi/** 'have eaten' is pronounced as [**ædi**]). The unadvanced vowels, **/ɪ, ʊ, ɛ, ɔ, a/**, in the context of [+ATR] harmony, are realized phonetically as [**i, u, e, o, æ**] respectively. In the Fante dialect of Akan, the low unadvanced vowel, **/a/**, changes to [**e**] to agree with a succeeding vowel in the feature [+ATR]. Dolphyne (1988: 29) represents thirty four consonant sounds in Akan. For the current study, we will only need the sounds in the table.

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(6) The feature matrix for selected sounds in Akan

	i	ɪ	u	ʊ	e	ɛ	o	ɔ	a	æ	j	m
Syllabic	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+/-
Low					-	-	-	-	+	+		
High	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		
ATR	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+		
Cor/Pal	✔	✔			✔	✔					✔	
Lab			✔	✔			✔	✔				✔

Traditionally, the features ±high, ±low, ±round/±back, ±advanced are what are very often in use in works on vowel description in Akan. I have left out ±round/±back and have employed ±syllabic, coronal (palatal) and labial to help define phonological processes involving vowels, consonants and prosody (i.e. the syllable) simultaneously. The mark ✔ has been used to indicate the presence of a privative feature; binary features are represented in their usual positive/negative values.

The feature syllabic is needed to represent a change in the prosodic status of a segment. The feature round is considered a dependent of the feature labial in the current study following Sagey (1986: 137 – 145), McCarthy (1988: 103-104) and Lahiri and Evers (1991: 87). This position is justified by the fact that, in Akan, a word-final non-round high vowel becomes round whenever there is the need for this high vowel to harmonize with a consonant in labiality in a phonological environment. The use of the feature labial helps to put the sounds u, ʊ, o, ɔ and m in a natural class, and, therefore, provides justification for consonant-vowel labial harmony as described above. I treat front vowels (more important to the current work, i and ɪ) as coronal (palatal) following Hume (1992) and Clements and Hume (1995). This puts the sounds i, ɪ and j in a natural class of their own in the current work, and helps to explain why a high front vowel reassociates with an onset-slot of a succeeding syllable as j.

Akan has two contrastive tones: high / ´ / and low / ` / as in the words, dá 'day' and dà 'never'. There are three major syllable types: CV, V and C (i.e. a syllabic consonant). A sequence of vowels or consonants belong to separate syllables in Akan. The sound sequence VC belong to different syllables, the C is syllabic with its own contrastive tone and never a coda. There is never a C.V syllable sequence in Akan. A C.V syllable sequence is reanalyzed as CV, and where there is need to preserve the sequence, a high front vowel is inserted after C to derive CV.V.

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3. Some analytical principles

A derivational account of **-yɛ [jɛ]** and the second of the two identical vowels that precede it (i.e. [**jɛ**]) demands "two designated levels of representation, [an] underlying form and [a] surface form ... [with possibly] a number of non-designated levels intermediate between the underlying and surface levels [especially within linear and nonlinear generative phonology]. [Such] non-designated levels are the result of sequential application of phonological rules, or sequential application of phonological rules" (McCarthy 2007: 101). Phonological rules "are the devices employed by the phonological theory to account for the relationship between representations at different levels" (Goldsmith 1996: 2).

The phonological changes that apply to derive past affirmative and perfect negative verb stems in the Asante dialect of Akan show that "nonlinear relations obtain at the intersection of segmental and prosodic structure" (Kenstowicz 1994: 311) in the past affirmative and perfect negative data. That is, the phonological processes that apply to derive these verb stems give credence to the cross-linguistic observation that "the segmental and prosodic aspects of phonological representations are subject to distinct organizing principles and [must] be kept formally distinct" (Harris 2007: 119 – 120, a viewpoint advocated earlier by Goldsmith 1976, Halle and Vergnaud 1982). "The syllable plays an important role as a prosodic constituent …" (Blevins 1995: 206). "[It] has a central role in phonological theory as a constituent that represents phonologically significant groupings of segments" (Zec 2007: 161). The syllable plays a very important role in both a nonlinear and a constraint-based analysis of alterations in the current data. The following positions on the syllable are well supported in the Akan data:

 First, the syllable is a natural domain for the statement of [some] phonotactic constraints. Second, phonological rules are … more simply and insightfully expressed [when we] explicitly refer to the syllable. Finally, [certain] phonological processes are best interpreted as methods to ensure that the string of phonological segments is parsable into syllables (Kenstowicz 1994: 250).

It holds also that there is not always a one-to-one relation between syllabic positions and features or segments (van der Hulst and van de Weijer 1996) and, segments may be either inserted, deleted, doubled or reassociated in certain phonological domains just to

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achieve prosodic and phonotactic well-formedness. These positions above are best articulated within the autosegmental phonology framework.

The ultimate goal of this paper is to establish the constraints – i.e. the well-formedness constraints – that underlie and therefore motivate both segmental and prosodic alterations within the past affirmative and perfect negative verb stems, particularly, the constraints that motivate vowel doubling in these verb stems. According to Fromkin (2000:690) "… constraints function like filters that exclude or prohibit specific types of linguistic representations that fail to satisfy the requirement imposed by the constraint" (Fromkin 2000: 690). Within optimality theory, however, a constraint is defined as "a structural requirement that may be either satisfied or violated by an output. A form satisfies a constraint if it fully meets the structural requirement, while any form not meeting this requirement is said to violate it" (Kager 1999: 9). A constraint exists as either a markedness constraint or a faithfulness constraint. Markedness constraints "require that output forms meet some criterion of structural well-formedness … [and] never take into account elements in the input" (Kager 1999: 9-10). "Faithfulness constraints require that outputs preserve the properties of their basic (lexical) forms, requiring some kind of similarity between the output and its input [; that is, faithfulness constraints] preserve lexical contrasts … [and also] restrict the shape variability of lexical items (Kager 1999: 10). "An output is 'optimal' when it incurs the least serious violation of a set of [faithfulness and markedness] constraints, taking into account their hierarchical ranking". [Constraints] "conflicts are resolved through domination: … the higher-ranked of a pair of conflicting constraints takes precedence over the lower-ranked one" (Kager 1999: 13).

4. Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This section aims to establish the phonotactic and prosodic well-formedness conditions that underlie and, therefore, motivate the phonological processes that apply within the past affirmative and perfect negative verb stems. Akan operates [+ATR] harmony. My position, therefore, is that {**-ɪ**} is the underlying suffix for the past affirmative and perfect negative sentences. {**-ɪ**} is realized as [**-i**] after a [+ATR] vowel due to [+ATR] harmony. The verbal unit, **-yɛ** [**jɛ**], is phonetic, not underlying. **yɛ** [**jɛ**] is derived from the vowel sequence **ɪɛ**. The vowel **ɪ** of the **ɪɛ** sequence is the underlying suffix for the past affirmative and perfect negative sentences. The **ɛ** of the **ɪɛ** sequence is an optional segment that finds its way after the **ɪ** morphemic segment in stretched speech. This is not the first

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work to characterize the **ɛ** segment that succeeds **ɪ** as optional. The optional, non-contrastive status of **ɛ** is implied in Dolphyne's (1988) representation of the segment. She characteristically encloses **ɛ** in bracket after **ɪ** and, in linguistics, this suggests the optionality (and, therefore, the non-contrastiveness) of the segment concerned. If there is a gap in Dolphyne's (1988) account of alternations in the past affirmative and perfect negative stems, it is the fact that she fails to explore any phonological connection between the **ɪ(ɛ)** and the **-yɛ** [**jɛ**] subunits of the past affirmative and perfect negative verb stems, and also fails to account for vowel doubling (i.e. the two identical vowels) before **-yɛ** [**jɛ**].

The claim of this paper is that the **ɪ(ɛ)** and **jɛ** subunits of past affirmative and perfect negative verb stems are not unrelated. Phonologically, **-yɛ** [**jɛ**] is derived from the **ɪ(ɛ)** vowel sequence. The phonetic realization of the **ɪ(ɛ)** vowel sequence as [**jɛ**] is triggered by vowel doubling and, therefore, explains why **jɛ** must always be preceded by the two identical vowels. Vowel doubling applies to obtain prosodic well-formedness and does so to displace **ɪ.** The **ɪ** vowel which is dissociated from its syllabic anchor through vowel doubling, then reassociates as the onset of the optional **ɛ** vowel to derive **jɛ,** and to achieve phonotactic well-formedness.

4.2 Rule-based linear and non-linear approach

From the above positions, contrastive units of the past affirmative and perfect negative verb stems at the clause final (#) position can be defined as in (7) and (8) respectively.[4] (*sfx* stands for suffix.)

(7) Past affirmative: **Verb** + **-ɪ**$_{sfx}$**#**
(8) Perfect negative: **N-** + **Verb** + **-ɪ**$_{sfx}$**#**

Missing from the underlying representations in (7) and (8) are: (i) **ɛ;** (ii) **j,** the onset of **ɛ;** (iii) the extra vowel that comes to precede the **jɛ** sequence (i.e. the extra vowel that is derived through vowel doubling); and (iv) the realization of a CVC verb as CVCV when it is followed by **-ɪ** (the past suffix). From the current study, these units are predictable (i.e. phonetic and non-contrastive) and are introduced into the underlying past affirmative and

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[4] Structurally, Akan has the following verb types: CV (e.g. **dɪ̃** 'eat.transitive', **hù** 'see', **dà** 'sleep', **tɔ̀** 'sell'), CVC (e.g. **tɔ̀ǹ** 'sell', **pàm̀** 'to sew', **dùm̀** 'to put out fire'; CVC verbs are realized as CVCV$_{[+High]}$ before **-ɪ**), CVCV (**bìsá** 'ask', **dìdì** 'eat.intransitive')

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perfect negative verb stems, phonologically, for the purpose of achieving prosodic and phonotactic well-formedness. The goal moving forward is to formulate such well-formedness conditions and to define and illustrate the phonological processes that apply to ensure that particular well-formedness conditions are observed in the past affirmative and perfect negative verb stems. The main phonological processes involved here are: default ɪ insertion, prosodic (syllable) augmentation, vowel doubling/lengthening, ɪ delinking and reassociation (as either an onset or a nucleus) and ɛ insertion.

Default ɪ insertion

The phonological rule that inserts ɪ, the default vowel in Akan, applies between a CVC verb root and -ɪ$_{sfx}$. A linear representation of the rule is as given in (9) below.

(9) ∅ → ɪ / C __.ɪ$_{sfx}$#

A non-linear formulation of the rule, as in (10), will help express the well-formedness conditions that motivate the ɪ insertion rule adequately. The CVC verbs that are represented in the diagram below are: **pàm̀** 'to sew', **kàǹ** 'to read' and **tɔ̀ǹ** 'to sell'. These verbs change to become CVCV after the default ɪ insertion rule has applied to them. On the right side of the diagram are possible output forms. Illicit output forms are marked with an asterisk, and a dot (.) indicates syllable boundary.

(10)   INPUTS   OUTPUTS
        (σ̀)   σ̀   σ̀   +   σ̀$_{sfx}$
                  | | |
               /\ | | |
              / \ μ   μ   μ
             / | | | |
        (n) C   V   C   ɪ$_{sfx}$ = (i) *CV.C.ɪ$_{sfx}$, (ii) *CV.Cɪ$_{sfx}$, (iii) **CV.Cɪ.ɪ$_{sfx}$**
(a)   p   a   m   ɪ   = (i) *pa.m.ɪ$_{sfx}$, (ii) *pa.mɪ$_{sfx}$,
                                     (iii) **pa.mɪ.ɪ$_{sfx}$~ pa.mʊ.ɪ$_{sfx}$**
(b)   k   a   n   ɪ   = (i) *ka.n.ɪ$_{sfx}$, (ii) *ka.nɪ$_{sfx}$, (iii) **ka.nɪ.ɪ$_{sfx}$**
(c)   t   ɔ   n   ɪ   = (i) *tɔ.n.ɪ$_{sfx}$, (ii) *tɔ.nɪ$_{sfx}$, (iii) **tɔ.nɪ.ɪ$_{sfx}$ ~ tɔ.nʊ.ɪ$_{sfx}$**
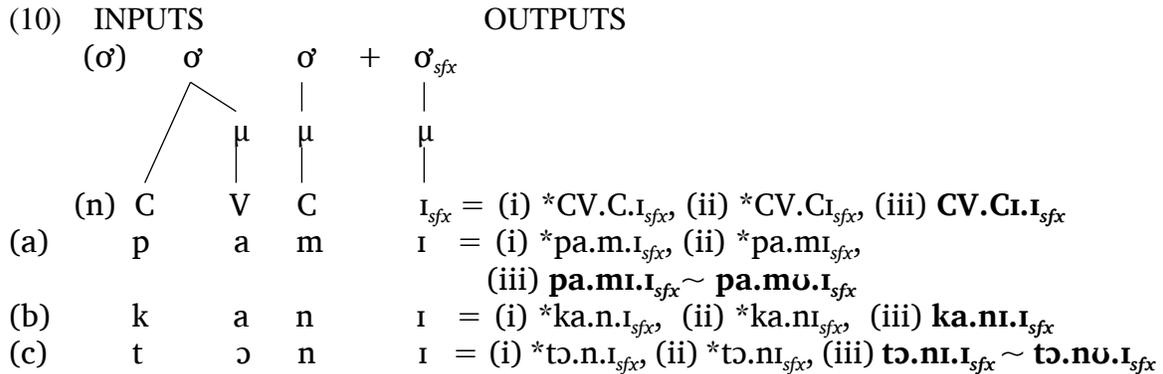
The syllable structure in (10a-i, 10b-i and 10c-i) is *CV.C.ɪ$_{sfx}$. The suffix (-ɪ) is an independent syllable and it is preceded by a syllabic consonant. The *CV.C.ɪ$_{sfx}$ output forms are ungrammatical because Akan does not permit the C.V syllable sequence. The

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syllable sequence in (ii) is an improvement on the one in (i): Here, $\textbf{I}_{sfx}$ is resyllabified into the preceding syllable as a nucleus – and C# the nucleus of the affected syllable is delinked and reassociated as onset – to prevent the C.V syllable sequence, but the effort is still not enough.

The past/perfect suffix must be an independent syllable and the fact that this condition is flouted in (ii) is what makes output forms here ungrammatical. The rule that inserts the default **I** segment is therefore necessary for two important reasons. It applies to prevent a C.V syllable sequence and also to guarantee the syllabic independence of the past/perfect suffix. Default **I** insertion takes place on the segmental plane, but there is a prosodic readjustment/realignment, as shown in (11) below, to accommodate the new vowel.

(11)

(a) σ   σ + σ$_{sfx}$ (b) σ   σ   σ$_{sfx}$

        μ   μ   μ   →   μ   μ   μ

     p   a   m   I$_{sfx}$ p   a   m I   I$_{sfx}$

= (c) (i) **pa.mɪ.ɪ** ~ (ii) **pa.mʊ.ɪ**
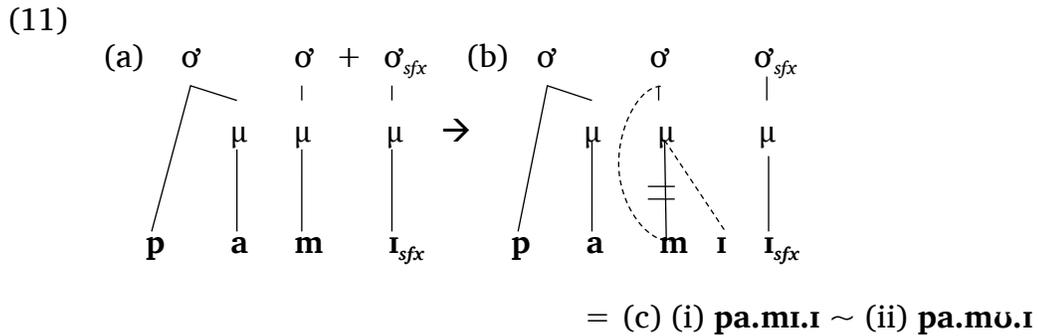
The inserted vowel **ɪ** obtains the nuclear slot over C (the syllabic consonant) on grounds of sonority and shows a strong preference for vowels as nucleus over consonants in Akan. From the diagram in (11), **ɪ** associates as nucleus and delinks **m** in the process; the delinked **m**, then reassociates as the onset of its syllable. The inserted **ɪ** optionally harmonizes with a preceding consonant or vowel in labiality; the labial nasal (**m**) spreads labiality to the inserted vowel (**pa.mɪ.ɪ#** - i.e. the vowel immediately after **m**) to derive **pa.mʊ.ɪ#** in (11c-ii). The fact that the past/perfect suffix vowel does not enter into labial harmony is the evidence that the CVC to CVCV change of the verb root is not due to a leftward spreading of the past/perfect suffix (i.e. **ɪ**). An account in favor of a leftward spreading of the **-ɪ** suffix over default **ɪ** insertion would produce ***pamʊʊ#** as the output form (i.e. when the verb stem is not followed by either an object or a complement). That is, labial harmony will target the past/perfect suffix **ɪ** (as opposed to an inserted vowel) to derive the ungrammatical output form, ***pamʊʊ#**. The verb stem ***pamʊʊ#** is ungrammatical for the fact that the verb stem is clause final or is not followed by an object or a complement.

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The fact that **m** and a succeeding vowel (**ɪ**) enter into labial harmony (i.e. without the past/perfect suffix (**ɪ**)) is the justification for their independent status, and is the reason the default **ɪ** insertion account is superior to the leftward spreading of **ɪ** account. The coronal nasal (**n**) is transparent in that it does not obstruct the spread of labiality from a preceding vowel to the inserted vowel when the verb root is **CV$_{[lab]}$n**, for example: **tɔ.nɪ.ɪ#** becomes **tɔ.nʊ.ɪ#**.

Prosodic (syllable) augmentation/insertion

There is an optional dispreference of an independent high vowel syllable at the stem-final position in Asante Twi.[5] This is resolved through empty syllable augmentation/insertion after syllabic **ɪ** (i.e. the past/perfect suffix segment). The licit output forms in (12) below are argued to have been subjected to the optional empty syllable augmentation/insertion rule.

(12)
(a) Past affirmative:
(i) /ɔ-sa-ɪ/ → [ɔ̀-sàà-ì] 'She/he fetched (it).'
(ii) /ɔ-hu-ɪ/ → [ò-hùù-ì] 'She/he saw (it).'

(b) Perfect negative:
(i) /ɔ-n-sa-ɪ/ → [ɔ̀-ǹ-sáà-ì] 'She/he has not fetched (it).'
(ii) /ɔ-n-hu-ɪ/ → [ò-nhúù-ì] 'She/he has not seen (it).'

(c) Past affirmative (with **-yɛ** preceeded by two identical vowels)
(i) CV verb root: **ɔ̀sàáyɛ̀** [ɔ-saa-jɛ] 'She/he fetched (it).'
(ii) CVC verb root: **ɔ̀pàmòò-yɛ̀** [ɔ-pamʊʊ-jɛ] 'She/he sewed (it).'
(iii) CVCV verb root: **ɔ̀kàsàáyɛ̀** [ɔ-kasa-jɛ] 'She/he spoke.'

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[5] The empty syllable insertion rule applies in nouns also in Asante Twi. The rule applies to prevent a final (C)V$_{[+High]}$ syllabic morpheme. This can also be expressed as the avoidance of a high vowel syllable word-finally. The fact that a high vowel is dispreferred in this domain means that the default **ɪ** insertion rule cannot apply in this domain. The empty syllable is rather filled with the mid-vowel **ɛ**. In nouns, **ɛ** always agrees with its immediate preceding vowel in its values of round and ATR. For example, **asɪ** 'under', **Ghanafʊ** 'Ghanaians', **nsu** 'water' are pronounced as **asɪɛ, Ghanafʊɔ** and **nsuo** respectively in Asante Twi; **ɛ** is realized as **ɔ** and **o** because of labial (+round) and [+ATR] harmony.

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(d) perfect negative (with **-yɛ** preceeded by two identical vowels)
(i) CV verb root (**sà**): **ɔ̀ǹsááyɛ̀** [ɔ-n-saa-jɛ] 'She/he has not fetched (it).'
(ii) CVC verb root (**pàm̀**) : **ɔ̀m̀pámóó-yɛ̀** [ɔ-m-pamʊʊ-jɛ] 'She/he has not sewn (it).'
(iii) CVCV verb root (**kàsá**): **ɔ̀ǹkásááyɛ̀** [ɔ-n-kasa-jɛ] 'She/he has not spoken.'

These are the past affirmative and the perfect negative verb stems with either **-i/-ɪ** or **-yɛ** preceeded by two identical vowels. The treatment of empty syllable insertion as an optional rule in the Asante dialect of Akan is justified by the fact that output forms in (13) below are also acceptable in Asante Twi; the output forms in (13) are without the two identical vowels (i.e. vowel doubling/lengthening), and also **-yɛ** is not in use in (13).

(13)
(a) Past affirmative:
(i) **ɔ̀-sà-ì** 'She/he fetched (it).'
(ii) **ò-hù-ì**. 'She/he saw (it).'

(b) Perfect negative:
(i) **ɔ̀-ǹ-sá-ì** 'She/he has not fetched (it).'
(ii) **ò-ǹ-hú-ì**. 'She/he has not seen (it).'

In other words, it is grammatical for the **ɪ** segment of the past/perfect suffix to occur clause finally in Asante Twi just like in the other Akan dialects; the variant verb forms are used interchangeably by speakers of the Asante dialect of Akan. In (14a) is a linear representation of syllable augmentation/insertion; (14b) represents the same phenomenon non-linearly. These representations apply to derive output forms in (12) above.

(14)

    (a) $\emptyset \rightarrow \sigma \, / \sigma.\textsc{ɪ}\_\#$

    (b)

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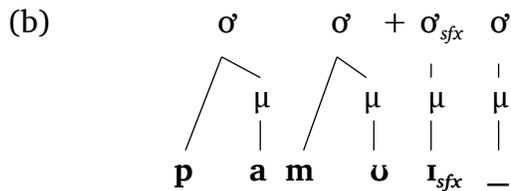
Vowel doubling/lengthening and ɪ delinking

        The insertion of the empty syllable after syllabic ɪ to prevent one prosodic blunder ends up creating another one. The past/perfect suffixal segment ɪ (i.e. syllabic ɪ) comes to be followed by another syllable. That is, the insertion of an empty syllable puts syllabic ɪ at the stem medial position. The language strongly disprefers the independent syllabic-high-vowel at the stem-medial position also. My analytical position is that a high vowel is weak as an independent syllable, intersyllabically. So the problem here is that the segmental content of the past/perfect syllable is under threat of deletion against the requirement, by the grammar, to preserve the past/perfect syllable. The past/perfect syllable cannot be realized or preserved, phonetically, without a segmental content. The language employs vowel doubling (or lengthening) (as obtained in data in 12) to prevent an intersyllabic high syllable (i.e. a high vowel as an independent syllable stem-medially) and, at the same time, to preserve the past/perfect syllable phonetically. In other words, segment lengthening/doubling, as a phonological rule, makes a contrastive prosodic unit (within the past/perfect verb stem) look better on the segmental plane. Below in (15) is an autosegmental representation of vowel doubling.

(15)

$$\sigma \qquad \sigma \; + \; \sigma_{sfx} \; \sigma \qquad \sigma \qquad \sigma \quad \sigma_{sfx} \; \sigma$$

$$\mu \qquad \mu \; \mu \qquad \mu \;\; \rightarrow \;\; \mu \qquad \mu \;\; \mu \;\; \mu$$

$$\text{p} \quad \text{a} \;\; \text{m} \;\; \text{ʊ} \;\; \text{ɪ}_{sfx} \qquad \text{p} \quad \text{a} \;\; \text{m} \;\; \text{ʊ} \;\; \text{ɪ}$$
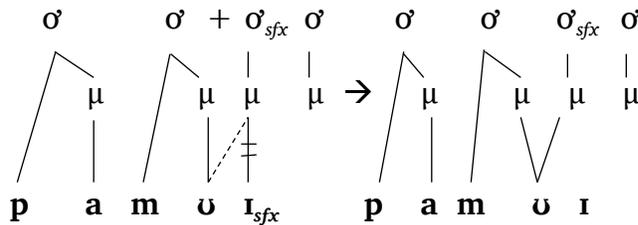
In the above diagram, ʊ (a high vowel) lengthens rightwardly to delink ɪ (i.e. the segmental content of the past/perfect syllable). The vowel that lengthens to the past/perfect syllable is also a high vowel, but the resultant output does not violate the condition against an independent syllabic high-vowel. What is dispreferred is an independent high vowel syllable, and vowel lengthening does not create one; a doubly associated high vowel does not count as an independent high vowel syllable. Vowel lengthening dissociates ɪ (i.e. the past/perfect segmental content) from the past/perfect syllable. The ɪ/i and jɛ units that occur after the two identical vowels (as in 12), from the current research, is not the

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past/perfect unit. The extra vowel (i.e. the second of the two identical vowels) before **ɪ/i** and **jɛ** as in data (12) and in (15) is, therefore, the 'new' (i.e. the emerged/alternative) past/perfect segment.

Delinked ɪ reassociation versus ɛ insertion

Segmental processes here can be tagged as 'the competition for a prosodic anchor'. The competition here holds between a rule that seeks to reassociate **ɪ** and another one which applies to insert **ɛ,** and is over the nuclear slot of the empty syllable that was optionally inserted after syllabic **ɪ.** The two rules compete to apply in the same prosodic slot such that the application of one rule removes the phonological context for the application of the other; that is, the two rules are in a bleeding relation. The application of **ɪ** reassociation over **ɛ** insertion is as represented in (16a) and applies to derive the stem variants in (16b and c). Here, the reassociation of **ɪ** as nucleus of the empty syllable bleeds the application of the **ɛ** insertion rule.

(16)
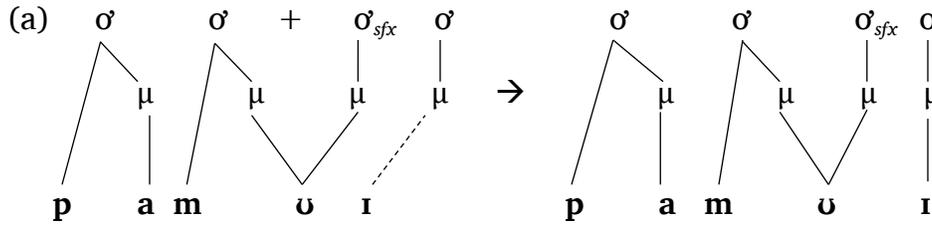
(b) Past affirmative:
(i) /ɔsaɪ/ → [ɔ̀-sàaɪ̀] 'She/he fetched (it).'
(ii) ɔ̀pàmòòɪ̀ [ɔ-pamʊʊɪ] 'She/he sewed (it).'

(c) Perfect negative
(i) /ɔnsaɪ/ → [ɔ̀ǹsáaɪ̀] 'She/he has not fetched (it).'
(ii) ɔ̀m̀pámòò-ɪ̀ [ɔ̀m̀pámʊ̀ʊ̀-ɪ̀] 'She/he has not sewn (it).'

Stem variants consisting of two identical vowels (i.e. vowel doubling) followed by **-yɛ** [jɛ] as given in (17) below are examples of the inverse application of the two rules: the rule that applies to insert **ɛ** as nucleus of the empty syllable takes precedence over the rule that applies to reassociate **ɪ** to this very prosodic anchor. The rule on **ɛ** insertion bleeds

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the rule that strives to reassociate **ɪ** as nucleus; this explains why the **ɛ** segment is realized phonetically over **ɪ** in verb stems in (17).

(17) Stems exhibit vowel doubling followed by **-yɛ** [**jɛ**]
(a) Past affirmative
(i) CV verb root (**sà**): **ɔ̀sààyɛ̀** [**ɔ-saa-jɛ**] 'She/he fetched (it).'
(ii) CVC verb root (**pàm̀**): **ɔ̀pàmɔ̀ɔ̀-yɛ̀** [**ɔ-pamʊʊ-jɛ**] 'She/he sewed (it).'

(b) Perfect negative
(i) CV verb root (**sà**): **ɔ̀ǹsááyɛ̀** [**ɔ-n-saa-jɛ**] 'She/he has not fetched (it).'
(ii) CVC verb root (**pàm̀**) : **ɔ̀m̀pámóó-yɛ̀** [**ɔ-m-pamʊʊ-jɛ**] 'She/he has not sewn (it).'

The delinked **ɪ** segment does not undergo deletion having lost the nuclear slot to **ɛ**; it utilizes its coronal/palatal feature to reassociate as **j** with the onset slot of the **ɛ** syllable to derive the **-yɛ** [**jɛ**] subunit of the verb stem. In linear terms, the **ɪ** to **j** sound change can be expressed as in (18):

(18) [+syll, cor/pal] → [-syll] / V_ [-High]

The change of **ɪ,** the high front vowel, to **j** when it reassociates as onset of a succeeding syllable is simply the loss of the feature [+syllabic], but the retention of the feature coronal/palatal. The segment **ɪ** loses its [+syllabic] feature by virtue of its reassociation with an onset slot. The feature [+syllabic] is dispreferred at the onset. **ɛ** insertion precedes and creates the context for onset formation (i.e. the **ɪ** to **j** sound change). That is, **ɛ** insertion feeds onset formation in this regard, since without the nucleus, there cannot be an onset; 'the nucleus is the syllable's essential core' (Kenstowicz 1994: 253). Again, the **ɪ** to **j** change is necessary for phonotactic reasons; the [+High][-High] vowel sequence is dispreferred, phonetically. Asante Twi resolves this dispreference through the **j** onset formation. Below in (19) are non-linear representations of the phonological processes that apply to derive the **jɛ** subunit of past affirmative and perfect negative verb stems.

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(19)

(a) **ɛ** insertion: ø ➔ **ɛ** / **[+High]** _ **#**

(b) onset formation: **[+syll, cor/pal]** ➔ **[-syll]** /V$_{αF}$·V$_{αF}$·__V$_{[-Hi]}$

(c) Final output:

= **pamʊʊjɛ** *(orthographically: pamooyɛ)*
= **mpamʊʊjɛ** *(perfect negative)*

The observations above suggest that some distinctive features are strictly properties of certain prosodic domains. The feature [+syllabic] is strictly a feature for the nuclear slot of the syllable in Akan, by this study. The feature coronal/palatal is ambidextrous, in this regard, for being able to feature at both the nuclear and onset slots of the syllable.

In (20) below are illustrations of the phonological rules that apply to derive the **VVjɛ** subpart of the past affirmative and the perfect negative verb stems in Asante Twi.

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(20) Phonological rules that derive the verb stem ending: …VVjɛ#

tɔ 'sell', **sa** 'dance', **pam** 'sew', **tɔn** 'sell'	CV verbs		CVC verbs	
Rules: ↓ Inputs: →	(i) **tɔ⁺ɪ#**	(ii) **sa⁺ɪ#**	(iii) **pam⁺ɪ#**	(iv) **tɔn⁺ɪ#**
(a) Default ɪ insertion: ø → ɪ / C __.ɪ_sfx_#	N/A	N/A	**pa.mɪ.ɪ ~ pa.mʊ.ɪ**	**tɔ.nɪ.ɪ ~ tɔ.nʊ.ɪ**
(b) Syllable insertion: ø→ o' /o'.ɪ_#	**tɔ.ɪ.o'#**	**sa.ɪ.o'#**	**pa.mɪ.ɪ.o' ~ pa.mʊ.ɪ.o'**	**tɔ.nɪ.ɪ.o' ~ tɔ.nʊ.ɪ.o'**
(c) Vowel doubling / lengthening: V → V.V/__.ɪ.ɛ#	**tɔ.ɔ.(ɪ)o'**	**sa.a.(ɪ)o'**	**pa.mɪ.ɪ.(ɪ)o' ~pa.mʊ.ʊ.(ɪ). o'**	**tɔ.nɪ.ɪ.(ɪ).o' ~ tɔ.nʊ.ʊ.(ɪ).o'**
(d) ɛ insertion: ø→ ɛ /V.V.(ɪ)__]_o'_#	**tɔ.ɔ.(ɪ)ɛ**	**sa.a.(ɪ)ɛ**	**pa.mɪ.ɪ.(ɪ)ɛ ~ pa.mʊ.ʊ.(ɪ).ɛ**	**tɔ.nɪ.ɪ.(ɪ).ɛ ~ tɔ.nʊ.ʊ.(ɪ).ɛ**
(e) Onset formation: **[+syll,cor/pal] → [-syll] /V_αF_.V_αF_.__V_[-Hi]_**	**tɔ.ɔ.jɛ**	**sa.a.jɛ**	**pa.mɪ.ɪ.jɛ ~ pa.mʊ.ʊ.jɛ**	**tɔ.nɪ.ɪ.jɛ tɔ.nʊ.ʊ.jɛ**
Final output	**tɔ.ɔ.jɛ**	**sa.a.jɛ**	**pa.mɪ.ɪ.jɛ ~ pa.mʊ.ʊ.jɛ**	**tɔ.nɪ.ɪ.jɛ ~ tɔ.nʊ.ʊ.jɛ**

The default ɪ insertion rule feeds vowel doubling in CVC verb roots, since it is the default vowel which is lengthened in CVC verb roots. Also, syllable augmentation/insertion feeds vowel lengthening or doubling, vowel doubling applies to delink ɪ; also syllable augmentation/insertion feeds **ɛ** insertion, while **ɛ** insertion feeds the ɪ to **j** onset formation. Represented in table (20) are the past affirmative forms of the verb stem. The perfect negative forms are preceded by a homorganic nasal which functions as the negative marker, and are realized as: **ntɔɔjɛ** 'have not bought (it)', **nsaajɛ** 'have not fetched (it)', **mpamɪɪjɛ ~ mpamʊʊjɛ** 'have not sewn (it)' and **ntɔnɪɪjɛ ~ ntɔnʊʊjɛ** 'have not sold (it)'.

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4.3 A constraint-based account of the problem
      The following is a constraint-based (optimality theoretic) account of past affirmative and perfect negative verb-stem alternations in Asante Twi. Illustrations are based on output forms in (21) below. [6]

(21)   Past affirmative:

Inputs	Outputs							
	Permissible			Impermissible				
	(i)	**(ii)**	**(iii)**	**(iv)**	**(v)**	**(vi)**	**(vii)**	**(viii)**
(a) /sa + -ɪ/	sa.ɪ	sa.a.ɪ	sa.a.jɛ	sa.ɪ.ɛ	sa.a.ɪ.ɛ	sa.ɛ	-	
(b) /hu + -ɪ/ → hu.i	hu.i	hu.u.i	hu.u.jɛ	hu.i.ɛ	hu.u.i.ɛ	hu.ɛ	-	
(c) /pam + -ɪ/ → pa.mɪ.ɪ	pa.mɪ.ɪ ~ pa.mʊ.ɪ	pa.mɪ.ɪ ~ pa.mʊ.ʊ.ɪ	pa.mʊ.ʊ.jɛ	pa.mʊ.ɪ.ɛ	pa.mʊ.ʊ.ɪ.ɛ	pa.mʊ.ɛ	pa.m.ɪ	pa.mɪ$_{sfx}$

Below in (22) and (23) are the faithfulness and markedness constraints that are crucial to the current study and their definitions. Faithfulness and markedness constraints have further been grouped into segmental and prosodic constraints.

Constraints

(22) **Faithfulness constraints**
(a) **IDENT-IO-[Cor/pal]**: The feature coronal/palatal of a segment must be preserved in an output. The three permissible output forms, for example: (21-i), (21-ii) and (21-iii) **sààjè** all respect this faithfulness constraint; candidates in (21-vi) do not. Candidates in (21-vii) and (21-viii) respect this constraint but do not count as optimal outputs in the language, and this is because these forms violate constraints that outrank (22a) like ***C.V** and **sfx = σ** respectively.

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[6] The forms in the table are in the past affirmative. The perfect negative form of a verb is constructed by prefixing the homorganic nasal, N-, to a past affirmative verb stem.

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(b) **DEP-σ:** An output syllable must have its input correspondence. That is, no syllable augmentation/insertion in an output. Two of the three permissible output forms violate this constraint, namely (21-ii) and (21-iii) – these are the candidates that exhibit vowel doubling as a result of syllable augmentation. Permissible candidates in (21-i) do not violate DEP-σ. Impermissible forms in (21-iv, v and vi) all violate this constraint; forms in (21-vii, viii) do not incur a violation here.

(c) **DEP-ɛ:** The output segment ɛ must have input correspondence. Permissible forms in (21-iii) violate this constraint. Impermissible forms from (21-iv) to (21-vi) also violate this constraint. Permissible forms in (21-i) and (21-ii) do not violate it.

(d) **sfx = σ:** The (past and perfect) suffix is a syllable. This constraint is respected by every candidate in (21) except (21-viii) **pa.mɪ**$_{sfx.}$ Here, the suffixal segment, ɪ, and the preceding syllabic consonant **(m)** – i.e. a sequence of two syllables – are joined into a single syllable. The need for syllabic independence of the suffixal morpheme is flouted by this merger.

(23) Markedness constraints
(a) ***CV- [cor/pal] :** Avoidance of a CV before a segment with the feature coronal/palatal (i.e. **ɪ, i** and **j).** This constraint works against candidates in (21-i) and (21-iv), but in favor of those in (21-ii) and (21-iii) where a coronal/palatal segment is preceded by two identical vowels.

(b) ***C.V**: Avoid a sequence of a syllabic consonant and a vocalic syllable. This is a constraint against the output form in (21-vii) for example.

(c) ***ɪ]** $_σ$**#:** Avoid the segment [+syll, cor/pal] as an independent syllable at the stem final position. This constraint militates against forms in (21-i) and (21-ii) – these are permissible output forms in Asante Twi. The constraint favors output forms in (21-iii), i.e. the primary data for this research.

(d) ***σ.ɪ.σ#:** Avoid the segment [+syll, cor/pal] as an independent syllable at the stem medial position. The permissible forms in (21-iii) do not violate this constraint because, in autosegmental language, ɪ reassociates with a succeeding onset as **j.** Forms in (21-iv) and (21-v) violate this constraint; the segments, ɪ and **i** are independent syllables, and are at stem medial position.

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Below in (24) and (25) is a regrouping of constraints in (22) and (23) into segmental/featural and prosodic constraints.

(24) **Segmental/featural constraints**
(a) *CV‑[cor/pal] : Avoidance of a CV before a segment with the feature coronal/palatal.
(b) **IDENT‑IO‑[Cor/pal] :** The feature coronal/palatal of a segment must be preserved in an output.
(c) **DEP‑ɛ:** The output segment **ɛ** must have input correspondence.

(25) **Prosodic constraints**
(a) ***ɪ] ₒ#:** Avoid the segment [+syll, cor/pal] as an independent syllable at the stem final position.
(b) **sfx = σ:** The (past and perfect) suffix is a syllable.
(c) ***C.V:** Avoid a sequence of a syllabic consonant and a vocalic syllable.
(d) ***σ.ɪ.σ#:** Avoid the segment [+syll, cor/pal] as an independent syllable at the stem medial position.
(e) **DEP‑σ:** An output syllable must have its input correspondence.

Below, from (26) to (33) are how the different output forms in (21) perform on the constraints from (22) to (25). In (26) are the outputs of interest for this paper; that is, the case of vowel doubling before **[jɛ]**. In (27) and (28) are two other permissible output forms in Asante Twi. Output forms from (29) to (33) are ungrammatical (i.e. impermissible). In (26b) are the list of constraints that output forms in (26a) respect; these output forms violate constraints in (26c).

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(26) Permissible output forms with the endings: **…VVjɛ#**

(26a) Outputs	(26b) Constraint non-violation (by output forms in (26a))	(26c) Constraint violation (by output forms in (26a))
(i) **sa.a.jɛ** (ii) **hu.u.jɛ** (iii) **pa.mʊ.ʊ.jɛ**	(i) ***CV-[cor/pal]** *(Forms in 27a violate this constraint)* (ii) ***ɪ]**ₒ**#** *(Forms in 27a, 28a, 33a violate this constraint)* (iii) ***ɔ.ɪ.ɔ#** *(Forms in 29a, 30a, violate this constraint)* (iv) **IDENT-IO-[cor/pal]** *(Forms in 31a violate this constraint)* (v) **sfx = ɔ** *(Forms in 32a violate this constraint)* (vi) ***C.V** *(The form in 33a violates this constraint)*	(i) DEP-ɔ (ii) DEP-ɛ

From (27) to (33) below are statements on how other candidate forms perform on constraints from (22) to (25).

(27) Permissible output forms with the endings: **…V.i# ~ …V.ɪ#**

(a) Outputs	(b) Constraint Violation	(c) Constraint non-violation
(i) **sa.ɪ** (ii) **hu.i** (iii) **pa.mɪ.ɪ ~ pa.mʊ.ɪ**	(i) ***CV-[cor/pal]** (ii) ***ɪ]**ₒ**#**	(i) **IDENT-IO-[cor/pal]**; (ii) **sfx = ɔ**; (iii) ***C.V**; (iv) ***ɔ.ɪ.ɔ#**; (v) **DEP-ɔ**; (vi) **DEP-ɛ**

(28) Permissible output forms with the endings: **…V.V.i# ~ …V.V.ɪ#**

(a) Outputs	(b) Constraint violation	(c) Constraint non-violation
(i) **sa.a.ɪ** (ii) **hu.u.i** (iii) **pa.mɪ.ɪ.ɪ ~ pa.mʊ.ʊ.ɪ**	***ɪ]**ₒ**#**	(i) ***CV-[cor/pal]**; (ii) **IDENT-IO-[cor/pal]**; (iii) **sfx = ɔ**; (iv) ***C.V**; (v) ***ɔ.ɪ.ɔ#**; (vi) **DEP-ɔ**; (vii) **DEP-ɛ**

93

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(29) Impermissible output forms with the endings: **…V.ɪ.ɛ# ~ …V.i.ɛ#**

(a) Outputs	(b) Constraint violation	(c) Constraint non-violation
(i) **sa.ɪ.ɛ** (ii) **hu.i.ɛ** (iii) **pa.mʊ.ɪ.ɛ**	(i) *ɔ́.ɪ.ɔ́# (ii) **DEP-ɔ́** (iii) **DEP-ɛ**	(i) ***CV-[cor/pal]**; (ii) **IDENT-IO-[cor/pal]**; (iii) ***ɪ]** $_o$**#**; (iv) **sfx = ɔ́**; (v) ***C.V**

(30) Impermissible output forms with the endings: **…V$_{αF}$.V$_{αF}$.ɪ.ɛ# ~ …V$_{αF}$.V$_{αF}$.i.ɛ#**

(a) Outputs	(b) Constraint violation	(c) Constraint non-violation
(i) **sa.a.ɪ.ɛ** (ii) **hu.u.i.ɛ** (iii) **pa.mʊ.ʊ.ɪ.ɛ**	(i) *ɔ́.ɪ.ɔ́# (ii) **DEP-ɔ́** (iii) **DEP-ɛ**	(i) ***CV-[cor/pal]**; (ii) **IDENT-IO-[cor/pal]**; (iii) ***ɪ]** $_o$**#**; (iv) **sfx = ɔ́**; (v) ***C.V**

(31) Impermissible output forms with the ending: **…V.ɛ#**

(a) Outputs	(b) Constraint violation	(c) Constraint non-violation
(i) **sa.ɛ** (ii) **hu.ɛ** (iii) **pa.mʊ.ɛ**	(i) **sfx = ɔ́** (ii) **IDENT-IO-[cor/pal]** (iii) **DEP-ɛ**	(i) ***CV-[cor/pal]**; (ii) ***ɪ]** $_o$**#**; (iii) ***C.V**; (iv) *ɔ́.ɪ.ɔ́#; (v) **DEP-ɔ́**

(32) **…Cɪ$_{sfx}$#**

(a) Outputs	(b) Constraint violation	(c) Constraint non-violation
pa.mɪ$_{sfx}$	**sfx = ɔ́**	(i) ***CV-[cor/pal]**; (ii) **IDENT-IO-[Cor/pal]**; (iii) ***ɪ]** $_o$**#**; (iv) ***C.V**; (v) *ɔ́.ɪ.ɔ́#; (vi) **DEP-ɔ́**; (vii) **DEP-ɛ**

(33) **…C.ɪ#** outputs

(a) Outputs	(b) Constraint violation	(c) Constraints non-violation
pa.m.ɪ	(i) ***ɪ]** $_o$**#** (ii) ***C.V**	(i) ***CV-[cor/pal]**; (ii) **IDENT-IO-[Cor/pal]**; (iii) **sfx = ɔ́**; (iv) *ɔ́.ɪ.ɔ́#; (v) **DEP-ɔ́**; (vi) **DEP-ɛ**

The ranking argument that selects output forms in (26a) as optimal over those from (27a) to (33a) is:

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(34) ***CV-[cor/pal] , *ɪ] ₒ#, *ớ.ɪ.ớ#, *C.V, IDENT-IO-[cor/pal] , sfx = ớ**
     > > DEP-ớ, DEP-ɛ

Candidate forms in (26a) do not violate constraints in (26b) and it is for this reason that constraints in (26b) are ranked above those in (26c) in (34). In bracket, against constraints in (26b), is a list of output forms from (27) to (33) which violate which of the high ranking constraints.

The ranking argument in (34) presents verb stems with the endings **…VVjɛ#** as the sole permissible output forms. The strict ranking argument in (34) is not sustainable since forms in (27a) and (28a) are equally grammatical in Asante Twi. My analytical position, therefore, is that some of the constraints outlined in (22) to (25) are ranked freely in the Asante sub-variety of Akan grammar and explains why forms in (27a) and (28a) are also permissible in Asante Twi. The fact that the ranking argument is free for some constraints in Asante Twi accounts for the said alternation in past affirmative and perfect negative verb forms. Below in (35) is the definition of free ranking as represented in Kager (1999):

(35) **Interpretation of free ranking:**
    Evaluation of the candidates set is split into … subhierarchies, each of which selects an optimal output. One subhierarchy has $C_1 \gg C_2$, and the other $C_2 \gg C_1$ [etc.]. (Kager 1999: 406).

The subhierarchies in Asante sub-variety of Akan grammar are more than two for the current data. There are three subhierarchies that have produced the three permissible output forms in the Asante Twi as in (36) below.

(36)

Inputs		Permissible output forms		
		(a)	(b)	(c)
(i)	/sa-ɪ/	sa.ɪ	sa.a.ɪ	sa.a.jɛ
(ii)	/hu-ɪ/	hu.i	hu.u.i	hu.u.jɛ
(iii)	/pam-ɪ/	pa.mɪ.ɪ ~ pa.mʊ.ɪ	pa.mɪ.ɪ.ɪ ~pa.mʊ.ʊ.ɪ	pa.mʊ.ʊ.jɛ

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Following are the free ranking arguments for the three permissible output forms using the permissible output forms of **sa** 'fetch' (36-i). Four of the eight constraints that freely rank are: ***CV-[cor/pal]**, ***ɪ]_σ#**, **DEP-ɔ'** and **DEP-ɛ.** The list consists of two faithfulness constraints (i.e. **DEP-ɔ'** and **DEP-ɛ**), and two markedness constraints (i.e. ***CV-[cor/pal]**, ***ɪ]_σ#**); or two segmental/featural constraints (i.e. ***CV-[cor/pal]** and **DEP-ɛ**) and two prosodic constraints (i.e. **DEP-ɔ'** and ***ɪ]_σ#**). From (37) to (39) are the free ranking possibilities or subhierarchies. The free ranking argument in (37) selects output forms in (36a) over those in (36b) and (36c), (38) selects forms in (36b) over those in (36a) and (36c), while (39) selects forms in (36c) over those in (36a) and (36b).

(37) Faithfulness >> Markedness: **DEP-ɔ', DEP-ɛ > > *CV-[cor/pal], *ɪ]_σ#**

Input: /sa+-ɪ/	DEP-ɔ'	DEP-ɛ	*CV-[cor/pal]	*ɪ]_σ#
☞ (a) sa.ɪ			*	*
(b) sa.a.ɪ	*!			*
(c) sa.a.jɛ	*	*		

(38) Featural/segmental constraints >> Prosodic constraints:
*CV-[cor/pal], DEP-ɛ > > DEP-ɔ', *ɪ]_σ#

Input: /sa+-ɪ/	*CV-[cor/pal]	DEP-ɛ	DEP-ɔ'	*ɪ]_σ#
(a) sa.ɪ	*!			*
☞ (b) sa.a.ɪ			*	*
(c) sa.a.jɛ		*!	*	

(39) Markedness >> Faithfulness: ***CV-[cor/pal], *ɪ]_σ# > > DEP-ɔ', DEP-ɛ**

Input: /sa+-ɪ/	*CV-[cor/pal]	*ɪ]_σ#	DEP-ɔ'	DEP-ɛ
(a) sa.ɪ	*	*		
(b) sa.a.ɪ		*!		
☞ (c) sa.a.jɛ			*	*

In (37) the two Faithfulness constraints (DEP-ɔ' and DEP-ɛ) outrank the two markedness constraints (***CV-[cor/pal]**, ***ɪ]_σ#**). In (38), the two featural/segmental constraints (***CV-[cor/pal]** and **DEP-ɛ**) outrank the two prosodic constraints (**DEP-ɔ'** and ***ɪ]_σ#**).

Argument ranking in (39), is the inverse of (37) – the two markedness constraints (***CV-[cor/pal]**, ***ɪ]** *ₒ*#) rather outrank the two faithfulness constraints (**DEP-o'** and **DEP-ɛ**).

Below are the full ranking arguments that select the different permissible output forms.

(40)
(a)   ***CV-[cor/pal]**, ***ɪ]** *ₒ*#, ***o'.ɪ.o'#**, ***C.V**, **IDENT-IO-[cor/pal]**, **sfx = o'**
     >> DEP-o', DEP-ɛ
(b)   **sa.a.jɛ > sa.ɪ, sa.a.ɪ, *sa.ɪ.ɛ, *sa.a.ɪ.ɛ, *sa.ɛ**
(c)   **hu.u.jɛ > hu.i, hu.u.i, *hu.i.ɛ, *hu.u.i.ɛ, *hu.ɛ**
(d)   **pa.mʊ.ʊ.jɛ > pa.mʊ.ɪ ~ pa.mɪ.ɪ, pa.mʊ.ʊ.ɪ, *pa.mʊ.ɪ.ɛ, *pa.mʊ.ʊ.ɪ.ɛ,**
     *pa.mʊ.ɛ, *pa.mɪ*ₛfₓ***, *pa.m.ɪ**

(41)
(a)   ***CV-[cor/pal]**, **DEP-ɛ**, ***o'.ɪ.o'#**, ***C.V**, **IDENT-IO-[cor/pal]**, **sfx = o'**
     >> DEP-o', *ɪ] *ₒ*#
(b)   **sa.a.ɪ > sa.ɪ, sa.a.jɛ, *sa.ɪ.ɛ, *sa.a.ɪ.ɛ, *sa.ɛ**
(c)   **hu.u.i > hu.u.jɛ, hu.i, *hu.i.ɛ, *hu.u.i.ɛ, *hu.ɛ**
(d)   **pa.mɪ.ɪ.ɪ ~ pa.mʊ.ʊ.ɪ > pa.mʊ.ʊ.jɛ, pa.mɪ.ɪ ~ pa.mʊ.ɪ,**
     *pa.mʊ.ɪ.ɛ, *pa.mʊ.ʊ.ɪ.ɛ, *pa.mʊ.ɛ, *pa.mɪ*ₛfₓ***, *pa.m.ɪ**

(42)
(a)   **DEP-o', DEP-ɛ, *o'.ɪ.o'#, *C.V, IDENT-IO-[cor/pal], sfx = o'**
     >> *CV-[cor/pal], ***ɪ]** *ₒ*#
(b)   **sa.ɪ > sa.a.jɛ, sa.a.ɪ, *sa.ɪ.ɛ, *sa.a.ɪ.ɛ, *sa.ɛ**
(c)   **hu.i > hu.u.jɛ, hu.u.i, *hu.i.ɛ, *hu.u.i.ɛ, *hu.ɛ**
(d)   **pa.mɪ.ɪ ~ pa.mʊ.ɪ > pa.mʊ.ʊ.jɛ, pa.mʊ.ʊ.ɪ, *pa.mʊ.ɪ.ɛ,**
     *pa.mʊ.ʊ.ɪ.ɛ, *pa.mʊ.ɛ, *pa.mɪ*ₛfₓ***, *pa.m.ɪ**

In (40a) is the ranking argument that selects the verb stem output candidate consisting of **jɛ** that is preceded by two identical vowels. The ranking argument in (41a) selects permissible verb-stem outputs consisting of the ending **…VVɪ#**; **ɪ** or **i** is stem final and is preceded by two identical vowels. The ranking argument in (42a) is shared by every dialect of Akan.

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5. Conclusion

      The Asante subvariety of Akan grammar guards outputs against impermissible distribution and sequencing of prosodic and segmental units. The goal of this paper has been to establish the well-formedness requirements that motivate certain rule applications and ordering (i.e. in rule-based linear and non-linear analysis of the data) or the constraints and constraint argumentations that promote certain output forms over others (i.e. in the optimality theoretic analysis of the data). From the rule-based account of the data, an independent syllabic high is dispreferred at two points, stem-finally and stem-medially. A syllable is augmented to redeem the latter, but ends up creating a dispreferred output which is resolved through vowel doubling. Vowel doubling displaces the independent syllabic **ɪ.** The delinked ɪ either reassociates as a nucleus of a succeeding syllable (as **ɪ)**, or as an onset of a succeeding syllable (as **j)** after **ɛ** insertion. The Asante variety of Akan grammar imposes strict sequential ordering on the rules: syllable insertion, vowel doubling/lengthening and **ɪ** delinking, **ɛ** insertion and onset formation (i.e. where **ɪ** is realized as **j** in an onset slot). These rules apply conjunctively to derive the unique variety of the past affirmative and the perfect negative verb stem data in Asante. The rule on syllable insertion precedes and feeds the rule that doubles a vowel within the final syllable of the verb root; the rule that inserts the default **ɪ** vowel after a CVC verb-root precedes the rule on vowel doubling. That is, the vowel that undergoes doubling in CVC verb roots is the epenthetic **ɪ,** the default vowel. Vowel doubling delinks the **ɪ** segmental content of the past/perfect syllable, and creates input for either **j** onset formation (after **ɛ** insertion) or **ɪ** reassociation as nucleus (a process that blocks the application of the **ɛ** insertion rule). The delinked **ɪ** of the past/perfect syllable reassociates to a succeeding onset slot to be realized as **j,** but to a succeeding nuclear anchor to remain **ɪ.** The **ɛ** insertion rule feeds the onset formation rule (i.e. the reassociation of **ɪ** as **j,** an onset). There is feeding serialism.

      Phonological processes apply to achieve prosodic and phonotactic well-formedness. A single prosodic well-formedness requirement underlies the rule on syllable insertion and vowel lengthening. The dispreference of an independent high vowel syllable is what triggers both syllable insertion (at the stem final position) and vowel doubling (at the stem medial position). The grammar applies different phonological strategies to resolve violations of this single condition at different phonological environments. A violation of this condition is severer at the stem medial position than at the stem final (clause-final) position, and explains the optionality of the syllable insertion rule. Prosodic well-formedness conditions also underlie the rule that inserts **ɪ** after CVC verb roots. The **ɪ** insertion rule applies because C.V is an impermissible syllable sequence in Akan, and the past/perfect suffix must be syllabically independent.

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In OT terms, the fact that the rest of the constraints outrank these two faithfulness constraints, **DEP-σ** and **DEP-ɛ,** is what selects verb stems with **jɛ** preceded by two identical vowels over other output candidates. The other output candidates in the competition (i.e. the non-optimal candidate forms) violate either one or more of these high ranking constraints: ***CV‑[cor/pal]**, ***ɪ]** $_\sigma$**#, *σ.ɪ.σ#, *C.V, IDENT-IO‑[cor/pal]**, **sfx = σ.** We also identified free ranking as a mechanism in the OT grammar for dealing with alternation in verb stems. In effect, all that Asante dialect of Akan does to select one permissible variant over another is reverse the four constraints, ***CV‑[cor/pal]**, ***ɪ]** $_\sigma$**#, DEP-σ** and **DEP-ɛ,** along these broad subgroupings of constraints in phonological theory, namely faithfulness, markedness, segmental/featural and prosodic constraints. The two markedness constraints (i.e. ***CV‑[cor/pal]**, ***ɪ]** $_\sigma$**#**) outrank the two faithfulness constraints (i.e. **DEP-σ** and **DEP-ɛ**) in the ranking argument that selects verb stems with the **VVjɛ** ending, as optimal, over equally grammatical output forms. The inverse application of [Markedness >> Faithfulness], which is [Faithfulness >> Markedness], selects a candidate that is widely accepted, or shared, by the different dialects of Akan.

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VOWEL HARMONY IN GURENƐ

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Abstract

This paper discusses vowel harmony; a type of assimilatory process in Gurenɛ (Mabia language), within the Autosegmental phonology framework (Goldsmith 1976, 1990, Clements 1977). The phenomenon exists in many African languages and has received descriptive analyses in previous studies on Gurene (see Azagesiba 1977, Dakubu 1996, Nsoh 1997, Adongo 2008). These works were however limited in scope and lacked theoretical grounding. This paper employs the feature spreading approach within Autosegmental phonology to characterise cases in which segments share the same specifications or assimilate to a feature or a group of features (Ewen &Van der Hulst 2001: 30-31). For instance, in Gurenɛ, vowels in a specific harmonic domain in any given word are either all [+ATR] or all [-ATR]. Data for this study was collected through recording of utterances of twelve native speakers from six Gurenɛ speaking communities in the Upper East region of Ghana. Our findings showed that vowels in Gurenɛ words are strictly governed by vowel harmony rules. Therefore, only vowels of the same qualities or features [±ATR] can co-occur in words. Consequently, we confirm that ATR harmony operates at two levels in Gurenɛ: the root and the suffix in the domain of a word. We show that vowel harmony operates all through; from CVCV to multisyllabic words. Even though there are cases when harmony is blocked and does not operate across word boundaries particularly in compounds, the paper established that many Gurenɛ loanwords and compounds are governed by vowel harmony rules. We also found out that the language has vowel-consonant harmony and rounding harmony.

Keywords: Gurenɛ, vowel harmony, autosegmental, phonology, assimilation

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1.0 Introduction

Harmony is a widespread phenomenon in which all phonological segments of a particular type within a particular domain (the morpheme, the stem, the word, etc.) are required to agree with respect to some phonological property (Hansson 2001). Hansson posits that within morphemes, harmony manifests itself as a static co-occurrence restriction that prohibited disharmonic combinations but allows harmonic ones. Hansson explained further that however when harmony reaches beyond the confines of individual morphemes, it can be directly observed 'in action', as it results in assimilation. A potentially disharmonic combination is made harmonic by forcing one segment to agree with another in the phonological feature in question.

Generally, harmony processes regulate the distribution of a given feature or feature complex in specific but not necessarily contiguous phonemes of a word. For example, in Finish words the back-front contrast in rounding, and in low vowels agree with that of the stem, whereas in Navaho words the contrast of anterior- non-anterior in coronal affricates and continuants is determined by the last coronal affricate or continuant in the word (Halle & Vergnau 1981).

The analysis of vowel harmony has been a major focus of generative research because it exhibits many of the 'action-at-a-distance' properties displayed by tone. On the nonlinear representation of vowel harmony, autosegmental approach captures the basic insight of the root-marker theory, which says that the harmonic feature is a property of the entire root morpheme rather than any one of its individual vowels. Since autosegmental representation permits a one-to-many relation between features and positions in a string, harmonic contrast may be represented in phonological terms with each root lexically selecting a [+ATR] or a [-ATR] specifications. The harmonic feature is represented on an autosegmental tier separate from the other features and the universal association convention (UAC) associates the autosegment to the leftmost or rightmost relevant segment which is usually a vowel (Kenstowicz 1994).

The paper discusses vowel harmony, in the Gurenɛ dialect of the Farefari language. The phenomenon is reported in many Mabia languages such as Dagaare, Kusaal, Dagbani, Buli, Gurenɛ, Nankarɛ, Dagaare, Dagbani, Kusaal and Sisaali (Bodomo & Abubakari 2017, Musah 2017, Abubakari 2018, Apeligiba 2015). Vowel harmony is a phonological process in which the vowels in a given domain share or harmonise for a particular feature. It differs from other processes affecting adjacent vowels such as umlaut in that typically all the vowels of the language participate in the harmonic constraint within the domain of usually the word. Features such as vowel height, backness, rounding, nasality, and pharyngeal

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opening or [ATR], which are used to distinguish vowels, are said to be part of a harmonic system (Kenstowicz 1994). Data for this study was collected through recording of utterances of twelve native speakers from six Gurenɛ speaking communities in the Upper East region of Ghana. Secondary data came from the Gurenɛ dictionary, glossary, and student works at the Department of Gur-Gonja Languages Education of the University of Education, Ghana. Various types of harmony in Gurenɛ are discussed in the next section. Among the types of harmony are vowel harmony, consonant harmony, vowel-consonant harmony and nasal place harmony. The domain of harmony in Gurenɛ is the phonological word, which in terms of its morphology consists of the root and suffix (see Dakubu 1996). We employed autosegmental representations to demonstrate that plural suffixation, loanword adaptation and compounding may be governed by vowel harmony.

1.1 Background of the language

Gurenɛ is one of the five major dialects of Farefari (Frafra) spoken in the Upper East Region of Ghana (Atintono 2004, 2013, Nsoh 1997, 2011, Apeligiba 2015, Adongo 2013, Atipoka 2008, Dakubu 1996, Naden and Schaefer 1973). The language stretches into Burkina Faso where it is called Nikãrɛ or Nankarɛ (Nsoh 2011, Apeligiba 2015). It is a Mabia (Gur) language and a member of the Niger-Congo language family. The Farefari speaking area is boarded by other Mabia languages such as Kusaal (in the East), Moore (in the North), Mampruli (in the South), and Kasem and Buli (in the West). It has a population of about 441,059 (2010 Population and Housing Census).

Relatively, Gurenɛ has received a lot of linguistic literature, as most of the studies in Farefari seem to focus on this dialect. Some previous phonological studies on Gurenɛ include Adongo's (2008) 'Spectrographic analysis of Gurenɛ short oral vowels', which gives an acoustic description of short oral vowels of the five dialects of the Farefari language namely Boone, Gurenɛ, Nabt, Nikarɛ and Talen. Adongo compared vowels of the five dialects, produced by male and female speakers as well as young and old adult speakers. She also performed ANOVA test on the data and compared the results for levels of significance. To check similarities and differences in the vowel quality, paired-sampled Test was performed on seven pairs of vowels for all the dialects. The data were recordings of utterances of sixty speakers and the adaptive dispersion theory was used to account for the vowels of the specific dialects and the language as a whole. Adongo's findings show that vowels of four dialects (Boone, Gurenɛ, Nabt and Nikarɛ) seem to occupy eight areas in the vowel space because [ʊ] and [o] were close to each other in the vowel chart. However, Tongo speakers' vowels and the vowels of the Gurenɛ language, in general,

occupy nine areas with [ʊ] and [o] close to each other. She explained that the front vowels follow a similar pattern in all the dialects while the back vowels show some inconsistencies. Bodomo and Hasiyatu (2017) compared some features of five Mabia languages (Buli, Dagaare, Dagbani, Gurenɛ, Kusaal). These features include the sound systems, tone, noun-class systems, and serial verb construction. In their discussion of the consonant phonemes of these languages, the authors claim that most of the consonants are common to all the languages with few instances of differences. For instance, only Buli lacks the glottal stop /ʔ/, only Kusaal lacks the affricates /ʧ, ʤ/, while Gurenɛ and Buli do not have the glottal fricative /h/, with Gurenɛ lacking the labial velars /pk, gb, ŋm/. However, Bodomo and Hasiyatu's claim that Gurenɛ does have labial velars and the glottal stop is contrary to what has been attested in previous studies that the labia-velar consonants (/pk, gb, ŋm/) are part of the Gurenɛ consonant inventory (Dakubu 1996, Nsoh 1997, 2011, Atintono 2011, 2013, Atipoka 2008, 2018 – forthcoming).

Bodomo and Hasiyatu (2017) also presented eight oral vowel of Gurenɛ as /i, e, o, u ɪ, ɛ, ɔ, a/ and six nasal vowels as /ĩ, ũ ɪ̃, ɛ̃, ɔ̃, ã/. Again, this finding is contrary to the findings of previous studies, which confirm that Gurenɛ has nine oral vowels and seven distinct nasal vowels of which all the oral vowels may be nasalized in the environment of nasal consonants (Dakubu 1996, Nsoh 1997, 2011, Atintono 2011, 2013, Atipoka 2008, 2018 – forthcoming).

Another work on Gurenɛ is 'the prosodic features of the Gurenɛ verb' (Dakubu 2006). The paper described accent, tone, and the glottal stop within the Gurenɛ verb. With minimal pairs of the patterns H/L, H/HL, L/HL and LH, Dakubu demonstrated that tone is contrastive in Gurenɛ, both lexically and grammatically. However, she claimed that there are no minimal pairs of LH pattern in the language. On Gurenɛ word accent, Dakubu indicated that the first syllable of any lexical stem (noun, verb, adjective or adverb) without a prefix can carry accent and the glottal stop.

Other related works on Gurenɛ include brief descriptions of the syllable structure of Gurenɛ (Dakubu 1996, Atintono 2011 and Nsoh 1994) and some description of the tone of Gurenɛ (Dakubu 1996, 2006) and Atintono (2004, 2011, & 2013). There is also a brief description of the phonology and clause of the Zuwɔrenɛ sub-dialect, (Schaefer, Robert 1974/75, Schaefer, Nancy 1975).

Some work has also been done on the grammar of Gurenɛ (Dakubu 1996, 2006, Nsoh 1997, 2002, 2010 & 2011, Atintono 2011, 2013) and the bilingual Gurenɛ-English dictionary and the English-Gurenɛ Glossary (Dakubu et al. 2007).

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1.2 Statement of the problem and theoretical framework

Vowel harmony requires that, vowels in the word, which is the harmonic domain share the same value of some vowel feature, known as 'harmonic feature'. Harmonic features may include [±ATR], [±back]. In this work, harmonic domain is defined as the phonological word. In the case of Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) harmony, the harmonic feature is [ATR]. For instance, in languages with ATR harmony where some of the vowels usually have the property [+ATR] while others have the property [-ATR], vowels in a specific harmonic domain in any given word are either all [+ATR] or all [-ATR].

Vowel harmony exists in many African languages and has been described in previous research works in Gurenɛ (see Azagesiba 1977, Dakubu 1996, Nsoh 1997, Adongo 2008). These works were however limited in scope and lacked theoretical grounding. This work therefore, aims at providing a more comprehensive treatment of the phenomenon and thereafter employ the autosegmental phonology as a nonlinear approach to characterise cases in which segments share the same specifications for a feature or a group of features. With the support of the autosegmental theoretical approach and in contrast to the linear approach employed in earlier analyses, we were able to account for [±ATR] feature spreading and others that are non-linear features. The study contributes to the literature on vowel harmony especially in providing evidence for generalisations within autosegmental phonology.

Autosegmental phonology (Goldsmith 1976) began as a theory of tone in which tones are not regarded as features of vowels but as separate, autonomous units that have a separate level, or tier of representation, which are related to segments by rules of association. According to Kenstowicz (2006), in this theory, there are conditions governing a well-formed association of tones and vowels such as one-to-one mapping and from left-to-right without unassociated tones or vowels deriving the surface patterns by simple rules operating in local environments. Instead, tone stability occurs; since tones are autonomous, when a vowel is deleted, the tone persists on its own tier and maps to an adjacent syllable to ensure maximal association. Phenomena such as stress, the syllable, vowel harmony (Clements 1976) and nasalisation, which could not be represented in SPE were addressed in generative phonology in order that phonological processes could be expressed in autosegmental terms (Hyman 1982 cited in The Routledge Linguistics Encyclopaedia, 2010, Clements & Keyser 1983).

Hence, vowel harmony, which involves two vowels showing agreement in the values for a particular feature can be represented within this theory of autosegmental phonology using feature spreading. For instance, using the feature [ATR] within the

domain of a word in a language, all vowels in a word must have the same value for a particular feature [±ATR] (Ewen &Van der Hulst 2001: 46).

For non-linearity, Goldsmith (1976) proposed that phonological representations should be composed of multiple tiers of segments, which correspond to the different gestures of speech and differ according to the features that are specified for the segments on them. So that, different features may be placed on separate tiers. Hence, three tiers/levels of representation linked by association lines are employed as follows;

- The feature tier (harmonic tier), which is represented as **ATR**
- The skeletal tier is represented as **X -** the intermediate tier that links segments on the feature tier to segments on the segmental tier
- The segment tier is represented as **Sec -** features are assigned to segments by association lines.

Based on the well-formedness condition for Vowel harmony, all vowels are associated with the harmonic feature with lines that link segments on the feature tier to segments on the segmental tier **(**association lines) defined as follows;

- A solid association line indicates pre-linking.
- A broken association line indicates active linking (by means of spreading).
- A crossed-through association line shows delinking or disassociation
- Brackets show the boundaries of a phonological form.

In the autosegmental representations, assimilation is represented by spreading a feature from one anchor to another, represented by a broken association line.

2.0 Methodology

Data for the research was collected from both primary and secondary sources. For the primary data, we consulted and recorded utterances of twelve native speakers who have spent most part of their lives in the language area. They comprised 6 females and 6 males with their ages ranging between twenty and sixty. This was to maintain gender balance as well as check variations in the pronunciations of old and young speakers of the language. Seven of them were teachers, two farmers, two traders and one high school dropout. However, all the speakers were Gurenɛ lectors in their respective churches. The participants come from six towns, which include, Zʊwɔreŋɔ (which is to the East of Bolgatanga), Tɪndʊʊmɔlegɔ (to the South), Namʊʊ (to the North), Sʊregɔ (West), Zɔkɔ and Sumbrungo

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(to the North-West of Bolgatanga). The selection was to enable us ascertain whether the vowel harmony occurred in the sub-dialects in the language. The speakers were selected based partly on their ability to read in the language. They were given a list of minimal pairs and phrases to read and their utterances were recorded. Recording was done in a quiet and secluded area in order to minimise noise. Thereafter the data was cleaned, transcribed and translated into English. The secondary source of data was collected from the Gurenɛ-English dictionary. In addition, the researchers' intuitive knowledge of the language as native speakers was useful.

3.0 The Gurenɛ syllable

In the sections that follow, we consider syllable structure and vowel harmony in the language. The commonest syllable type is the CV (Azagsiba 1977, Schaefer 1975, Dakubu 1996). This has been reported as the most occurring syllable in Mabia languages. The vowel in this syllable type may be lengthened in some phonetic environments to CV: in some word forms (see Atintono 2004, 2011). We also observed that other syllable types such as CVC, CVCC, CVN, V, VN also occur in more restricted contexts. These syllables may function in mono-syllabic and poly-syllabic/multi-syllabic structures. In this paper, we discuss vowel harmony in disyllabic and poly-syllabic structures. In addition, harmonisation between the root and suffix vowels is also considered. Thereafter, the various harmony types including [±ATR], rounding and backness harmony and high-low harmony, are discussed. Alongside the description of the vowel harmony types, vowel harmony processes are captured in autosegmental representations.

4.0 Vowel harmony in Mabia

It has been observed that vowel harmony is a feature of mostly Niger-Congo languages and of some Nilo-Saharan languages (Welmer 1973, Mutaka 2000). Since Mabia languages are a subgroup of the Niger-Congo, it is therefore not surprising that the phenomenon is common among languages of this group. It is very noticeable in Kasem, Vagla, Sissali, Safaliba, Koulango, Dagaare, Kusaal, Dagbani, Buli, Gurenɛ and many other languages of this group (Bendor Samuel 1971, Naden 1989, Bodomo 1997, Schaefer 2003, Elders 2008, Bodomo & Abubakari 2017, Musah 2017, Abubakari 2018). It is also widely reported in other Ghanaian languages such as Akan and Ewe (see Dolphyne 1988, 2006, Clements 1985). Among Mabia languages, various vowel harmony types such as ATR, height,

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rounding, vowel-consonant harmony also operate. These features may derive either from a segment or may be a floating one.

4.1 Gurenɛ Vowel Harmony

The earliest known work that discussed the Farefari vowel was Rapp (1966). He identified ten vowels including the schwa. There was, however, no indication that the phenomenon existed in the language. Schaefer (1975) was completely devoted to field notes collected on the phonology of Farefari. The vowel constituted much of the discussion but there was no mention of vowel harmony. Vowel harmony in Farefari was probably first reported in Azagesiba (1977). Since then the phenomenon has been discussed in recent works (Dakubu 1996, Nsoh 1997, Adongo 2008, Atintono 2011). The approach has been descriptive. The emphasis has also been on the [±ATR] harmony.

In Gurenɛ just like most languages with vowel harmony, the vowels fall into two harmonic sets, [+ATR] and [-ATR] (see Stewart 1967, Dolphyne 1988, Dakubu 1996, Akanlig-Pare 2002, 1994). Gurenɛ has a nine-vowel system which consists of four [+ATR] vowels and five [–ATR] vowels and harmony is triggered by stem vowels. With the exception of /**a**/ which does not have a [+ATR] counterpart, all the four [–ATR] vowels have their [+ATR] harmonic counterparts as shown in (1).

(1)　　a.　　　**[+ATR]**　　　　　　　b.　　　**[-ATR]**
　　　　　　i　　　　　**u**　　　　　　　**ɩ**　　　　　**ʊ**
　　　　　　e　　　　　**o**　　　　　　　**ɛ**　　　　　**ɔ**
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　a

In the language, only vowels of the same quality or features can co-occur in a word. In other words, words in which [+ATR] vowels are, [-ATR] vowels do not occur and vice versa as shown in the following examples;

(2)　a. [+ATR]　　gloss　　　　　　b.　　[-ATR]　　gloss
　　　[pirəge]　'to cut open'　　　　　　**[pɩrəgɛ]**　'to untwist/untie'
　　　[pugəlum] 'to create filth'　　　　**[pʊgəlʊm]** 'to appear as a boil on part of the body'
　　　[koləgo]　'personal shrine'　　　　**[kɔləgɔ]**　'a local spice'

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Nouns and adjectives do not permit the occurrence of the high front vowels [ɩ, i] in final position while verbs do not license [ʊ, u, ɔ] in that position. This type of harmony may mimic the high-low harmony mentioned in Bendore-Samuel (1971:154) in which highs only follow highs or low vowels and low vowels may only follow a low but never a high vowel.

4.1.1 Vowel harmony in CVCV words

In this section, we discuss vowel harmony in CVCV syllable structures. These syllables occur in all four major word classes and some minor classes. The vowels in both syllables are constrained to agree in tongue root features as illustrated in (3) below.

(3) a.　　　　**[+ATR]**
　　　　　　[pike] 'to catch a person in an act'
　　　　　　[weke] 'to hatch'
　　　　　　[kuko] 'heap'
　　　　　　[yoko] 'a hole'

　　b.　　　　**[-ATR]**
　　　　　　[pɩkɛ] 'open one's eyes'
　　　　　　[wɛkɛ] 'divide by breaking'
　　　　　　[kʊkɔ] 'ghost'
　　　　　　[yɔkɔ] 'clay'

In the above examples, all the vowels in the words agree in the feature [±ATR]. Thus, all the vowels in examples (3a) are [+ATR] while those in examples (3b) are [-ATR]. The data also show that the feature [ATR] is phonemic in Gurenɛ, particularly in CVCV as shown in the above examples (3).

4.1.2 Vowel harmony in polysyllabic words

Vowel harmony not only operates in disyllabic words in Gurenɛ but also in multisyllabic words. In multisyllabic words, all the vowels agree in the feature [±ATR] and other features with medial vowels occurring as neutral vowels as in (4) and (5) below:

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[+ATR]

(4) a. **/birigo/ [birəgo]** 'stammer'
 b**. /pelege/ [peləge]** 'to become white'
 c. **/goroge/ [gorəge]** 'raise your head'
 d. **/du:rusi/ [du:rəsi]** 'guitar '

[-ATR]

(5) a**. /bɩrɩgɔ/ [bɩrəgɔ]** 'type of vegetable'
 b. **/pɛrɛsɛ/ [pɛrəsɛ]** 'to iron'
 c. **/gɔrɔgɔ/ [gɔrəgɔ]** 'bed'
 d. **/dʊ:lɩsʊ/ [dʊ:ləsʊ]** 'members of the dʊʊləgɔ community'

The data above show that ATR harmony in multisyllabic words is between stem and suffix vowels, with the schwa being neutral to harmony. In the underlying forms, the stem vowel spreads their [±ATR] feature onto following vowels. However, in the output forms, the word medial vowels are realized as neutral and transparent to harmony. Therefore, it is observed that suffix vowels harmonise with the stem vowels in ATRness from the left to the right as in the examples above. Examples in (6) are non-linear representations showing the occurrence of schwa with [+ATR] and [–ATR] vowels respectively in multisyllabic words:

[+ATR]   **[-ATR]**

(6) a. **b-i-r-ə-g-o** 'stammer'   b. **b-ɩ-r-ə-g-ɔ** 'type of vegetable'

[+ATR]   [-ATR]

It may be observed from harmonisation in disyllabic and polysyllabic words that various harmonic forms may occur. For instance, in terms of vowel height, high vowels may co-occur, just as do low vowels. Alternatively, vowels with height differences may also co-occur in the same word. Similarly, vowels with rounding qualities may function in different combinations in words. All these examples may be in (4) and (5) above. We discuss some of these harmonisation features in subsequent sections.

4.2 Neutral vowels

As stated earlier, the [**a**] vowel may co-occur with any of the harmony sets but has [-ATR] features and therefore belongs to the [-ATR] set. In word-medial position vowels may sometimes be realized as schwa [ə]. The two vowels, [ə] and [**a**], are therefore considered as neutral in the harmony process even though [a] belongs to one harmony set but the schwa does not belong to any of the two sets. According to the neutral vowel theory of Van der Hulst and Smith (1986) cited in (Polgárdi 1998), neutral vowels belong to one of the two vowel sets defined by harmony and co-occur with vowels of both harmonic sets. That is, they themselves (neutral vowels) either possess the harmonic feature or they lack it. So that, neutral vowels that possess the harmonic feature are transparent, whereas neutral vowels that lack the harmonic feature are opaque (Hulst & Smith 1986 cited in Polgárdi 1998). In our particular case, these vowels are transparent to the vowel harmony process and tend to co-occur with both sets of vowels. Also, these vowels do not trigger or undergo the process of harmonisation even though [**a**] possesses the [-ATR]. Both vowels are therefore neutral vowels from their behaviour in the harmonic domain. Below are words with Gurenɛ neutral vowels ([**ə**] and [**a**]) co-occurring with [+ATR] vowels in (7) and [-ATR] vowels in (8):

(7)   **Neutral vowels and [+ATR]**
            a. /**mitiŋa**/   [**mitəŋa**] 'straw'
            b. /**muka**/   [**muka**] 'in full'
            c. /**kuliga**/   [**kuləga**] 'act of going home'
            d. /**bakologo**/ **bakoləgo** 'community intercessory shrine'
            e. /**pelege**/   **peləge** 'shame a person'
            f. /**gulugo**/   **guləgo** 'a kind of drum'

(8)   **Neutral vowels and [-ATR]**
            a. /**sɪtʊŋa**/   [**sɪtəŋa**] 'chisel'
            b. /**mɔka**/   [**mɔka**] 'termites'
            c. /**kʊlɪga**/   [**kʊləga**] 'stream'
            d. /**dakɪrɛ**/   [**dakərɛ**] 'poem'
            e. /**kɔlɔgɔ**/   [**kɔləgɔ**] 'dawadawa spice'
            f. /**wʊsʊgɔ**/   [**wʊsəgɔ**] 'many, several'

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Non-linear representations of the co-occurrence of /**a**/ with [+ATR] and [–ATR] vowels respectively in (9) below:

(9)   a.   **k-u-l-i-g-a**   b.   **k-ʊ-l-ɪ-g-a**
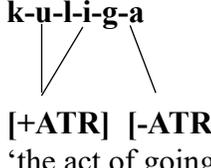
[+ATR] [-ATR]   **[-ATR]**
'the act of going home'   'stream'
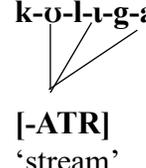
In (9a), even though [a] belongs to the [-ATR] vowel set, it co-occurs with the [+ATR] vowels /**u**, **i**/ which are in a different set. Therefore, its association line is distinct from the two vowels. That is, /**u** & **i**/ are associated with the [+ATR] feature, while /**a**/ is associated with the [-ATR] feature. In (6b) on the other hand, the stem vowels are [-ATR] just like the [**a**] vowel. Consequently, all three association lines are connected to the same [-ATR] feature.

4.3 Vowel harmony and suffixation in Gurenɛ

Gurenɛ is a suffixing language (Nsoh 1997, 2010, 2011, Atintono 2004, 2010). Stems of all four major word classes and some minor ones take suffixes. It is only in very restricted cases that nouns may take prefixes and they are all derivational affixes in all cases. With the exception of monosyllabic words, all other stems must carry affixes. In nouns and adjectives, they are class affixes marking noun class, number, and gender, while in verbs they are tense and aspectual markers. Thus, in disyllabic nouns and verbs, for instance, the second syllable is an affix. Examples are:

(10) a. **di** 'to eat'   b. **di-ti** 'eat-PROG'
(11) a. **baa** 'dog'   b. **baa-sɪ** 'dog-PL'

In these examples, the second syllable in ***diti*** and ***baasɪ,*** is the suffix while the first syllable is the stem. Hence, ***diti*** has [-**ti**] as its progressive marker while in baasɪ, [-**sɪ**] marks plural. Vowels of both suffixes, however, agree in the feature [±ATR] with vowels of the verb and noun stems respectively. Words are therefore usually analysed as stem + affix in the language.

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ATR harmony has been observed to operate across morpheme boundaries in the language. In this process, suffix vowels harmonise with vowels of the roots in ATRness. Harmony therefore, propagates from the stem onto suffixes resulting in progressive harmony. Vowels of singular and plural morphemes in nouns, tense and aspect markers in verb for instance, agree in the feature [±ATR] with the vowels of the stems to which they are affixed. The examples in (12-14) are all nouns grouped according to noun classes (see Dakubu 1996, Azagsiba 1977:41, Nsoh 1997, 2002, 2011) with singular and plural markers in italics.

(12) a.   **[+ATR]**

	Singular		**[-*si*] plural**	
	/pesego/	[pesəgo]	[pĩi*si*]	'sheep'
	/niiŋa/	[nĩiŋã]	[nĩi*si*]	'bird'
	/zu'a/	[zũʔã]	[zũʔũ*si*]	'fly'
	/buliga/	[buləga]	[bulə*si*]	'well'
	/duŋa/	[dũŋã]	[dũ*si*]	'animal'

                                     [-ATR]

	Singular		**[-*sɪ*] plural**	
b.	/bʊa/	[bʊa]	[bʊʊ*sɪ*]	'goat'
	/sʊ'a/	[sʊʔa]	[sʊʔʊ*sɪ*]	'knive'
	/lʊŋa/	[lʊŋã]	[lʊ*sɪ*]	'drum'
	/bɔka/	[bɔka]	[bɔgə*sɪ*]	'stream'
	/sɛ̃ka/	[sɛ̃ka]	[sɛ̃ɣə*sɪ*]	'corners'

(13)   **[+ATR]**

	Singular		**[-*ro*] plural**	
a.	/to'o/	[toʔo]	[toʔo*ro*]	'baobab fruit'
	/mu'o/	[muʔo]	[muʔu*ro*]	'type of fruit'
	/yoko/	[yoko]	[yogə*ro*]	'hole'

_____

	[-ATR]		
	Singular		**[-*rɔ*] plural**
b.	/dɔɔ/	[dɔ:]	[dɔ:*rɔ*] 'wood'
	/sɔɔ/	[sɔ:]	[sɔ:*rɔ*] 'broom'
	/yɔɔ/	[yɔ:]	[yɔ:*rɔ*] 'grave'

(14)		**[+ATR]**		
	Singular		**[-*to*] plural**	
a.	/fuo/	[fu*o*]	[fu*to*]	'dress'
	/deo/	[de*o*]	[de*to*]	'room'
	/zonko/	[zon*ko*]	[zon*to*]	'hair'
	/zuo/	[zu*o*]	[zu*to*]	'head'

		[-ATR]		
	Singular		**[-*tɔ*] plural**	
b	/gɔrɔgɔ/	[gɔrəgɔ]	[gɔ*tɔ*]	'bed'
	/bɪrɪgɔ/	[bɪrəgɔ]	[bʊ*tɔ*]	'veg'
	/dɔrɔgɔ/	[dɔrəgɔ]	[dɔ*tɔ*]	'ladder'
	/va'am/	[vaʔam]	[vɔ*tɔ*]	'farm'

(Azagesiba 1977, adopted and modified)

4.4 Vowel harmony in verbs

Harmony is also observed in verbs and across morpheme boundaries just like the nouns as shown above. Again, we observe harmony between the stem verb and its suffix, where the stem vowel determines the harmonic feature of the suffix. Hence, all vowels in (15) are [+ATR], while all vowels in words of example (16) are [-ATR]:

(15)	[+**ATR**]
Verb	Progressive form
[dige] 'to drive someone away'	**[digeri]** 'to drive someone away'
[tuke] 'to drive a car'	**[tukeri]** 'driving a car'
[buke] 'to carry on the shoulder'	**[bukəri]** 'carrying on the shoulder'
[lorege] 'to untie'	**[loregəri]** 'untying'
[pirege] 'to cut open'	**[piregəri]** 'cutting open'

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[firege] 'to open eyes widely'   **[firegəri]** 'opening the eyes widely'
[turege] 'to thrust'   **[turegəri]** 'thrusting'

In (15), the suffix is [-ri] with its harmonic feature as [+ATR], harmonises with the [+ATR] harmonic feature of the stem vowels.

(16)   [-**ATR**]
a.   Verb   b. Deverbal
dɪkɛ 'to take'   dɪkərɛ 'the act of taking'
tʊkɛ 'bring down from the head'   tʊkərɛ 'to bring down from the
                                           head'

bʊkɛ 'to guess'   bʊkərɛ 'the act of guessing'
kɔrɛgɛ 'to slaughter'   kɔrɛgərɛ 'the act of slaughtering'
pɪrɛgɛ 'to unshell by rubbing the fingers' pɪrɪgərɛ 'the act of unshelling'
fɪregɛ 'to remove seed from its covering'   fɪrɪgərɛ 'the uncovering of a seed'
tʊregɛ 'to bruise'   tʊrɪgərɛ 'bruising'
tɪregɛ 'to put in effort'   tɪrɪgərɛ 'the act of putting in effort'

In example (16), the suffix [-**rɛ**] is a nominaliser, which derives deverbal nouns in (b). The vowel of the suffix harmonises with the stem vowels in the feature [-ATR]. This kind of harmony is referred to as symmetric vowel harmony system (Azagsiba 1977:41; also see Aoki 1968) where the vowels of the stem determine the series of vowels in the whole word.

4.5 Harmony in loanwords

All human languages are replete with examples of languages borrowing from one or more languages (Bloomfield 1933, Thomason & Kaufman 1991, Payne 1997, Nsoh 1997). Borrowed or loans words are therefore a major component of the lexicon of all natural languages. It is also known that less known languages borrow from dominant languages. For instance, Akan and Hausa are very widely used as lingua franca in Ghana, while English is the national language. This complex linguistic demographic situation that Farefari finds itself has resulted in extensive borrowing into the language. However, as the words are borrowed into the language they become integrated phonologically and morphologically into the language (Ayambire 1980, Nsoh 1997:54-60). These include among other features integration into the phonotactics, vowel harmony system, tone and

nasalisation. Morphologically, they may develop affixes including noun class and other inflectional affixes.

Vowel harmony is one major feature that loanwords adopt in the language. Gurenɛ loanwords are governed by vowel harmony rules. In Gurenɛ as in many other languages, loanwords are mostly from the noun class. Consequently, our examples are taken from this part-of-speech. All vowels in loanwords in Gurenɛ harmonise in the feature [±ATR] as shown in the following example;

	[+ATR]	
(17) a.	**[teebule]**	'table'
	[alopele]	'aeroplane'
	[sukuu]	'school'
	[torogo]	'push truck'
	[foote]	'photo'
	[bilete]	'blade'
	[loore]	'lorry'
	[asibitin]	'hospital'

	[-ATR]	
b.	**[tɛɛla]**	'tailor'
	[pʊləŋa]	'police'
	[aŋkɪtɛ]	'handkerchief'
	[bɔgɔtɛ]	'bucket'
	[dɔɣɔta]	'doctor'
	[wʊdɔba]	'rubber'
	[kɔpɪ]	'cup'
	[bɔlɪpɪ]	'bulb'
	[dɔləba]	'driver'

4.6 Harmony in compounds

Compounding is a regular morphophonological process in most languages. The phenomenon is very widespread in Gurenɛ (Dakubu 1996, A-inkonge 2013, Nsoh 1997, 2011). Vowel harmony is again observed in Gurenɛ compounds. Vowels of both constituents of the compound agree in [±ATR] feature. In the language, compounds may

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be composed of only nouns, noun + adjective, noun + verb, verb + adjective or only verbs. However, noun-noun and noun-adjective compounds are more recurrent than other forms. (18) is an illustration of ATR harmony in noun-noun compounds.

(18)   **ATR harmony in Noun-compounds**

a,   [+ATR]
      /deo/   + tine/   →   [detine] 'hut'
      /kʊʊrɛ/ + yire/   →   [kuyire] 'funeral house'
      /zom/   + ko'om/   →   [zonko'om] 'beverage made from millet'
      /kuto/   + yefo/   →   [kutoyefo] 'bicycle'
      /deo/   + bia   →   [deobia] 'cat'
      /duŋa/   + fole   →   [dunfole] 'grazing land'
      /fuo/   + nifo   →   [funifo] 'pocket'
      /pʊʊrɛ/ + pee   →   [pʊpɛɛla] 'kind hearted person'
      /yire/   + zuo   →   [yizuo] 'clan'

b.   [-ATR]
      /bʊdaa   + pɔka/   →   [bʊdapɔka] 'manwoman'
      /sʊkaam + pɔkɔ/   →   [sʊkaampɔkɔ] 'groundnut shell'
      /nɛra   + saala/   →   [nɛrəsaala] 'human being'
      /ma'anɛ + kɛ'ɛŋa/ →   [ma'ankɛ'ɛŋa] 'dried okro'
      /dãam   + dʊkɔ/   →   [dãdʊkɔ] 'pito pot'
      /nʊa   + dɔɔ/   →   [nʊdɔɔ] 'cock'
      /bʊa   + tɪla/   →   [bʊtɪla] 'billy goat'
      /sagebɔ + dʊkɔ/   →   [saɣədʊkɔ] 'TZ pot'

In examples (18a), the two constituents of the compound are nouns and the vowels of both constituents are [+ATR]. Hence, all the vowels in the compounds agree in the feature [+ATR] while in (18b), the vowels are [-ATR].

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(19)   **ATR harmony in noun-adjective compounds**

a.   [+ATR]
            kurega   +   **woko** →   **[kurə-woko]**
            trousers   +   long   'trousers'
            kurega   +   **girega** →   **[kurə-girega]**
            trousers   +   short   'shorts'
            zuo   +   **be'o** →   **[zube'o]**
            head   +   bad   'bad luck'
            pʊʊrɛ   +   **pee** →   **[pupeelum]**
            stomach   +   white   'happiness'

b.   [-ATR]
            nɛra   +   **zaŋa** →   **[nɛrə-zaŋa]**
            human   +   nothing   'a nobody'
            bɔʔɔ   +   **kʊŋɔ** →   **[bɔ-kʊŋɔ]**
            room   +   big   'big room'
            buraa   +   **daberɛ**→   **[bura-daberɛ]**
            man   +   huge   'stout man'
            nɛra   +   **mɔlega** →   **[nɛrəmɔɔləga]**
            human   +   red   'fair in complexion'
            pɔka   +   **nya'aŋa** →   **[pɔɣənya'aŋa]**
            woman   +   old   'old woman'

In (19a), the compounds are made of noun-adjective and all vowels harmonise in [+ATR] while in (19b) the vowels are [-ATR]. What is common with (19a) and (19b) is that, in the formation of the compounds, syllable reduction, syllable deletion and vowel change occur in the first part of the compound. For instance, when the first part of the compound is monosyllabic with a long vowel, the final syllable deletes and if it is disyllabic, either the whole of the second syllable deletes or the final vowel changes to a schwa.

(20)   **ATR harmony in noun-verb compounds**

        a. **pɔka**   + **bɔ**   →   **[pɔgə-bɔrɛ]**
           woman   want   'courting'

_____

      b. **deo**   + **ga'arɛ** →   **[de-ga'arəgɔ]**
         room   + sleep   →   'bedroom'
      c. **paləŋa**   + **ɛkɛ**   →   **[palən-ɛka]**
         heart   + jump   →   'danger'
      d. **pɔka**   + **zoi**   →   **[pɔgə-zɔrɛ]**
         woman + run   →   'marriage'
      e. **kʊka**   + **delum**→   **[kʊgə-dɛləŋa]**
         chair   + lean   →   a chair with backrest'

Just like the noun-noun and noun-adjective compounds, harmony also manifest in the vowels of noun-verb compounds as shown in (20). In (20d & e), we observe spreading of the ATR feature. Vowels of the second stem assimilate to the [-ATR] feature of the first stem. For instance, in (20e), the vowels in the first stem *kʊka* 'chair' are [-ATR], while the vowels in the second stem *delum* 'to lean on' are [+ATR]. However, in the compound, the [-ATR] feature of the vowels of the first stem spreads onto the vowels of the second stem. Hence, the [+ATR] vowels [e & **u**] as in /delum/ change to the [-ATR] vowel [ɛ] plus the nominalising suffix [ŋa] as in [dɛlɛŋa]. This means that /**delum**/ becomes **[dɛlɛŋa]** as illustrated in (20).

      In the autosegmental representations, assimilation is represented by spreading a feature from one anchor to another, represented by a broken association line as illustrated in (21b).

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(21) a. /kʊka + delum/→ [kʊgə-dɛləŋa]

b.

ATR [-ATR] [-ATR] + [+ATR]   [-ATR] [-ATR] + [+ATR]

Skel   x   x   x   →   x   x   x   →

Seg   ʊ   a   e   ʊ   a   e

ATR [-ATR] [-ATR] + [+ATR]   [-ATR] [-ATR] + [+ATR]

Skel   x   x   x   →   x   x   x   →

Seg   ʊ   a   e   ʊ   a   e

ATR [-ATR] [-ATR] + [-ATR]

Skel   x   x   x

Seg   ʊ   a   ɛ

_____
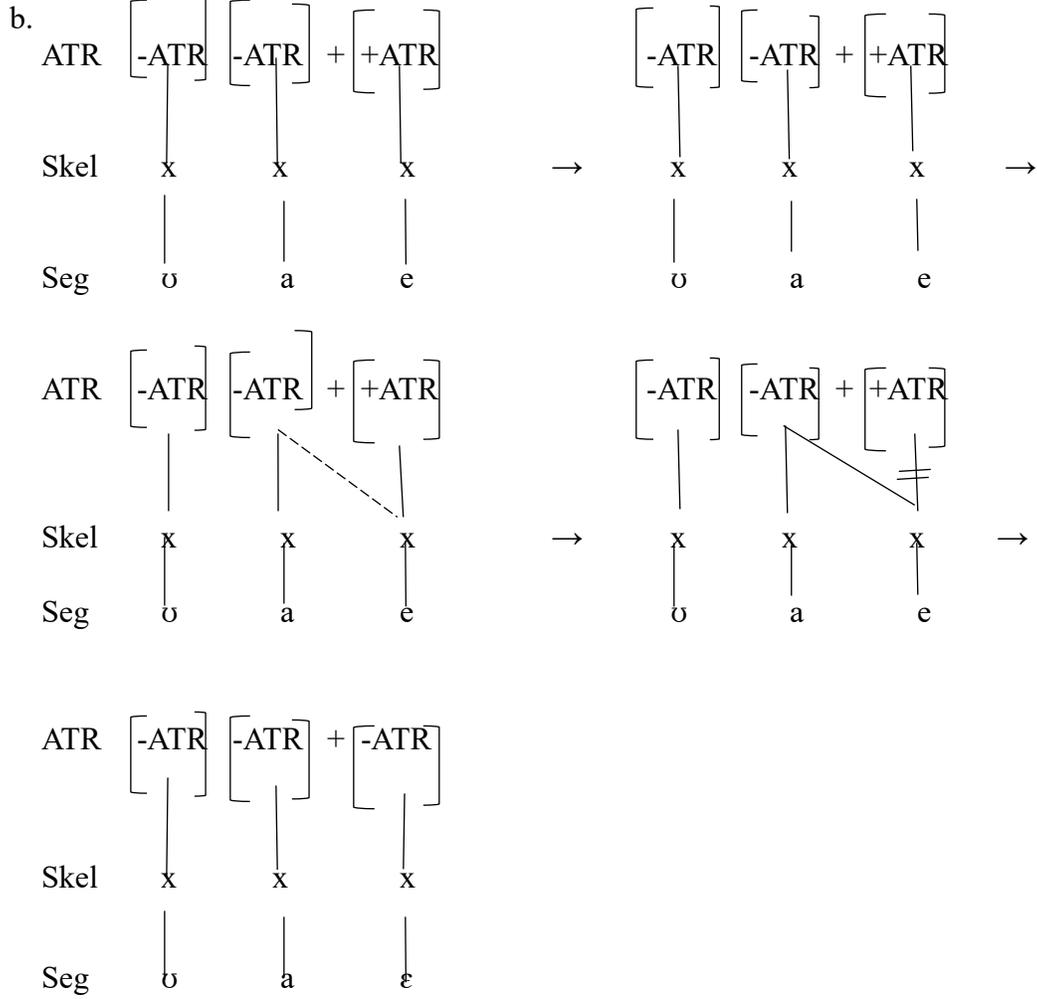
In (21), the [-ATR] feature of the vowels of the first stem spreads onto the vowels of the second stem as indicated by the broken association line. Also, a crossed-through association line is used to show delinking or disassociation of the [+ATR] feature. Hence, the vowels [e & u] as in /delum/ lose their [+ATR] feature and acquire the [-ATR] feature to become [ɛ] & [ə] plus the nominalising suffix **[ŋa]** which gives us the derivational form **[dɛlɛŋa].**

It may be observed that vowel harmony occurs both within and across constituents of the compound. In the vowel harmony process that has been discussed to this point, the simple word comprised of a stem and affix and is the harmonic domain. However, in cases where harmony occurs across word boundaries (constituents of the compound), vowels in both constituents of the compound agree in [±ATR] harmony. The following are examples of harmony across word boundaries in bold:

[+ATR]

(22)   a,   **/bia/   + /woko/** → [**biwoko**]
                'child + long   →   tall child'

[+ATR]

        b.   **/bia/   + /bila/** → [**bibila**]
                'child + little → little child'

_____

[-ATR]
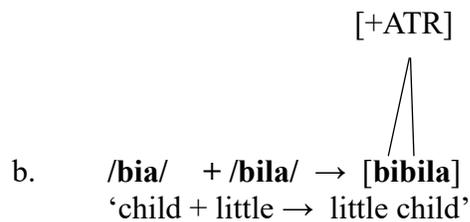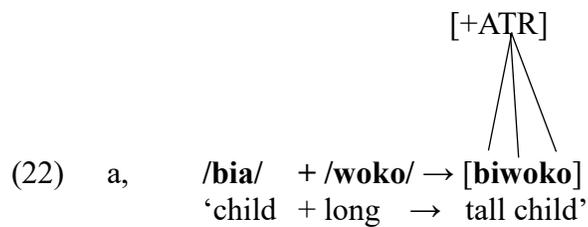
(23) a.   **/bʊraa/ + /mɔləga/ → [bʊramɔləga]**
                man + red → 'fair in complexion man'

[-ATR]
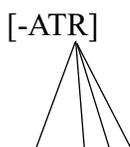
      b.   **/kɔma/ + /pɪgə-sʊ/ → [kɔmpɪgəsʊ]**
                children + little → 'little children'

There are instances where harmony does not spread across two constituents of the compound. In other words, harmony is blocked at the end of the first constituent. Thus, harmony occurs only within constituents of the compounds. For instance, when vowels of the first constituent of the compound agree in the feature [+ATR], vowels of the second constituent will have [–ATR] feature and vice versa as shown in the following representations.

[+A] [-A]

(24) a.   **/bia/ + /mɔləga/ → [bimɔləga]**
                child + red → 'fair in comp. child'

[+A] [-A]

      b.   **/bia/ + sabɪlɪga →   [bisabəlɪga]**
                child + black → 'dark in comp. child'

_____

[-A] [+A]

(25)   a.   **/bʊraa/ + /woko/ → [bʊrawoko]**
              man + long →   'tall man'

[-A] [+A]

        b.   **/kɔma/ + /bibəsi/→[kɔmbibəsi]**
              children + little→ 'little children'

4.7 Rounding and backness harmony

The literature shows that languages that show rounding harmony usually also show harmony for another feature. Therefore, most languages that show rounding harmony, also show backness harmony (see Mutaka 2000:58). For instance, in the Niger-Congo languages like Dagaare and Chumburung (spoken in Ghana), and Igbo (spoken in Nigeria), rounding harmony is said to occur with ATR harmony (van der Hulst and van de Weijer 1995, Krämer 2003 cited in Rose & Walker 2011). This observation is applicable to the Gurenɛ data. For instance, the following examples demonstrate that ATR harmony occurs with rounding harmony and backness harmony.

		Singular		**plural**	**output form**	
(26)	a.	**/kʊkɔ/**	'ghost'	**/kʊɣərɔ/**	**[kʊɣərɔ]**	'ghosts'
	b.	**/dʊkɔ/**	'pot'	**/dʊɣɔrɔ/**	**[dʊɣərɔ]**	'pots'
	c.	**/yɔkɔ/**	'clay'	**/yɔɣɔrɔ/**	**[yɔɣərɔ]**	'clay'
	d.	**/lɔkɔ/**	'object'	**/lɔgɔrɔ/**	**[lɔɣərɔ]**	'objects'
	f.	boko	'pit'	/boɣoro/	**[boyoro]**	'pit
	g.	**yoko**	**'hole'**	/yoɣoro/	**[yoyoro]**	**'holes'**
	h.	**fɛkɔ**	**'one eye person'**	**/fɛɣɔrɔ/**	**[fɛɣɔrɔ]**	**'one eyed person'**
	i.	**dɛkɔ**	**'dirt'**	**/dɛɣɔrɔ/**	dɛɣɔrɔ	**'dirts'**

Our assumption is that the singular noun serves as input to the plural noun. That means the singular noun suffix is visible to plural suffix. Therefore, rounding harmony in Gurenɛ is triggered in the plural suffix by the final vowel of the singular suffix vowel. The phenomenon is illustrated in (26) above and (27) below. Thus, it is unlike the [ATR] harmony which is triggered by the root vowel. For example, in (26h-i), even though the root vowel is /ɛ/ in both nouns, which is [-round], the plural suffix vowel is /ɔ/ in both plural nouns because it harmonises with the [+round] suffixes of the singular nouns. Thus, the examples of nouns manifesting rounding harmony occur between the singular suffix and the plural suffix vowels as shown in (26). Similarly, in (27) the vowels /i ɪ/ in the plural suffixes are [-Round] because the /a/ vowel in the singular suffixes are-[Round]. If the plural suffixes in **kʊyə-sɪ** 'chairs' and **vuge-si** 'mounds' were to be triggered by the root vowel, then the suffix vowel will have been rounded as well.

		Singular	**plural**	**output form**	
(27)	a.	**/daka/**	**/daga+si/**	**[daɣəsɪ]**	'boxes'
	b.	**/vaka/**	**/vaga+si/**	**[vaɣəsɪ]**	'coop'
	c.	**/paka/**	**/paga+si/**	**[paɣəsɪ]**	'hut'
	d.	**/kʊka/**	**/kʊga+si/**	**[kʊɣəsɪ]**	'chairs'
	e.	**/vuka/**	**/vuga+si/**	**[vugəsi]**	'bed-farm'

Thus, in (27), the singular noun suffix vowel triggers rounding in the plural suffix vowel. The data also shows that the low unrounded vowel alternates with ATR vowels. When the low unrounded vowel /a/ occurs with [+ATR] vowels, the plural suffix vowel is realized as [+ATR], and when it occurs with [−ATR] vowels, the plural suffix vowel is realized as [−ATR]. In addition, the low vowel /a/ agrees with the plural suffix vowel in [±round] feature. Therefore, both the singular suffix vowel and the plural suffix vowel are [-round] in feature. Apart from nouns, rounding harmony also occurs between the verb and the deverbal nouns as shown in (28).

		Underlying form			**output form**
(28)	a.	**/dɪkɛ/** 'to take'		**/dɪkɪrɛ/**	**[dɪkərɛ]** 'the act of taking'
	b.	**/pike/** 'to discover'		**/pikire/**	**[pikəre]** 'the act of discovering'
	c.	**/fike/** 'to break'		**/fikire/**	**[fikəre]** 'the act of breaking'
	d.	**/pɪkɛ/** 'to open one's eye'		**/pɪkɪrɛ/**	**[pɪkərɛ]** 'the act of opening the eye'

_____

e.	/**puke**/ 'to powder'	/**pukere**/	[**pukəre**] 'the act of putting on powder'
f.	/**tuke**/ 'to drive'	/**tukere**/	[**tukəre**] 'the act of driving'
g.	/**fʊkɛ**/ 'to remove'	/**fʊkɪrɛ**/	[**fʊkərɛ**] 'the act of removing'

In (27), harmony is between the final vowel of the verb stem and final vowel of the deverbal noun. The final vowel of the suffix, which is also a nominalizing morpheme of the deverbal noun, harmonises with the final vowel of the verb stem in rounding. Thus, if the final vowel of the stem is [±round], the final vowel of the deverbal noun must also be [±round] including all other vowels in the word as illustrated above. Generally, the data on rounding and backness harmony show that initial stem vowels are not affected by harmony.

4.8 Vowel-consonant harmony

Consonant harmony is a kind of long-distant assimilation, usually across intervening vowels or consonants. In the vowel-consonant harmony process, vowels and consonants are required to agree with each other in a harmonic feature such as nasalization or pharyngealization (Hansson 2001). According to Hansson (ibid), vowel-consonant harmony usually shows fixed directionality which could take the form of either leftward or rightward spreading, or sometimes a combination of both. The phenomenon is mostly caused by some kind of consonants just like consonant harmony. However, vowel-consonant harmony is different from consonant harmony in that all segments, which include both vowels and consonants are affected by the harmonic process. In other words, the harmonic feature in question spreads through every segment in the word. In Gurenɛ, an example of this type of harmonic system involves the interaction of /**g**/ with other segments. In other words, vowel-consonant harmony occurs between the oral velar stop and [-ATR] vowels.

Rose and Walker (2011) describe vowel-consonant harmony as an assimilatory process, which may operate over a string of multiple segments. Hence, harmony may occur from a distance across at least one seemingly unaffected segment as shown in (28a), or it may involve a continuous string of segments as in (28b-f) below;

(28)	a. /**biwoko**/	→	[**biwoko**] 'tall boy'
	b. /**bʊdamɔləga**/	→	[**bʊra-mɔləga**] 'fair main'
	c. /dɛgərɔ/	→	[dɛɣərɔ] 'dirt'

_____

      d. /pɛgəra/   →   [pɛɣəra] 'pages'
      e. /dɔgəra/   →   [dɔɣəra] 'parent'
      f. **/tɔgəri/**   →   [tɔɣərɪ] 'talking'.

In the examples in (28), the vowels in each word agree in [±ATR] feature across a sequence of intervening consonants. However, in (28c-f), we observe continuous harmony as all intervening segments participate in the process. This means that all the segments except the initial onsets are affected or involved in the harmony process. Thus, the string of segments as indicated in bold; [dɛɣərɔ] 'dirt', agree in the feature [+continuant]. [+cont] segments are those that in their production, there is a lack of central occlusion in the vocal tract. Thus, vowels, glides and fricatives are [+cont] while plosives, nasal consonants, and lateral are [-cont] (see Gussenhoven & Jacobs 2013).

4.8.1 /g/ interaction with [-ATR] vowels

In Gurenɛ, the voiced velar stop /g/ is realized as a velar fricative [ɣ] when it occurs between [-ATR] vowels. This is a case of spirantization where a stop or plosive changes to a fricative as illustrated in (29) below:

                 [-ATR]
(29) a.   **/bʊgɛ/** →   [bʊɣɛ] 'to hit one with the fists'
          /pɔga/ →   [pɔɣa] 'wife'
          /baga/ →   [baɣa] 'gods'
          /bagɛ/ →   [baɣɛ] ' to adorn'
          /dɛgerɔ/→   [dɛɣərɔ] 'dirt'
          /sagʊm/→   [saɣʊm] 'to spoil'/destroy'
          /sɔgɔrɔ/→   [sɔɣərɔ] 'rubbish'
          /lɪgʊm/ →   [lɪɣʊm] 'tickle'

      b.   [+ATR]
          /tuge/ →   *[tuɣe] 'weave'
          /lige/ →   *[liɣe] 'block'
          /dige/ →   *[diɣe] 'chase'
          /kuge/ →   *[kuɣe] 'pile'

The data in (29) may be generalised as follows,

$$(30) \quad /g/ \rightarrow [ɣ] \;/\; \begin{bmatrix} \text{-ATR} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\quad\quad} \begin{bmatrix} \text{-ATR} \end{bmatrix}$$

The above rule implies that the voiced velar stop is realized as a velar fricative in the environment of [-ATR] vowels. A non-linear representation of this phenomenon is illustrated below;

31.

ATR

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{+cont} \\ \text{-ATR} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{-cont} \\ \text{dor} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{+cont} \\ \text{-ATR} \end{bmatrix} \quad\quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{+cont} \\ \text{-ATR} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{-cont} \\ \text{dor} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{+cont} \\ \text{-ATR} \end{bmatrix}$$

Skel   x   x   x   →   x   x   x   →

Seg   ʊ   g   ɛ   ʊ   g   ɛ

ATR

$$\begin{matrix} \text{+cont} & \text{+stop} & \text{+cont} \\ \begin{bmatrix} \text{-ATR} \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{dor} \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{-ATR} \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix} \quad\quad \begin{matrix} \text{+cont} \\ \begin{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix}$$

Skel   x   x   x   →   x   x   x

Seg   ʊ   g   ɛ   ʊ   ɣ   ɛ
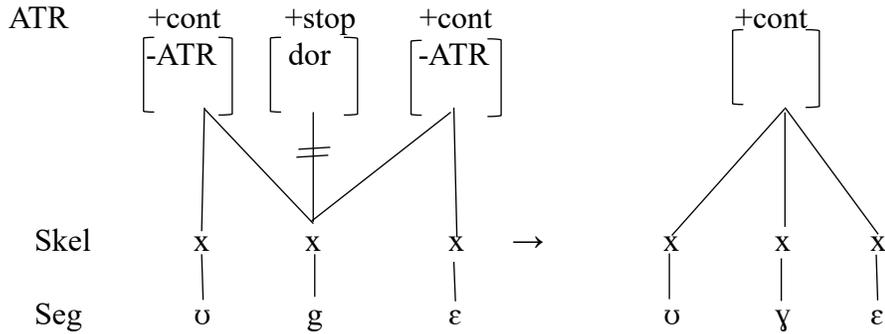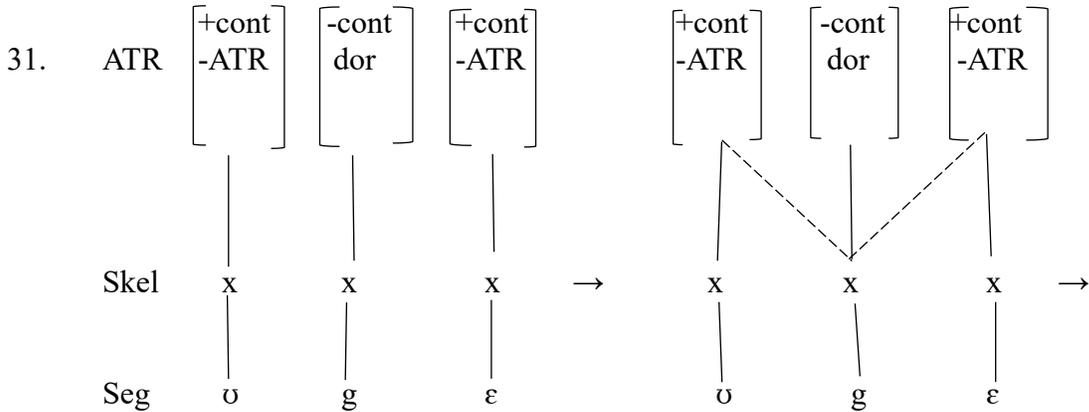
In the non-linear representation, we see the vowels spread their [+continuant] feature onto the velar stop, thereby causing the velar stop to change to velar fricative with a [+cont] feature. Here, we observe the change of a segment from stop to fricative resulting in vowel-

consonant harmony in the string. Thus, in Gurenɛ /**g**/ changes to /**ɣ**/ in the environment of the feature [-ATR] (i.e. when it occurs between [-ATR] vowels).

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we discussed vowel harmony in Gurenɛ. This included tongue root vowel harmony (ATR), vowel-consonant harmony, and rounding harmony. We have demonstrated that vowels in Gurenɛ words are strictly governed by vowel harmony rules. Therefore, only vowels of the same qualities or features [±ATR] can co-occur in words. Vowel harmony operates at two levels in the domain of a word: ATR harmony, which is triggered by root vowels, and rounding harmony, which is triggered by suffix vowels. Vowel harmony operates all through from CVCV to multisyllabic words, with suffix vowels agreeing in the feature [±ATR] with vowels of the roots. In addition, loanwords and compounds are also governed by vowel harmony rules even though, there are cases where harmony is blocked and does not operate across word boundaries particularly in compounds. The language has two neutral vowels, the schwa /ə/ (any word-medial vowel) and the low, back, central vowel /**a**/. These vowels are neutral to harmony process as they are transparent, co-occur with vowels of both sets of ATR harmony and do not seem to either trigger or undergo the harmony process.

Another type of harmony that exists in the language is vowel-consonant harmony which involves the interaction of the velar stop /**g**/ with [-ATR] vowels. The voiced velar stop /**g**/ is realized as a velar fricative [**ɣ**] in the environment of [-ATR] vowels. We have also indicated the presence of rounding harmony in Gurenɛ. ATR harmony in Gurenɛ occurs with rounding such that vowels in a word agree with each other in terms of the features [±ATR], and [±round].

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"PADDLING A CANOE AND PREPARING RICE BALLS": THE SEMANTICS OF TAFI CUISINE

Mercy Bobuafor

Abstract

The culinary field is where three of the well-authenticated examples of human universals; tool making, use of fire and cooking of food, come together. Yet in this field, cultures differ in their conceptualisation and linguistic representation of food preparation. In this study, I discuss the language of cooking in Tafi, a Ghana-Togo Mountain Language, focusing on five verbs: **tɔ́** "cook, boil"; **pʊ́ɪ̄** "bake, roast", **gba** "fry, roast; sweep"; **ge** "cook (e.g. dumpling); drive (e.g. a car)" and **tú** "pound". I investigate the semantic relations among them and explore the cultural logic that unites the interpretations suggested by their translation equivalents. Thus, I show that the contextual interpretation of **tɔ́** depends on the classes of nouns it collocates with: With **kídɔ̄** "thing" it signals "prepare a meal". Where its complement is a specific product, the interpretation is "to make something" e.g., **tɔ́ bésh(e)ɔkɔ̃ɛ̃** "prepare local soap". But if the complement names a food then it means "prepare that particular food" e.g. **tɔ́ (elí) oni** "prepare (oil-palm) soup". If the complement is a (raw) foodstuff, it is interpreted as "boil in water to", e.g. **tɔ́ kídzē** "egg" is interpreted as "cook egg" or "boil egg in water". Furthermore, I argue that the use of the activity verbs **gba** "sweep", **ge** "drive, paddle" (cf. Akan **ka**) and **tú** "pound" in the culinary field is based on the manner of food preparation. The Tafi conceptualisations and lexicalisation patterns will be compared to the vocabulary in Ewe and Akan to discover the similarities and differences.

Keywords: Food preparation, lexicalisation pattern, polysemy, Tafi and verb semantics

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1. Introduction

A categorial opposition between the raw and the cooked is a universal experience. Universally also the mediums through which food is cooked tend to be similar: fire, water, fat (or oil) etc. What is striking is that different cultures have different ways of preparing and cooking food. They also construe and interpret the processes differently. For instance, the cooking of **banku**-like[1] foods is described differently in different Ghanaian languages, as we shall see below. The Ewe use the verb "cook" for that and do not pay attention to the manner of cooking. The Tafi and the Akan describe it in terms of the activity and manner of movement of, and the turning of the ladle. Thus, they use the verb that also means to drive a car (or perhaps more accurately to steer) or to paddle or row to talk about it. The goal of this paper is to explore the ways in which the Tafi people of south-eastern Ghana talk about the different modes of preparing the food that they eat. This will be done through an examination of the grammar and especially the semantics of five verbs that can be said to belong to the culinary field in the language (see Lehrer 1974 for English cooking verbs). The verbs involved can be divided into two groups: the verbs in the first group focus on preparing food through a medium: **tɔ́** "cook, boil"; **pʊ́ɩ̄** "bake, roast"; **gba** "fry, roast; sweep" and those in the second group focus on the vigorous physical activity that the cook performs: **ge** "drive, paddle" and **tú** "pound". The various translation equivalents of the verbs provide some clues to the significance of the verbs.

In the exploration of the syntax and semantics of lexical units in the lexical field of cooking and cuisine in Tafi, the field semantics and frame semantics perspectives will be adopted. A semantic field or lexical field is a group of words or lexical units that share a semantic feature. They also have paradigmatic relations with each other. A lexical field approach to semantics was introduced by Trier (1931) (see Lyons 1977), and Lehrer (1974) applied this approach to the analysis of cooking terms in English and other European languages. As Lehrer and Kittay (1992:4) note later, the advantage of lexical field analysis is that the meaning of a word is understood in relation to other words in the same domain. These relations could be in terms of synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy or incompatibility. From this point of view, relations are part of the meaning of the word. In Table 1, the relations holding between the cooking verbs in Tafi, hyponymy and incompatibility can be inferred from the representation. As Lehrer and Kittay (1992:4) illustrate, "to understand

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[1]   *Banku* is the Ga name for a starchy component of a meal prepared with corn dough. People also add cassava dough to the corn dough. The term has been borrowed into other Ghanaian languages including Ghanaian English.

the meaning of the verb to *sauté* requires that we understand its contrastive relation to *deep fry, broil, boil,* and also the affinitive terms like *cook* and the syntagmatic relations to *pan, pot*, and the many food items one might *sauté"*. In the discussion of the meanings of the cooking terms, their relations to say the food items that are prepared that way will be considered.

Apart from knowing how the terms in the field are related and their contribution to the meaning, we can also understand a term in terms of the semantic frame to which it belongs. A semantic frame is a domain of experience including cultural experience that a lexical item evokes. It is assumed that there is a knowledge structure associated with each linguistic sign (encyclopaedic knowledge), parts of which are evoked in particular contexts (Fillmore 2006[1982], Atkins and Fillmore 1992, Petruck 1996). For instance, I will show below that one of the verbs that belongs to the lexical field of cooking **ge** "paddle, row, drive" evokes in particular usages knowledge structures and elements associated with food preparation/cooking (e.g. preparing rice balls[2], **banku**, as well as ladle, heat source, an effector etc.), vehicular transport frame (e.g. car, steering wheel, a driver), water transport frame (e.g. canoe, boat, paddle, an effector, water bodies etc.).

The frames evoked and the frame elements are critical for the realisation of the event. An aspect of frame semantics is the PARTICIPANTS. For this verb **ge,** as indicated by the frames above, there must be the following Participant roles even if they are not realised in particular usages: an AGENT or Effector of the action (i.e. the one who is preparing the rice balls, for example); an INSTRUMENT that the AGENT handles to bring about a change of state or to produce something (i.e. the wooden ladle manipulated to create the paste); a THEME, i.e. the entity whose movement or state is at stake; and MANNER – the way in which the AGENT carries out the action to produce an effect, or a change.

While for each of the sub frames evoked, the participants are different entities, it seems that the MANNER in which the agent handles the INSTRUMENT to produce an effect in the THEME (causing it to move in a particular direction [TRANSPORT] or to become something else [FOOD PREPARATION] is similar. It appears that this is the logic that unites these seemingly disparate frames. Before turning to the discussion of the verbs, I first provide the typological features of Tafi, relevant for interpreting the examples. The rest of the article is structured as follows: the general verb of cooking tɔ́ "cook" is discussed in section 2. The third section is devoted to the discussion of the verb **gba** "fry, roast" while the fourth section deals with the verb **pṹĩ** "bake, roast". Specific activity verbs of food

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[2]   Rice balls is a dish prepared by mashing boiled rice and moulding it into balls. This dish is usually eaten with soup, e.g., groundnut or palm nut soup.

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preparation - **ge** "cook (dumpling); drive (e.g. a car); paddle/row (a canoe)" and **tú** "pound" are examined in the fifth section and the final section is the conclusion.

1.1 Some typological features of Tafi

The Tafi language is spoken in the south-eastern part of Ghana by about 4,400 people (2003 figures). The Tafi people refer to their language as **Tɩgbɔ** and to themselves as **Bagbɔ** (Simons et al. 2018). Tafi belongs to the KA subgroup of the Ghana-Togo-Mountain (GTM) languages which belong to the Kwa family of the Niger-Congo phylum. Tafi and its neighbour Nyagbo (Tutrugbu) are highly mutually intelligible and it is also closely related to Avatime (Siya) (see e.g. Bobuafor 2013, Defina 2016, Essegbey 2010, van Putten 2014).

Tafi has nine vowels which participate in a root-controlled ATR harmony system. It is a tone language with three level tonemes: High (marked with an acute accent), Mid (marked with a macron) and Low (left unmarked or with a grave accent on syllabic nasals) plus Rising (R) and Falling (F) tones.

Like most of the other GTM languages, Tafi has an active system of noun classes identified by prefixes and a system of agreement markers. At the clause level, the subject is cross-referenced on the verb. The basic constituent orders of Tafi are SV/AVO and AVDO. The possessor precedes the possessed. Pragmatically salient constituents with topic and focus functions occur in the left-periphery of the clause (see Bobuafor 2013).

Tafi is a verb serialising language like most Kwa languages where the subject is expressed only once and the verbs share the same tense and mood but can be independently marked for compatible aspect values (see Bobuafor 2009, 2013).

Tafi has only three underived simple adjectives. Ideophones and derived adjectivals are used as qualifiers in NPs. Property verbs can be reduplicated and used to predicate qualities of subject NPs in clauses.

2. The verb tɔ́

The verb **tɔ́** is a bivalent verb that entails two participants, an Actor and an Undergoer. It cannot occur in a one-place (intransitive) construction. It typically occurs in a two-place (transitive) construction. When it occurs in a two-place construction, it can be extended

with a dative (1) or locative participant (2) as illustrated in the elicited sentences in (1) and (2).[3]

1. Ésí átɔ́ 'ɛ́dɔ̄ kɔ́ 'ál'.
    Ésí   á-tɔ́   kí-dɔ̄   kɔ́   balí
    Ésí   SM-cook   CM-thing   DAT   3PL
    'Esi cooked for them.'

2. Ésí átɔ́ 'ɛ́dɔ̄ ní osubhanɪabhā.
    Ésí   á-tɔ   kí-dɔ̄   ní   o-subha   ní   kábhā
    Esi   SM-cook   CM-thing   LOC   CM-hearth   DEF   top
    'Esi cooked on the hearth.'

The verb has three readings depending in part on the semantics of the complement it takes. Its general sense is to make or prepare something such as soap (3) or palm oil (4).[4]

3. Ɔsí ɔtɔ́ béshɔkɔ̃ɛ̌, ɔ́bɔpʊ́ɪ koko aklɔ̂…
    ɔ-sí   ɔ-tɔ́   bé-she.ɔkɔ̃ɛ̌   ɔ́-bɔ-pʊ́ɪ   koko   a-klɔ̂
    2SG-say SM-cook   CM-local.soap   2SG-FUT-roast cocoa   CM.PL-pod
    'If you want to prepare local soap, you will burn cocoa pods…' (Local soap)
4. Kánā gɪ látɔ̄ 'ʊdzɔ ní Baagbɔ.
    ká-nā   gɪ   lá-tɔ̄   bʊ-dzɔ   ní   Baagbɔ
    CM-manner   REL   3PL.DEP-cook   CM-palm.oil   LOC   Tafi
    'This is how palm oil is prepared in Tafi.' (Palm oil)

When the complement of the verb is the generic nominal kídɔ̄ 'thing' the general reading is to prepare a meal, to cook. In the sentence in (5), it is clear that the rooster was killed and a meal was prepared with it. The verb here refers to the whole event.

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[3]   In this paper, the examples are presented in four (4) lines. The first line represents the spoken form and shows word divisions. In the second line, the data is presented in bold with hyphens (-) symbolising morpheme breaks. The morphs in the first line are fully spelt out as morphemes in the second line thus initial consonants andsyllables deleted are presented in their recoverable forms. The interlinear gloss and a free English translation provided in single quotes are given in the third and fourth lines respectively.
[4]   Where the example is taken from a text example, the name of the text is indicated and these can be found in Chapter 13 of Bobuafor (2013).

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5.   Évu y'ɔ́kúkɔ́ny'ɔní, eyí, átɔ́ 'ɛdɔ̄.

é-vu	yí	ɔ-kúkɔ́nye	ɔ-ní	e-yí
3SG-catch	3SG.IND	CM-rooster	AM-PROX	SM-kill

a-tɔ́	kí-dɔ̄			
SM-cook	CM-thing			

'He caught this rooster of his, killed it and prepared food.' (Kasala, line 241)

Similarly, in (6) there is disapproval being expressed concerning the quantity of oil that was used in preparing a meal.

6.   Átɔ́ 'ɛdɔ̄ nɪ bʊdzɔ tʊmpé 'egunu zɪzī.

á-tɔ́	kí-dɔ̄	nɪ	bʊ-dzɔ	tʊmpá	ke-gunu	zɪzī
3SG-cook	CM-thing	COM	CM-palm.oil	bottle	CM-half	whole

'She used half bottle of oil to cook.' (lit. 'she cooked with a whole half bottle of oil.')

7.   Ɔ́bɔtɔ 'ɛdɔ̄ń lóó ɔ́bɔvɪ ti shui 'uní?

ɔ́-bɔ-tɔ́	kí-dɔ̄	ní	lóó	ɔ́-bɔ-vɪ	tɪ
2SG-FUT-cook	CM-thing	DEF	DISJ	2SG-FUT-go	PURP

shui	bu-ní				
fetch	CM-water				

'Will you cook the food or you will go to fetch water (from the riverside)?'

When the complement is specific and refers to food such as soup or rice dumpling, the interpretation is to prepare or cook that particular dish. Consider examples (8) - (10).

8.   Plʊ́nɔ̄ ní ɔ́bɔɔ́kɔ̄ akpǎ ɔ́bɔɔ́k' ɔt'óní nɔ̄.

plʊ́nɔ̄	ní	ɔ́-bɔ-yíkɔ̄	a-kpǎ	ɔ́-bɔ-yíkɔ̄
add	TOP	2SG-FUT-take	CM.PL-fish	SM-FUT-take

ɔ́-tɔ́	o-ní	nɔ̄		
SM-cook	CM-soup	COM		

'In addition, you will use fish in preparing soup.' (Kɪmʊkɔ́, line 04)

9.   Bʊ́tɔ́ ádɔy' óni pétéé n'elí lo.

bʊ́-tɔ́	á-dɔyí	o-ní	pétéé	nɪ
1PL-cook	CM.PL-bean	CM-soup	all	COM

e-lí   lo
CM.PL-palm.nut   ADD
'We prepare peas soup using palm nuts.' (Kɩmʊkɔ́, line 09)

10. Báátɔ́ 'ɛmʊkɔ́ ní Baagbɔ.
bá-á-tɔ́   kɩ-mʊkɔ́   [ní   Baagbɔ]
3PL-PRSPROG-cook CM-red.rice.dumpling   LOC   Baagbɔ
'They are cooking red rice dumpling in Tafi.'[5]

When the complement of the verb refers to an ingredient such as yam (11), palm-nut (12) or rice (13) rather than a dish as in (8) - (10) above, the interpretation can be rendered as 'boil in water to cook'.

11. Adzīń ábato   ekūń   alóó ábad'alí?
a-dzɩ   ní   á-ba-tɔ́   é-kū   ní   alóó
CM-woman   DEF   SM-FUT-cook   CM.PL-yam DEF   DISJ
á-ba-dɩ   alí
SM-FUT-sell 3PL
'Will the woman cook the yams or she will sell them?'

12. Ábatɔ́ élíń ɔwūlago.
á-ba-tɔ́   e-lí   ní   ɔ-wūlago
3SG-FUT-cook   CM.PL-palm.nut   DEF   CM-evening
'S/he will boil the palm nuts in the evening.'

13. Át'ôn'ɔ́ní kɩlí y'átɔ́ ás'âní kɩlí áákɔ 'ɛlí pétéé áákɔ́ abal'akpɩ ketsukpú gbʊgblǎ gbʊgblǎ gbʊgblǎ gbʊgblǎ gbʊgblǎ tielímī kɩlí áákɔ́ édɔ̄ń áda.
á-tɔ́   o-ní   ɔ-ní   kɩlí   yí   á-tɔ́
3SG-cook   CM-soup   AM-PROX   CONJ 3SG.IND   SM-cook
á-sí   a-ní   kɩlí   á-yíkɔ   kɩlí   pétéé á-yíkɔ́
CM-rice   AM-PROX   CONJ SM-take   3SG   all   SM-take
a-balɩ   a-kpí   ke-tsukpú   gbʊgblǎ   gbʊgblǎ
SM-pour   SM-put.in   CM-pot   big   big
gbʊgblǎ   gbʊgblǎ   gbʊgblǎ   tie-lí   kɩmɩ

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[5]   **Kɩmʊkɔ́** 'red rice dumpling' is a dish prepared with flour prepared from roasted red rice.

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big	big	big	AM-INDEF	in
kɩlɩ́	á-yíkɔ	kí-dɔ̄	nɩ́	á-da
CONJ	SM-take	CM-thing	DEF	SM-cover

'She prepared this soup and cooked this rice and she put it all into a very big pot and covered it.' (Kasalã, line 243)

In the first line in (13), two readings of the verb are juxtaposed. It is the second use of the verb with its complement as rice that we are interested in here. It just involves putting the ingredient rice on fire, adding water and letting it boil to cook. This is unlike the first use which entails a few more actions like the addition of other ingredients such as fish and vegetables in order to prepare soup.

A piece of evidence that the reading of 'boil in water to cook' of the verb **tɔ́** entails both phases, namely 'boiling in water' and 'become.cooked', is that there is another verb which translates as 'boil' but which focuses on the vigorous activity of boiling and does not entail 'being cooked'. As the fragment in (14) shows the 'be cooked' verb **bí** will be needed to express the result of the boiling denoted by the verb **yabá** 'become hot to boiling point'.

14.　　…　gɩ bʊbazɩyabá g'lǔ babí.

gɩ	bʊ-ba-zɩ-yabá	gɩ	lǔ-ba-bí
REL	3SG-FUT-REP-boil	REL	3SG.DEP-FUT-be.cooked

'…while it continues boiling until it is done (cooked).' (Palm oil, line 35)

The verb **tɔ́** can be nominalised through noun class prefixation. Thus, in the proverb in (15), **kɩ-tɔ́** 'cooking' is a nominalised form of the verb.

15.　　Anúvō̄ ní gɩ ákányɔ́ edí ní y'ádɔ así y'eni y'ényí 'ítɔ́ dí.

a-núvō̄	ní	gɩ	á-ká-nyɔ́	e-dí	ní
CM-child	DEF	REL	3SG.DEP-NEG.PERF-roam	SM-look	TOP

yí	á-dɔ	a-sí	yí	é-nī
3SG.IND	SM-say	SM-COMP	3SG.IND	CM-mother

yí	é-nyí	kɩ-tɔ́	dí
3SG.IND	SM-know	CM-cook	surpass

'The child who has never travelled says that his mother is the best cook.' (lit. 'the child who has never travelled says his mother's cooking surpasses all.')

(Proverbs #49)

In sum, the verb **tɔ́** has three readings generated in composition with the semantics of the complement it takes: a general meaning of make or prepare something or make something such as soap, palm oil or prepare a meal; and specific readings of cook a dish, e.g., rice dumpling; palm nut soup, and boil to cook e.g. rice, yam etc. The question is whether each of these readings is a distinct sense or not. In Table 1, I show the hierarchical relation between the senses and in Table 2, I compare some collocational patterns involving the verb and its counterparts in Ewe, Akan and Ga. Table 2 shows that while the cook verb is used in Tafi to talk about preparing and cooking soups, Ewe uses a 'hit' verb to express that idea. Table 2 also shows that while Ewe uses the general 'cook, prepare a meal' verb to talk about the preparation of **banku** or **akple** or dumpling, Tafi uses an activity verb of manner **ge** 'drive, paddle' for that event, similar to Akan.

Table 1: Tafi cooking verbs

tɔ́ 'prepare something or meal'				
tɔ́ 'cook a specific dish'				
tɔ́ 'boil to cook'	pʊ́ɪ̄ 'bake, roast, char grill'	gba 'fry, roast; sweep'	ge 'drive, steer, paddle, row'	tú 'pound'
+ water	Open or enclosed dry heat; direct contact with fire coals	Cook in fat, or fine powder as heat conduit, over high heat	Mix flour or dough with water and cook on fire by stirring using a wooden stick till it forms a thick paste	

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Table 2: Collocational patterns of cooking verbs in Tafi, Ewe, Akan and Ga

	Tafi	Ewe	Akan	Ga
Cook, prepare a meal	tɔ́ kí-dɔ̄ cook thing'	ɖa nu 'cook thing'	noa aduane 'cook food'	hoo niyenii 'cook food'
Make, prepare soap	tɔ́ ɔkɔ̃ɛ̃ 'cook soap'	ɖa adzalẽ/kɔe	yɛ samina 'make soap'	fee samla 'make soap'
Boil cook egg, yam, rice	tɔ́ 'cook'	ɖa 'cook'	noa 'cook'	hoo 'cook'
Make, prepare soup	tɔ́ oni ́ 'cook soup'	ƒo detsi 'hit soup'	bɔ/yɛ nkwan 'hit/make soup'	hoo wonu 'cook soup'
Distil alcohol	tɔ́ bulu/ akpɛtɛshi 'cook drink/akpeteshie'	ɖa aha/ akpɛtɛshi 'cook drink/ akpeteshie	noa nsa/ apɛtɛhyi 'cook drink/ akpeteshie	hoo akpɛtɛshi 'cook akpeteshie'
Boil water	tɔ́ buní 'cook water'		noa nsu 'cook water'	too nula 'heat hot water
Boil leaves for medicine	tɔ́ bʊwá 'cook medicine'	ɖa amatsi 'cook medicine'	noa nhahamma 'cook leaves'	hoo tsofa 'cook medicine'
Sterilise	tɔ́ /kahʊkpɔ́/ katsrʊkpɔ́/ kípɔ̄ 'cook hand/ foot/ wound/ sore'	ɖa asi/ afɔ 'cook hand/ foot'		hoo nane 'cook foot'
Cook dumpling	ge kɪkɔ́ 'drive/paddle dumpling'	ɖa akple 'cook dumpling'	ka abeteɛ 'drive dumpling'	tsí baŋku 'cook dumpling'
Cook porridge, rice water	hu kókó 'hit porridge'	ƒo kókó 'hit porridge'	ka mpampa, ɛmo nsuo 'drive porridge'	hoo kókó, raiswɔta 'cook rice water'

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3. The verb gba

The verb **gba** is also a bivalent verb which occurs in two-place (transitive) constructions. As shown in Table 1, the verb has three readings. Two of the readings relate to food preparation. One of the readings is that of cooking something in hot oil or fat; that is, fry as in (16).

16.   Hm! adzɪ̄ń ágbɛ ɛɖútsū ɪnɪ́.
      hm   a-dzɪ   ní   á-gba   i-ɖútsū   ɪ-nɪ́
      INTJ   CM-woman   DEF   SM-fry   CM.PL-stew   AM-PROX
      'Um, the woman made these stews.' (Kasalã, line 242)

In this example, stews have been cooked and the use of the verb **gba** signals that the cooking was done in heated oil.

A second reading related to cooking is that of cooking something in dry heat over high fire in an open container. The result is something that is cooked and dry. This applies especially to grains, nuts and flour. In this reading, the verb is translated as 'roast'. Consider the examples in (17) and (18) describing how red-rice is treated before being cooked into dumpling.

17.   Blɔ̌ ní, bútú ká lɔgba é.
      blɔ̌   ní   bú-tú   ká   lɔ-gba   é
      1PL.IND   TOP   1PL-pound   then   1PL.DEP-roast   CFM
      'As for us, we pound (the rice) and then roast it.' (Kɪmʊkɔ́, line 05)

18.   Búagbá n'ɔgbadzɛ́ɛ́m̄ ká lɔdɔhɔ é.
      bú-ba-gbá   ní   ɔ-gbadzá   kɪmɪ
      1PL-FUT-roast   LOC   CM-roasting.pan   in
      ká   lɔ-dɔ-hɔ   é
      then   1PL.DEP-ITIVE-grind   CFM
      'We will roast (it) in a roasting pan then we go and grind (it).' (Kɪmʊkɔ́, line 06)

The difference in the medium of cooking between the two readings supports a polysemic account. There is a further reading of the verb **gba** 'sweep' outside the cooking domain. Examples 19-21 illustrate the 'sweep' sense of the verb.

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19.   Kíwinyééwī adzīn agbɛ ’ɛdɔ̄.

kí-wī-nyáá-kí-wī	a-dzɪ	ní	á-gba	kí-dɔ̄
CM-day-DISTR-CM-day	CM-woman	DEF	SM-sweep	CM-thing

‘Everyday, the woman sweeps.’ (Bobuafor 2013: 228 ex. 172)

20.   Ónúgɪ áányā kóráá tsyí ábagba ’uvuním̄.

ónú.gɪ	á-á-nyā	kóráá	tsyí	á-ba-gba
COND	3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-be.sick	even	too	3SG-FUT-sweep

bú-vū	ní	kɪmɪ
CM-house	DEF	inside

‘Even if s/he is sick s/he will sweep the room.’ (Bobuafor 2013: 298, ex. 113)

21.   ɪmɔsa tɪtá ɪlí láayíkɔ agbá kikpekpením̄ flôgo pɪ abahɔ asrá vʊvɔ akpí.

ɪ-mɔsa	tɪ-tá	ɪlí	lá-ba-yíkɔ
CM-handful.of.rice.stalk	AM-three	3PL.IND	3PL.DEP-FUT-take

ba-gbá	ki-kpekpe	ní	kɪmɪ	flôgo	pɪ
SM-sweep	CM-snuff.box	DEF	inside	before	CONN

a-ba-hɔ	a-srá	vʊvɔ	a-kpí
3SG.DEP-grind	CM-tobacco	new	SM-put

‘It is three handfuls of rice stalks that will be used to clean the inside of the snuff-box before she will grind new tobacco to put into it.’ (Sáhwī̄) (Bobuafor 2013: 292-3)

The question has to be asked whether the sweep interpretation is a related sense or we would have to consider the verb with that reading, a different lexical item in homonymous relation to the cooking verb. I submit that the sweep sense is related to and linked to the cooking verb hence one polysemous verb. The common denominator of the actions associated with the three readings is the movement an agent makes in bringing about the realisation of the event involved. Think about the sweeping movements and the movements of turning things being fried and especially entities such as flour and grains being roasted. Table 3 summarises various collocational patterns of the cooking senses of the verb and the equivalents in related languages.

Table 3: Collocational patterns of **gba** compared

	Tafi	Ewe	Akan	Ga
Fry plantain, yam	gba	tɔ	kyé	shĩ
Heat to boil of oil, make stew	gba	tɔ / wɔ atadi 'make stew'	yé 'make'	fee 'make'
Roast grain (e.g.) rice, maize, peanuts, nuts	gba	tɔ	kyé	shĩ
Roast gari	gba	tɔ	kyé	shĩ

From the table, it is apparent that there is a logic that unites what in English is expressed as 'fry' and 'roast' which is shared by the linguacultures in southern Ghana and in fact beyond. The analysis presented here shows that we need to go beyond translation equivalents to understand the cultural logics of verbs.

4. The verb **pɔ́ɪ̄**

The verb **pɔ́ɪ̄** is translated in context into English as 'bake', 'roast', 'grill' or 'char-grill' depending on the nature of the heat and whether there is contact with live charcoal as source of heating for the cooking. Thus, if the cooking is done in an enclosed dry heat environment where the ingredient is not in direct contact with the heat generating entity, e.g. in an oven, then the verb is translated as bake or roast. The ingredient could also be cooked on a frame where it is not in direct contact with the heat generating entity. This is also translated as roast (see image below of roasted plantain in Fig 1). The ingredient can also come in direct contact with the heat generating entity such as the charcoal as is the case of the maize in Fig 2.

Fig 1: roasted plantain

Fig 2: roasted maize

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Thus, the roasting talked about in example 22 can be done either with direct heat or without as in the figures. Example 23 shows that the ingredient cooked in this way can be meat also.

22.   Adzın eéw̰ű̃sē bladzyó tɪ apű̃ɪ.
        a-dzı   ní   e-é-w̰ű̃sé   bladzyó   tɪ
        CM-woman   DEF   SM-PRSPROG-peel   plantain   PURP
        a-pű̃ɪ
        3SG.DEP-roast
        'The woman is peeling plantains to roast.'

23.   Ákɔ́ lapű̃ɪ kɪdzyań.
        á-kɔ́   la-pű̃ɪ   kɪ-dzya   ní
        3SG-cause   3PL.DEP-roast   CM-meat   DEF
        'S/he made them roast the meat.'   = char grill

Food preparation that is done in an enclosed heated environment, i.e. oven, is also described with this verb. Thus, the baking of bread is described with the same verb. Equivalents of this verb with a similar range of uses are found in the neighbouring languages as well, as demonstrated in Table 4.

Table 4. Collocations of **pű̃ɪ** compared

	Tafi	Ewe	Akan	Ga
Roast/char grill, plantain, yam fish, meat (direct/open dry heat)	pű̃ɪ	me	toto	shã
Bake bread, etc (enclosed dry heat)	pű̃ɪ	me	to	shã
Burn (in enclosure) e.g. charcoal	pű̃ɪ	me	hye	shã

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Burn (as in cause pain e.g. from a hot entity e.g. iron)	pʊ́ɪ̄	me	hye	shã
Burn paper	pʊ́ɪ̄	tɔ́ dzo 'set fire'	hye	shã

5. Specific activity verbs of food preparation

The verbs discussed so far describe general food preparation. We now turn to specific verbs for talking about particular activities carried out in the preparation of some aspect of the meals. We focus on two verbs that describe activities associated with two salient foods of the Tafi – **kɪkɔ́** 'dumpling' and **fufuó** 'fufu'.[6]

5.1 The verb ge

The verb **ge** is a general verb that is glossed as 'drive, steer' something. In the culinary domain, it is specialised for describing the movements a cook makes while preparing a dumpling-like food. Example (24) taken from a procedural text describing how a local ritual and ceremonial food **kɪmʊkɔ́** 'red.rice dumpling' is made in Tafi. The particular example talks about the things that happen before one begins to 'drive' the flour in the water to make the dumpling.

24. Okɔ́níń bʊtɪbatsɪ kpí ko gɪ lóogeʔ.
    o-kɔ́ní   ní   bʊ-tɪ-ba-tsɪ   kpí   ko   gɪ
    CM-water   DEF   1PL-NEG1-FUT-pour   put.in   just   REL
    ló-bo-ge
    1PL.DEP-FUT-drive
    'We don't just add the flour to the water and start stirring (it).'

[6]   A reviewer wonders how this distinction between general food preparation verbs and specific verbs is motivated. They question what makes 'soup' a major part of the meal while 'dumpling' is not. The said reviewer suggests that the distinction lies in the specific verbs being used to prepare starchy foods. However, this will also not work as the verb **gba**, for example, is also used in the preparation of starchy foods. What this points to is that the verbs can be classified in different ways. The one adopted here looks at the ascent of the semantics of the verb: the semantic focus of the specific activity verbs is the manner as opposed to the focus on result of the general verbs discussed in previous sections.

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Interestingly, the name for the instrument that is used for preparing foods of this kind, 'a wooden ladle, mingling stick' is based on a nominalisation of the verb and prefixed with an appropriate noun class marker: **o-gi-ge** [CM-RED-drive]. Example 25 describes the stage at which the ladle is inserted for the action of 'driving' to begin.

25.　　Otsúgo lɔkpí ogige ko loge 'ʋlí pétéé.

otsúgo	lɔ-kpí		o-gige		ko	lo-ge
now	1PL.DEP-put.in		CM-wooden.ladle		just	1PL.DEP-drive

bʋlí	pétéé					
3SG	all					

'It is now that we put in the wooden ladle then we stir it.'

We have seen in example 10 (repeated as 26 for convenience) that the general process of preparing a meal involving **kʋmʋkɔ́** 'red rice dumpling' can be described with the general verb **tɔ́**. The verb **ge** by contrast is used to describe the specific action of preparing the dumpling. Thus, the opening sentence of the text describing the processes of how one specifically cooks **kʋmʋkɔ́** uses this verb as shown in 27. Example 26 implies not only the preparation of **kʋmʋkɔ́** but also the preparation of the sauce or soup that goes with it. Example 27 focuses only on the preparation of **kʋmʋkɔ́.** Compare examples 26 and 27.

26.　　Báátɔ́ 'ɛmʋkɔ́　ní Baagbɔ.

bá-á-tɔ́	kʋ-mʋkɔ́		[ní	Baagbɔ]
3PL-PRSPROG-cook	CM-red.rice.dumpling		LOC	Baagbɔ

'They are cooking red rice dumpling in Tafi.'

27.　　Kʋmʋkɔ́ gige ní Baagbɔ kʋlínū sí ɔ́ɔpʋ amɔ́ …

kʋ-mʋkɔ́		gi-ge	ní	Baagbɔ	ní
CM-red.rice.dumpling		RED-drive	LOC	Tafi	TOP

kʋlí-nū	sí		ɔ́-bɔ-pʋ		a-mɔ́
3SG.IND-COP	COMP		2SG.DEP-FUT-look.for		CM-rice

'Red rice dumpling preparation in Tafi is that you will look for rice …'

Thus, the verb **ge** focuses on the activity of preparing the dumpling. In Table 2, it has been shown that Akan also uses a similar verb suggesting a similar and shared conceptualisation of the event.

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5.2 The verb tú

The verb **tú** is a general activity glossed as 'pound'. The preparation of the staple '**fufu**' is done by pounding boiled yam, cassava, cocoyam or plantain to produce a starchy paste. This activity is specific to this aspect of preparing the meal. It does not describe the preparation of the accompaniments of the starchy component. Example (28) describes the pounding of a specific ingredient to get **fufu** while (29) talks of the action of pounding **fufu** without specifying the particular ingredient that is being pounded to result in the **fufu.**

28.   Ébetú kíkū.
        é-be-tú   kí-kū.
        3SG-FUT-pound   CM-yam
        'S/he will pound yam.'

29.   éé-tŭ fufuo   'S/he is pounding fufu'

In fact, the activity can be applied to other ingredients in the process of food preparation where the result is not fufu. In example (17) repeated here as (30) the pounding of the rice to remove its husk is a precursor to it being roasted.

30.   Blŏ ní, bútú ká lɔgba é.
        blŏ   ní   bú-tú   ká   lɔ-gba   é
        1PL.IND   TOP   1PL-pound   then   1PL.DEP-roast   CFM
        'As for us, we pound (the rice) and then roast it.' (Kɪmʊkɔ́, line 05)

The Tafi verb **tú** 'pound' and its uses are closely matched by the Ewe verb **tó** 'pound'. The Ewe verb is also used to talk about pounding of boiled tubers or plantain into fufu, as well as for pounding grains into flour or for the pounding of nuts such as boiled oil palm nuts. The close form and meaning resemblance suggests that they could be cognate. Other languages like Ga also have verbs used similarly but which do not resemble the Ewe or Tafi verbs. In Ga, the verb is **shí** 'pound' and Akan uses **wɔ́** 'pound'.

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6. **Conclusion**

In the foregoing, I have explored the grammar and meaning of five verbs that belong to the culinary field in Tafi. One cannot describe Tafi cuisine without using these verbs. The discussion has been framed in terms of general cooking verbs which seem to be distinguished at one level in terms of the medium through which the cooking takes place. That is at the basic level, **tɔ́** applies to cooking in water, **gba** to cooking in oil and **pʊ́ɪ̄** to cooking by dry heat. There is also the specialisation of activity verbs for particular actions carried out in producing some foods. The two salient ones are **ge** 'drive' for making dumplings and **tú** 'pound' for making **fufu**. As indicated, all these verbs have other uses and, in some cases, other senses that do not fall within the culinary domain. Nevertheless, the investigation has laid bare the ways in which the various modes of preparing different kinds of food are construed from a linguistic point of view.

Abbreviations

ADD	Addressive particle	INTJ	Interjection
AM	Agreement Marker	LOC	Locative
CFM	Clause final marker	NEG	Negative
CM	Class marker	PERF	Perfective
CM.PL	Class marker (plural)	PL	Plural
COM	Comitative	PROX	Proximal
COMP	Complementiser	PRSPROG	Present progressive
COND	Conditional	PURP	Purpose
CONJ	Conjunction	RED	Reduplicative
CONN	Connector	REL	Relative marker
COP	Copula	REP	Repetitive marker
DEP	Dependent	1PL	First person plural
DISJ	Disjunctive	2SG	Second person plural
DISTR	Distributive	3PL	Third person plural
FUT	Future	3SG	Third person singular
IND	Independent	SM	Subject marker
INDEF	Indefinite	TOP	Topic marker

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FICTIONAL CHARACTERS AND TOPONYMS IN KWABENA ADI'S *"BRAKO"*

Kofi Agyekum

Abstract

This paper examines the creation and use of fictional characters and fictional toponyms in Akan literature, both written and oral. The emphasis is however on a book entitled *Brako* in Akuapem Twi by Kwabena Adi (1973). The paper looks at the characters and places created by the author and the fictional names given to them. We will analyse the morphology and semantics of these names looking at what they connote, their appropriateness, precision and socio-cultural functions within the Akan society. The paper will then be able to evaluate the creativity of the author and his in-depth knowledge of the Akan language and culture. The paper is based on the theory of onomastics that looks at names and what they connote.

Keywords: *onomastics, fictional characters, toponyms, cultural ideology.*

1. Introduction and Definition of Onomastics

Names can best be analysed through a combination of philosophical and anthropological notions. This technique for analysing names has the same level of applicability whether the names being analysed are names of actual social entities and individuals or are names of fictional characters. The lack of distinction between fictional character names and actual entity names is what informs the assumption that the names of fictional characters can provide a window into unravelling the author's socio-cultural, and philosophical background. From a definitional perspective, an important characterisation of names is provided by Rey who points out that

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> [i]n the logical and philosophical sense, a name refers to a different element
> of human experience i.e. to an individual or a collective entity, which it
> designates or denotes. Names are therefore purely referential. Names are
> considered as arbitrary labels that refer to certain signified entries, therefore
> the signifier and the signified may not share certain intrinsic qualities (see
> Rey 1995:26).

In spite of the factuality of Rey's view that names are referential, it is the case that the referential function of names is informed by cultural and social contexts. It is this understanding of the relationship between names and socio-cultural contexts that informed a study by Agyekum (2006). This study examined Akan personal names by employing the notion of onomasiology. In every culture, names have cultural and social contexts that identify the bearer of the name or the entity that bears the name (Agyekum 2006). In this study, Agyekum also examined the **emic** and **etic** notions as they relate to names and concludes that "[t]he emic and etic points of view on the Akan naming systems depict the Akan philosophy and culture. The emic perspective is the point of view of a cultural practice of the members of the group based on their conceptualisation, meanings and interpretations of their belief systems and the things around them. The etic is the point of view of the observer and ethnographer" (Ibid: 11).

Every person in this world has a name that solely identifies and marks him/her from all other persons in the world (Ibid: 208). In Saussure's notion of semiotics, the name is the sign, and the denotatum is the signified. Simply put, the name is a label that refers to a person.

Sign --------------------- signified
[-animate]   [+ human]

There is an inherent element in the name that corresponds with the bearer's mental and social behaviour. We will see this in our discussion of fictional characters and toponyms in *Brako*. Zawawi (1993: 6) posits that "a name constructs a person because the name one bears may create an attitude in those who hear it before they meet the name bearer." In discussing names with particular attention to proper names, Bright (2003: 671) states that

> [w]ithin the general category of names, people often use the word *name* for
> what we can more precisely call *proper names*. Within this subdivision, it
> is common to distinguish two principal types. One of these is *place names*

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or *toponyms*; another is PERSONAL NAMES, for which we have no commonly used term derived from Greek, but which are sometimes called *anthroponyms*.

Frege (1949) and other scholars on onomastics, consider names to have attributes that are attached to referents (Algeo 1992). This is exactly what pertains in the Akan culture where the social and cultural analyses of personal names, strongly reveal the power of names to emphasise social relationships and behaviour. Fictional character names are thus iconic representations of composite social variables that indexicalise and relate to the name and the person. They include sex, hierarchy in birth, circumstances surrounding the birth, the person's structure, power, and status. The choice of names for fictional characters and places has traceable links to the referent. In effect, people expect the inherent power of words in names to reflect the lives of **fictional characters**, **toponyms** and the life of the people we find at different places (see Agyekum 2006: 209).

1.1 Definition of Fictional Characters

Fictional names are shadow names that are created by literary artists that pretend to behave and act as real individuals. In the view of Haraldsen (2013: 300) "fictional names are names for fictional characters, introduced in a context of pretence." According to Friend (2007: 142), the term fictional character can be used in a broader sense not to cater for only persons but also include fictional places, fictional things and fictional events. Nevertheless, it is usually narrowly restricted to characters introduced into works of fiction. In this paper, however, we are using the term for persons and toponyms created by Adi (1973).

Fictional characters are created by their authors to perform certain basic functions in the literary piece. Friend (2007) adopts the antirealist strategy on fictional characters and argues as follows:

> Most philosophers accept that names in ordinary contexts are *directly referential*: the semantic content of the name is its referent, rather than a descriptive sense. If a name lacks a referent, it has no semantic content, and sentences containing it cannot express complete propositions (Friend (2007: 143).

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Fictional characters and toponyms are not created in vacuum. They are based on contexts that propelled the authors to create them. Fictional characters have attributes and properties and these tally with their behaviours in the narratives. Friend (2007: 144) further argues that in standard antirealist discourse, we engage in the *pretence* that there are such individual characters created for various purposes. Ontologically, fictional characters are non-concrete, abstract, artefactual and non-existential and are not located in space and time (see Zalta 2001, Zvolensky 2015: 172). Kotatko (2013) reinforces this and avers that "for any text of fictional narration, the characters spoken about in it are those persons whose existence in the actual world we have to assume (in the *as if* mode) in order to allow the text to fulfil its literary functions." (Cited in Zvolensky 2015: 170). The fictional characters only exemplify the properties that exist in the real world within the environment in which they were created. Fictional characters and toponyms are like artefacts and designs created in arts by their authors and artists. According to Meinong's (1904) theory, fictional objects are higher order entities that are constructed out of simpler entities (see Marek 2009).

Scholars of fiction who subject themselves to realism have posited two types of realism, namely *internal* and *external realism*. Friend (2007: 147) avers that "in the case of fictitious objects, the individuating properties are those the character has from a perspective 'internal' to the fiction, such as being a young woman or being a Danish prince." The authors of the fictional characters create them only in the sense of making them *fictional* in the narratives they find themselves.

In terms of *external realism*, fictitious objects are more like novels, literally created by authors, and their continued existence depends on the texts and how the readers see and evaluate them. Hepola commented on the distinction between internal and external characters as follows:

> The *external context* is used whenever we speak of fictional characters as fictional characters, recognizing that fictional characters are very different sorts of things from real-life persons and objects. The *internal context* is used whenever we speak of fictional characters as they are described by their stories (or by interpretations of their stories). Using the internal context always involves a certain amount of pretence. We pretend that characters are not fictional characters, but rather real-life, nonfictional, spatio-temporal people who perform certain actions, who think certain thoughts, who can be psycho-analysed, who can be morally evaluated, and the like (Hepola 2014: 83-84).

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In creating fictional characters and places, authors use the concept of **fictional assertion** that is so strong to make readers and hearers believe that what they are claiming is true (see Walton 1990). This is captured by Adams et al. (1997: 131) in their contention that "when one fictionally asserts, one typically makes believe, imagines, supposes that what one fictionally asserts is true or at least intends one's hearers to do these things."

When authors have applied the *fictional assertion concept* for audience and readers to believe them, the picture can only be complete if readers and audience apply their social, cultural, environmental and cognitive experience to concretize the non-concrete characters and also form good mental images of the characters (see Sklar 2009). Sklar notes that there is always a gap between how the fictional author has portrayed his characters and what the reader/audience perceives about the characters; and there is therefore a process of gap-filling to capture the full picture. Iser (1978: 121) contends that "the reader "concretizes" (forms a complete or stable picture) from "references not explicitly manifested" (from something that is not supplied by the text), either by drawing connections between elements in the text, or by drawing in notions that come from the reader's own experience." In a similar vein, Hochman asserts that:

> What links characters in literature to people in life, as we fabricate them in consciousness, is the integral unity of our conception of people and of how they operate. … [T]here is a profound congruity between the ways in which we apprehend characters in literature, documented figures in history, and people of whom we have what we think of as direct knowledge in life. In my view, even the clues that we take in and use to construct an image of a person are virtually identical in literature and in life. (Hochman 1985: 36)

Thus the appreciation of the fictional characters in this study would derive from our understanding of Akan, language, culture and environment.

1.2 Methodology

The data for this paper was taken from an Akan literature book entitled *Brako* by Kwabena Adi (1973) and published by the Ghana Publishing Corporation. This book was selected first on the bases of fair representations of fictional characters in terms of persons and toponyms, and also the fact that the names given tally with the role of the characters and the behaviour of the people at the places mentioned.

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The book was also selected based on its popularity and wider readership, having been used as a textbook by the West African Examination Council. Again, tertiary institutions that teach Akan recommend it for their written literature courses. Furthermore, it has been used on a radio programme, *Kenkan Me,* 'Read me' on a Ghanaian radio station – Peace FM – for the enjoyment of the general public.

A close reading of the book was done in order to select the fictional characters and toponyms. The names were selected based on their morphology, semantics and functions. The analysis involved examining the morphological components of each name, assigning literal meanings to them, and investigating the links between the personal names and toponyms, on one hand, and the people's life and the places that have such names, on the other.

2. Fictional Names in *Brako*

All the names in this short episode have meanings that are worth examining through morphological and semantic analyses. The title *Brako* also refers to the protagonist. Let us start our discussion of the fictional characters by first studying the protagonist in relation to the title. The title is a reflection of what the main character went through, and as in many characters in literature, the individual character is a representative of a general phenomenon; that is, what happens to *Brako* during his stay in Accra is a reflection of urbanization and what the youth go through even today.

2.1. Major Fictional Characters

The major characters are *Brako, Akora Hwɛwodeɛso (Brako's* father page 2ff.), his mother *Akosua Nyawodeɛ* (*Brako's* mother page 2ff,), *Nana Ayɛboafo,* chief of Ɔbrakyerɛ, and *Onimdefo Anyakoafrɛ,* the Guest Speaker at the inauguration (page 97).[1]

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[1] The other fictional characters are *Akora Famanyame* (page 58), *Opanin Ohianhyɛda* of the *Obrakyerɛ* Youth Association (page 91), *Opanin Pɛohiahu* and his son *Kofi Aninwu* (page 100, 110), *Akora Diasɛmpa,* father of *Ohianhyɛda* (page 110), *Bediako* (pages 111, 114), *Nana Dɔwoman* (page 120).

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2.1.1 The Name *Brako*

The name *brako* is a compound made up of the noun *(ɔ)bra,* 'life' + the verb *ko*, 'to fight'. The composite is a truncated form derived from the proverb *ɔbra yɛ ɔko*, which means 'life is war', which literally signifies that life involves many fights with people, with situations, the environment, nature and within the SELF. This fictional name was selected to capture all the hardships the protagonist went through in the book.

The book talks about the influx of the youth into the urban areas and cities for white collar jobs, and the troubles and hardships they go through as a result of hustling and bustling in the cities. The protagonist is a young man called ***BRAKO,*** which is also the title of the book. After school, Brako informed his parents that he wanted to be in Accra. His father advised him strongly to stay in the village and till the land but he vehemently opposed it. The parents unwillingly agreed to his proposal and he left. After going through many troubles that nearly ended his life, he decided to go back home. Brako was well received by his aged parents. His father ushered him into farming. He went into full time mixed cropping with the advice from agricultural extension officers. Together with his wife Yaa Oforiwaa, they became well established farmers and got a lot of economic gains from agriculture.[2]

When it appeared he had sailed through the struggles, the worst ensued; not long after he had started farming his mother died, followed soon after by his father's death. On the demise of his father, the maternal family members of his father wanted to revoke the *nsamanseɛ,* "traditional will" made by his father to bequeath all his lands and property to Brako. Fortunately, some old men in the village who were present when the father made the will**,** defended Brako and got the land and farms for him. The family members were left with nothing.

As his name implies, Brako had to go through another struggle. Some weeks after the funeral of his father, and after winning the land case from his father's family, his farm got burnt. He was lucky to get the town folk to help him extinguish the fire, and luckily it rained that very day. He would otherwise have lost all his cash and food crops. Most people alleged that it was an arson and attributed it to his father's family who had lost the case. However, it was later revealed that the fire had extended from a nearby farm.

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[2] Even though Brako's wife was very supporting in all that he was able to achieve, the author did not create a fictional name for her. It has nothing to do with male domination else Brako's mother would not have got a fictional name. The author personalised Brako's wife Yaa Oforiwaa and his friend Yaw Addo by not giving them any fictional name. The absence of fictional names for the two did not imply in any way that they were relegated to the background. They were painted as real characters, and this is indicated by their first names Yaa and Yaw as distinct from the fictional characters in the book.

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Chapter 16 of the book begins with some lamentations from Brako after all the struggles, as follows:

> *Nsɛm ahorow a ɛtotoo Brako yi na anka ɛyɛ obi a, anka nea ɛdi ara ne sɛ ɔka se: "Na ɛyɛ dɛn na me nko de miso dua mu a, na apan me yi? So nea ɔbra no de me besi ara ni? Mayɛ na anyɛ yie a, wɔnto me Ayɛbiagu na mempɛ me baabi mentena. Annya anyɛ yie ara ne nnɛ."* (Adi 1973: 91)

"All the misfortunes that befell *Brako,* had it been another person, all that he would have said is: "Why is it that as for me, everything I touch fall unto the rocks? Is this the endpoint of my life? If I have tried several times and things have not been fruitful they should just call me Mr. Failure then I will just forget everything and relax. Since things will not be successful, that is it."

The author states categorically that Brako was not despaired but took all the misfortunes in good faith and remarked *ɛnyɛ nea onipa pɛ biara na ne nsa ka,* 'it is not all that a person wants that he gets.' He was self-motivated to move ahead against all odds and this resilient attitude confirms his name Brako, 'life is war'.

Brako revamped his farm and re-cultivated the palm trees, cocoa and the other food crops with the help of his industrious wife. His wife supported him in diverse ways and very firmly stood behind him in these hard times. By God's grace, Brako regained his economic gains from agriculture. It was a blessing in disguise for it made him stronger and more united with the youth of the town. Later on, some of the youth in *Ɔbrakyerɛ* and neighbouring villages were motivated to take to farming and shed away laziness.[3]

Through the initiation and ingenuity of Brako, the youth of *Ɔbrakyerɛ* who had upheld agriculture, and the values and norms of the society, and wanted to develop their village formed the *Ɔbrakyerɛ Nkɔso Fekuw,* 'Ɔbrakyerɛ Development Association'. They appointed Brako as their leader and their major goal was to fight for the prosperity and development of *Ɔbrakyerɛ*.

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[3] Some of the nearby towns which imbibed the agricultural policy have also fictional toponyms; they are *Bɔbrapa,* 'Put up good life', *Saguase,* 'A liquor drinking place', *Akamani,* 'It has touched my eyes', and *Kyenkyetakyikurow,* 'Firm Takyi's village'. We will discuss the morphology and semantics of these names in the section on toponyms.

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During the launching of the association, they invited the chief and his entourage and all members of the community, and appointed the chief, *Nana Ayɛboafo* (another fictional character) as the chairman of the function. Brako and the youth worked very hard to make the association a formidable group. In one of their meetings, the executive members invited one inspirational and motivational speaker Mr. *Anyakoafrɛ* who talked to them about **patriotism** and **moral values**.

On another occasion, Brako invited his old friend Yaw Addo who he struggled with while in Accra to speak to the association members. He also spoke on the need for hardwork and the essence of agriculture, and titled his speech *Fifire mu wɔ siade*, 'there is treasure in sweat'. He recounted a short story using fictional characters (see pages 110-111).

> There was a rich man called *Ohianhyɛda,* 'poverty does not fix dates', whose father was called *Odiasɛmpa*, 'he who does good things', and they lived in a village called *Anhuntɛm,* 'we did not realize it early'. *Ohianhyɛda* and his wife had a single child called *Bediako,* 'came to fight'. As a single child *Bediako* became swollen-headed, and on the death of his father he messed up with all the wealth and properties bequeathed to him, and ended up as a pauper. He went to a medicine man who asked him to bring a pot full of sweat for him to conjure some money for him. This implied that he had to work very hard on the land; eventually he was able to make a good farm that provided him with money.

In Chapter 20, Brako was honoured, and the chief recounted all the hardships and struggles he went through and the fact that after his sojourn in Accra he decided to come back home and embark on farming. The chief praised him as follows:

> *Esiane Brako mmɔdenbɔ, ɔbra pa, nyansa, nimdeɛ a emu dɔ ne ne ho nsɛm pa pepeankoma a meka a, ade bɛsa yɛn no nti, me mpanyin ato ne mmati sɛ ɛnnɛ yɛmmɔ no abɔntendɔmhene wɔ Ɔbrakyerɛman mu ha."*
> 'Due to *Brako's* zeal and hardworking, virtuous life, his wisdom, deep knowledge, and all the good things said about him that if I decide to mention all them the night will befall us, the elders have decided that we honour him as *Abɔntendɔmhene* in *Ɔbrakyerɛ*.'

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Brako accepted the honour, thanked the chief and his elders and also motivated his colleagues to forge ahead towards unity and development and shun laziness, disunity, arrogance and pride. Brako stayed focused and served his family and the Development Association till death, aged 75 years. On his death, the king and the community organised a befitting funeral and placed an epitaph on his tomb that highlighted his "patriotism".

2.1.2 *Anidaso* (*Brako*-**Protagonist**)

Chapter 2, entitled *ɔbra yɛ ko,* 'life is war', captures the ordeals the protagonist went through during his first days in Accra. Another name given to Brako by his father was *Anidaso.* The word *anidaso*, meaning hope, is a body part term derived from Akan cognitive semantics. The verb attached to the eye indicates the experiences the physical eye undergoes, and the states it assumes day in day out. In the expressions for hope, even though it is the eye that is captured, it is rather the person or the mind that hopes for something (see Agyekum 2015: 16). Hence the eye is a metonym for the personality as in (1) below:

1. [N	V	Postpos]	→	**Nominal Word**
[ani	*da*	*so]*	→	*anidasoɔ*
[eye	lie	top]	→	'hope'

The concept of hope is indicated by the eyes lying or casting glimpse at something yet to happen (a posterior event). Akan consistently and metaphorically extends body part lexicon to refer to these abstract notions.

In **anidasoɔ***,* the eyes are literally lying on something yet to come or happen, and hence focuses on the item so that it is not missing; Akans thus have the metaphor EYES ON FUTURE IS HOPE. The future is a forward moving event; the eyes, metonymically representing the brains and the entire personality, are focused on the future, and one has to work hard towards that. In the case of Brako*,* despite the fact that he suffered very much in his initial youthful days, the parents knew that he was not going to be despaired forever. As a reincarnated child, the parents gave him *anidaso* 'hope' to indicate that all was not lost in the family and there was going to be light at the end of the tunnel.

The author titles Chapter 6 as **akyea na ɛmmui,** 'it has bent but not broken.' This is a truncated form of the Akan proverb **akyea nso ɛmmui sene abɛbuo nyinaa dɛ,** 'it has bent but not broken is the mother of all proverbs'. This chapter begins with the sentence

> *Amanehunu ahorow yi akyi no, nnamfo yi tenaa ase dwenee ɔkwan*
> *ko a wɔbɛfa so abɔ dwetiri foforɔ.*
> 'After all the hardships and the ordeals, the friends sat down and thought
> about the strategies   to use to raise more capital.'

This was after they had been swindled by fraudsters in Accra who promised to double their money for them but never fulfilled it. As Brako alias *Anidaso's* name depicts, there had been the struggles but there was still hope. Brako thus took the final decision to go back home to *Ɔbrakyerɛ* and start farming. In Chapter 8, he bid farewell to his friend Addo; and he travelled back home. The chapter is captioned *ofie ne fie,* '(lit) home is home'; there is nothing better than coming back home.

Another nickname for Brako was *Hiapa* (page 63). This is made up of *ohia,* poverty' and *pa,* 'good'. This seems oxymorous for it is hard for people to consider poverty that is good since poverty is generally considered negative. In Akan, *ohiapa* means that the poor person lives within his means, and Brako depicted this when he returned to his village. He led a moderate life and God in his own wisdom lifted him up to become an icon and a mentor for the youth of the village.

There are three fictional names attributed to the protagonist to depict his life and what he went through in life, the values he cherished, and his achievements. The names are *Brako, Anidasoɔ* and *Hiapa.* The synergy in the three depicts that life is full of struggles, hardships, hustling and bustling, conflicts, ups and downs (*brako*) but if one has *anidasoɔ*, 'hope', self-motivation, resilience and tenacity, things will change against all odds. The transformation in life will come if one lives a moderate, decent and moral life full of initiative, hard work and ingenuity, and one eschews greed, envy and corruption (*hiapa,* decent poverty). God will raise this individual from the doldrums and place him or her on a higher pedestal in the society. This happened to Brako.

2.1.3 *Akora Hwɛwodeɛso* (*Brako's* father)

Akora Hwɛwodeɛso is considered one of the major characters. We meet him in the earlier parts of the book as the father who was so passionate about the welfare of his only son Brako. In Chapter 1, we listen to his advice and notice his counselling skills. We meet him later in the book when he writes a letter asking his son, Brako, to return home, and how he warmly received him when he came back. There is a fair account of his interest in farming and how he ushered Brako into it and gave him a vast land. We see him as a visionary, fair, just and knowledgeable person in the Akan

culture. We followed him closely till his death and we saw the befitting burial given to him. The component parts of his name are as follows:

2. [**V**   **Poss**   **N**   **Postpos]**   →   **Nominal Word**
   [*Hwɛ*   *wo*   *deɛ*   *so*]   →   *Hwɛwodeɛso*
   [**look**   **your**   **own**   **on**]   →   **'be focused on your own'**

His name implies that he should be cautious, and be content with what he had and that is why he was so focused on seeing that his son Brako took care of his land and prospered. This fictional character carries a proverbial and advisory name that depicts Brako's father as a counsellor. He advised his son Brako when he was travelling to Accra. He said:

> *Nea ehia ne nokwaredi, odwo, ahohyɛsoɔ, ahobrɛase ne ahofama.*
> 'What is essential in life is honesty, calmness, self-discipline, humility and commitment.'

On page 4, he advised Brako to put up a good life worthy of emulation and avoid stealing, gossiping, impropriety, too many friends, drunkenness, sexual activities, and ungratefulness. He emphasised the need to be mindful of himself as an individual, and his speech reflects his name *Hwɛwodeɛso*, 'mind your own'.

     We noticed how he wanted Brako to be on his own when he returned from Accra, and motivated him to go into farming. He showed him the land that he could till to bring about economic gains, and to become independent. He mentioned cash cropping, crop farming, animal husbandry as areas that Brako could engage himself to be self-reliant. He eventually bequeathed his land to Brako in the presence of some traditional elders who served as witnesses. To make Brako fully independent and focused, he made sure that Brako married a very industrious woman who helped him throughout his life.

2.1.4 *Akosua Nyawodeɛ (Brako's* **mother)**

She is one of the round characters and we meet her from the beginning of the book and follow her activities as a good and compassionate mother.

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3. [V	Poss	N	]	→	**Nominal Word**
[*nya*	*wo*	*deɛ*	]	→	*Nyawodeɛ*
[obtain	your	own	]	→	'obtain you own'

Brako's mother is called *Nyawodeɛ,* literally 'seek your own', implying 'work hard'. This is a woman who supported both her husband *Hwɛwodeɛso* and her son *Brako.* On page 72, she advised Brako on self-agrandisement and lust for money using the biblical allusion that money is the root of all sins. She spoke against lust for women, and advised him to shun women when he becomes rich, and to respect all human beings irrespective of their status, and to be humble. *Eno Nyawodeɛ* continued as a good mother till she died in Chapter 12.

2.1.5 *Nana Ayɛboafo* 'Nana the Helper'

4. [Pref	Cop V	V	Suffix]	→	**Nominal Word**
[*a*	*yɛ*	*boa*	*- fo*]	→	*Ayɛboafo*
[has	been	help	-er]	→	'has been a helper'

Nana Ayɛboafo, the chief of *Ɔbrakyerɛ* is one of the major characters in the book. He played his role as a good chief who was interested in development, and was ever willing to help. This reflects his name as "the helper". On page 93, he acts as the Chairman at the launching of the *Obrakyerɛ* Development Association. He contributed substantially towards the development and sustenance of the Association. He made sure to honour Brako so as to motivate the youth to go into agriculture and be very patriotic. He played magnificent roles during the funerals of Brako's parents, *Akora Hwɛwodeɛso* and *Eno Nyawodeɛ.* He also gave Brako a befitting funeral when he passed on.

2.1.6 *Onimdefo Anyakoafrɛ*

We meet this fictional character on pages 97-102 as the Key Speaker at one of the *Ɔbrakyerɛ* Youth Association's meetings. The component parts of his name are:

5. [Pref	V	N	Pref	V]	→	**Nominal Word**
[*a-*	*nya*	*ko*	*a-*	*frɛ]*	→	*Anyakoafrɛ*
[has	been	war	has	call]	→	'has been called during wars'

His name implies that he is one who is brought in to save situations. He is literally a mercenary called to fight for a group. He was thus called as an inspirational and motivational speaker to talk to the members of the youth association. The major themes of his speech were on unity and patriotism, and he spoke about a person who is considered as a noble person or a gentleman or lady. He emphasised the need to eschew discrimination, laziness and other vices. He further touched on agriculture, urbanisation, communal labour, and commitment to one's place of birth. On agriculture, he advised the youth that it is shallow-mindedness for one to think that when you finish school it is shameful to engage in farming. He finally touched on the reward for morality. In his concluding remarks as an inspirer on patriotism, he said:

> *Momfa mo ahoɔden, mo nyansa ne mo sika nsom mo man. Momma mo man*
> *ho dɔ nhyɛ mo so kosi sɛ mubetu otintinye, nsisi, amim, adanmugye,*
> *kɛtɛasehyɛ, akwadworɔ, apɔmpɔmpɛ ne ɔhyɛketee afi ɔman yi mu.*
> "You should use your strength, your wisdom, and money to serve your nation. Let the love for your country control you till you are able to eradicate extortion, cheating, greed, fraud, corruption, laziness, indolence, pride and oppression from this country."

2.2 Minor Fictional Characters

These were characters that came in only in some limited sections of the book yet as fictional characters their names and the meanings of these names contribute to the overall discussions of fictional characters.

(a) *Odiasɛmpa*, **'he who engages in good issues and things'**

6. [**Pref. V**		**N**	**Adj]**	→	**Nominal Word**
[ɔ	*di*	*asɛm*	*pa]*	→	*Odiasɛmpa*
[Pref	engage	issue	good]	→	'benevolent'

This fictional name is a compound as seen in the morphological components above. The character, as the name implies, should be a good person ready to help others. Such a person is

compassionate and ever ready to share with people their pains and sufferings. He is benevolent and ready to give, he therefore gave his property to his own son.

(b) *Ohianhyɛda*, 'poverty does not fix a day'

7. [N	Neg.	V	N]	→	Nominal Word
[*ohia*	*n-*	*hyɛ*	*da*]	→	*Ohianhyɛda*
[**poverty**	**not**	**fix**	**day**]	→	**'poverty does not fix a day'**

The meaning is that poverty does not fix a date. Poverty is personalised as a person who can decide to visit you anytime. The fictional name warns people to be aware of what poverty can do to them and work towards the eradication of poverty. Even when you are very rich, you do not know when you can become poor. One should therefore be cautious in life. This name serves as a motivation for those who easily forget themselves when they are rich and live ostentatious lives. In the novel, the rich man's son Bediako was not aware that he was going to be poor one day. He should have understood and analysed his father's name *Ohianhyɛda*. This name was given to guide him and his "would-be children" to be aware of how poverty can afflict people at any time.

(c) *Bediako,* 'came to fight/suffer'

8. [Pref.	V	N	]	→	Nominal Word
[*bɛ*	*di*	*ako*	]	→	*Bediako*
[**come to**	**engage**	**battle**]		→	**'came to fight'**

The name *Bediako* literally means 'came to fight'. It is normally given to people who are born during hard times such as economic hardships, predicaments, misfortunes, and disasters in the family or in the state. It means that the child has directly fallen into these, and he is therefore unfortunate. In this novel, Bediako was named as such because his parents tried several times to get a child but failed. Eventually, they gave birth to a son who they named *Bediako,* "came to suffer". In Akan, being a single child is an unfortunate event. *Bediako* is, however, considered as one of the Akan honorifics used to refer to a warrior; it is an appellation for the name Asare.

Other minor characters found in the book include *Akora Famanyame* (page 58), *Ɔpanin Pɛohiahu* and his son *Kofi Aninwu* (page 100). Each of these names has intrinsic meanings that are related to issues in the novel and where we encounter them. Let us now briefly look at the morphological components and the semantic roles of these names in relation to the novel.

(d) *Famanyame,* **'give it to God'**

9. [V	V	N]	→	**Nominal Word**
[*fa*	*ma*	*Nyame]*	→	*Famanyame*
[take	give	God]	→	'Give it to God'

Akora Famanyame, 'Give it to God' was one of the people who shared a common boundary with *Akora Hwɛwodeɛso*. His name implies that every aspect of his farming activities is entrusted to God. *Akora Hwɛwodeɛso* mentioned this name when showing the size and coverage of his land to Brako. This was to instil in him the idea that God is at the centre of all things. He gives the rains and fertilises the soil. Again, if any tragedy happens in farming Brako should just entrust it into God's hands. No wonder, after his farm had been burnt, he had the confidence to rejuvenate the farm. *Akora Hwɛwodeɛso* said again that there is a river called *Onyameboame* that lay between his farm and *Famanyame's* farm. The name *Onyameboame* is made up of *Onyame,* 'God' + *boa,* 'help' + *me,* 'me' to mean 'God helps me'. This demonstrates the religious belief of the author and the people of *Ɔbrakyerɛ*, and constitutes part of the religious ideology of Akans as a whole. These two theophoric names were chosen as pre-cursor to whatever precarious situation Brako will encounter in his career as a farmer.

(e) *Ɔpanin Pɛohiahu,* **'search for poverty to find it'**

10. [V	N	V]	→	**Nominal Word**
[*pɛ*	*ohia*	*hu*]	→	*Pɛohiahu*
[search	poverty	find]	→	'search for poverty'

(f) *Aninwu,* **'does not become ashamed'**

11. [N	Neg.	V]	→ **Nominal Word**
[*ani*	*n-*	*wu*]	→ *Aninwu*
[eyes	do not	die]	→ 'eyes do not die'

On page 100 we meet Father *Pɛohiahu* and his son *Kofi Aninwu*. Their personalities squarely depict their names. *Pɛohiahu* as depicted in its morphology means exploring to find poverty. *Pɛohiahu* asked his son *Aninwu* why he had completed school but still wanted to stay in the village and go into farming. He complained that if after sending his son to school he only remained in the

village after completion in order to go into farming, then his son had made him waste his money. The name *Pɛohiahu* might have been given to the father to reflect his attitude towards his son who he thought should not stay in the village and farm. The major occupation that made Brako and most of the youth become rich was farming, hence this man was searching for poverty by shunning farming. His son was *Aninwu,* 'I am not ashamed' and this means that he was not ashamed of engaging in farming since he could foresee the overall benefits in future. *Aninwu* is a post event name to reflect his behaviour and his response to his father who did not like farming.

3. Fictional Toponyms

Toponym is the branch of onomastics that deals with place names, their meaning, structure, and origin. In this paper, we are discussing fictional toponyms that have been created to reflect the activities and characters of the inhabitants. Toponymy is closely interrelated with geography, history and ethnography. Our concentration in this study is on microtoponymy which is the study of the names of such smaller geographical units as localities, springs, and farmlands.

The novel *Brako* has a lot of fictional and proverbial villages. On page 8, the author described how the only car from *Ɔbrakyerɛ, Brako's* village, left the place early dawn and moved past certain nearby villages. Adi (1973:8) states "*Efi Ɔbrakyerɛ, kɔfa Bɔmudwen ne Ehiawoanwu de kosi ɔtempɔn kɛse no mu yɛ ɔkwammɔne*. 'The feeder road from *Ɔbrakyerɛ*, through *Bɔmudwen* and *Ehiawoanwu* up to the highway is very bad." Here are some examples.

(a) *Ɔbrakyerɛ,* 'life depicts'

 The town is a compound with the following morphological components.

12. [N.	V	]	→	**Nominal Word**
[*ɔbra*	*kyerɛ*	]	→	*ɔbrakyerɛ*
[life	shows	]	→	'life depicts'

On page 1, the author gives a vivid description of the town and mentions some neighbouring towns. According to Adi (1973: 1), *saa nkurow yi mu biara din bra mu nnipa*. 'Each of the names of these towns depict the characters, attitudes and the calibre of the inhabitants.' The towns are *Bɔbrapa, Mmɔdenbɔ,* (**page 1, 118**), *Gyemanyawo, Akamani, Bɔmudwen,* (**page 70**), *Ehiawoanwu, Anhuntɛm* (**page 118**), *Animia* (**page 118**), **and** *Nimdeɛ* (**page 118**).

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Ɔbrakyerɛ is pre-event toponym created to be the epicentre of all the toponyms in this study and to depict the citizens and their life. The author talks about the neatness of the town despite its size. The episode starts from this town and shifts briefly to Accra where the protagonist lived and returns to *Ɔbrakyerɛ* for the rest of the major events, pleasant and unpleasant. It is the location where the fictional characters including Brako, his parents, the chief and his elders, and members of the youth association operated. It is the place where agriculture and all that it entails are featured. It is the place where the protagonist Brako spent most of his life and embarked on farming and also suffered from bush fire. It was *Ɔbrakyerɛ* where he was able to withstand all the misfortunes and came out as a hero, and a mentor.

Ɔbrakyerɛ is considered as a centre of Akan culture and tradition. We encounter customs like marriage, naming ceremonies, funerals, libation, traditional will and purification rites. It is a place where patriotism, love for one's neighbour, and norms and moral values are cherished while vicious life and immorality are abhorred. In talking about the people of *Ɔbrakyerɛ,* the author states:

> *Ade biako a ɛda nsow wɔ ɔbrakyerɛman mu ne emufo ahosɔre ne ahohyɛsoɔ. Eyi yɛ ade a wɔntoto no ase koraa. Ade a edi Ɔbrakyerɛni biara tiban ne sɛ ɔbɛbɔ bra ama asɔ ani.*
> 'One unique feature about the inhabitants of Ɔbrakyerɛ is their spirituality, piety and self-discipline. They do not underrate these at all. What is so dear to every citizen of Ɔbrakyerɛ is to put up a life which is acceptable and worthy of emulation.'

The above represents the name *Ɔbrakyerɛ* 'life depicts' where the inhabitants' life depict the name of the town. It serves as a model village even for current Ghana.

(b) *Anhuntɛm,* 'did not realize it early'

Brako proposed that his house be named as **Anhuntɛm** (page 81 and page 84, 118)

12. **[Pref**	**Neg**	**V**	**Adv.**	**]**	→	**Nominal Word**
[*a*	***n***	***hu***	***ntɛm***	**]**	→	***Anhuntɛm***
[past	**not**	**see**	**early**	**]**	→	**'did not realize it early'**

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The name *Anhuntɛm* is a post-event name created to imply that *Brako* has accepted that he did not recognise the benefits in agriculture early else he would not have wasted his time in Accra hustling and bustling. The name advises the youth to start agriculture early, and 'it is never too late' since there is treasure in sweat that comes out of farming.

(c) *Bogyabiyɛdɔm,* 'some kinsmen are rebels'

On page 19, *Brako's* friend, Addo, narrated his background and how he had suffered since he came to Accra after school. He referred to his village where he had his elementary school as *Bogyabiyɛdɔm.* The morphological components of the word are:

13. **[N**   **Det.**   **Cop V   N]**   →   **Nominal Word**
     [bogya   *bi*   *yɛ*   *dɔm]*   →   ***Bogyabiyɛdɔm***
     [blood   **some   is**   **rebel]** → **'some family members are rebels'**

In the Akan language, the word *mogya,* 'blood' also refers to blood relations, and people who trace their background to one great grandmother are said to belong to one biological blood and are therefore matrilineally one family. The above expression means that "some family members will despise you". The name of this town refers to one of the maxims about Akan family system and how some family members who are rich will decline to help the needy in the family thereby making them feel like strangers in their own families. The narrator, *Addo,* implies that in this village nobody is ready to help others, not even your family members.

(d) Other Toponyms.

In this section, we will only give the morphological components of the names of the other places and their semantic connotations with reference to where we meet them in the novel. The towns are ***Bɔbrapa, Mmɔdenbɔ,* (page 1, 118)***, *Gyemanyawo, Akamani, Bɔmudwen,* (page 70)**, ***Ehiawoanwu, Animia* (page 118) and *Nimdeɛ* (page 118)**.

 (i) *Bɔbrapa,* 'put up a good life'
14**. [V**   **N**   **Adj]**   →   **Nominal Word**
     [bɔ   *bra*   *pa]*   →   *Bɔbrapa*
     [put up   **life**   **good]**   →   **'put up a good life'**

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The name enjoins her citizens to put up a good moral and virtuous life worth emulating for the youth and also for development.

(ii) *Mmɔdenbɔ,* 'Industriousness'

    15. **[V   prefix V   Adj]**   → **Nominal Word**
      [bɔ   m-   bɔ   den]   → *Bɔmmɔden → Mmɔdenbɔ*
      [strike - strike   hard]   → **'striking a hard strike'**

The semantics of this word implies that no matter how hard the striking of a metal or the breaking of a rock is, just keep on striking, try to endure, be resilient and you will finally succeed. The town advises the individual to be hardworking and self-reliant. They know that success resides in people putting out their best and striving, no matter the hardships.

 (iii) *Gyemanyawo,* 'unless I do not get you'

    16. **[Conj   Pro.   Perf V   N]**   →   **Nominal Word**
     [gye   me   a-   nya wo]   →   *Gyemanyawo*
     [unless   I   have got wo] →   **'unless I do not get you.'**

This refers to one of the towns where the people were very vindictive and if you fell into their trap they would deal with you mercilessly. The author therefore advises other people to be very cautious in dealing with them since they were unforgiving.

(iv) *Akamani,* 'it has touched my eyes'

    17. **[Perf   V   Poss N   ]**   →   **Nominal Word**
     [a-   ka   m-   ani   ]   →   *Akamani*
     [has   touched   my   eyes]   → **'it has touched my eyes'**

In the name *Akamani,* 'it has touched my eyes', the Akans see the eye as very delicate and advise people to be cautious. If any particle or ointment touches your eye, it is painful. *Akamani* is used when one falls into some danger or hardships and suffers some bitter experiences. It teaches him/her to be cautious; it is a post-event toponym.

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(v) *Animia,* **'pressing of the eyes'**

18. [N	V	]	→	**Nominal Word**
[ani	*mia*	*]*	→	*animia*
[eye	**press**	**]**	→	**'eyes press'**

The above implies that during certain times of your life, things will be so hard and pressing that you only have to stand firm and resolute and forge ahead. This name motivates people to move away from thinking too much and getting depressed. The name enjoins the citizens to press on against all odds, for suffering leads to success (see Agyekum 2015).

(vi) *Bɔmudwen,* **'think together'**

19. [V	**Postpos**	V	]	→	**Nominal Word**
[bɔ	*mu*	*dwen*	*]*	→	*Bɔmudwene*
[strike	**inside**	**think]**		→	**'think together'**

The name *Bɔmudwen*, 'think together', signifies the essence of unity and the need to take collective decisions. This name foresaw the advent of the Youth Development Association where the youth recognised that their town *Ɔbrakyerɛ* could only develop if they all united and had a common goal. This is a post-event toponym to indicate that the co-operation in the Youth Development Association has yielded good results.

(vii) *Ehiawoanwu,* **'do not die when you are poor'**

20. [Pro	V	Pro	Rel	Neg	V]	→	**Nominal Word**
[e	*hia*	*wo*	*a*	*n-*	*wu]*	→	*Ehiawoanwu*
[it	**need**	**you**	**then**	**do not**	**die]**	→	**'do not die when you are poor'**

The name of this town motivates the inhabitants to move forward even when they are poor, for time changes. This tallies with the Akan maxim that *ɛnyɛ ohia nko ne ka,*' poverty is not the only indebtedness/suffering'. They think that *wonwui a, wonnim deɛ wobɛnya,* 'since you have not died, you cannot foresee what you will get in future' (see Agyekum 2017). The philosophy is that poverty is not the end of life.

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(viii) *Nimdeɛ,* 'knowledge' (page 118)

21. **[V**	**N]**	**→**	**Nominal**
[nim	*(a) deɛ]*	*→*	*Nimdeɛ*
[know	**things]**	**→**	**'knowing things / Knowledge'**

In Akan, knowledge is conceptualized as the knowing of many things. The name implies that the town can only develop when it has many people with deep knowledge about various things including agriculture, and when the different types of knowledge from individuals are pulled together and well harnessed, the town will develop.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, we have examined fictional characters and toponyms created by the author, and the Akan fictional names given to them. We analysed the morphology and semantics of these names looking at what they connote, their appropriateness, precision and socio-cultural functions within the Akan society. We found out that the fictional characters and the toponyms are morphologically compounds, and semantically, the component parts give a summation of the meanings.

One feature of the names is that they are proverbial and this is a common feature in Akan onomastics. The knowledge about fictional characters gives insight into the Akan cultural, philosophical, intellectual, environmental, religious, and linguistic notions about their ideology, worldview, language, and culture.

One of the major findings of this paper is that fictional characters and toponyms are not created in vacuum, but are derived from socio-cultural contexts. Fictional characters have attributes and properties, and these tally with their behaviours in the narratives. They create a strong synergy between context and text. The fictional characters and toponyms are make-believe entities and they are well crafted by the author Adi to emphasise that staying in the rural village and tilling the land was more prosperous than hustling and bustling in the cities. The major and minor characters and the names of the toponyms in this paper depict the Akan cultural norms and values.

The fictional names captured certain Akan maxims and witticism that include seeing life as war that needed planning and preparation, in-depth knowledge, focus and concentration. Other values discussed are self-help, self-realisation, self-reliance and dependency, patriotism, unity,

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progress and development, resilience, industriousness, and being resolute and forging ahead against all odds. The author portrayed these values through the fictional characters and toponyms to drum home to the youth the essentials and obligations in life.

The fictional names can be grouped into two, based on pre-or post-signalling. They could signal future events envisaged in the fictional characters and places they were created, to befit people's character and behaviour and events that happen in some places. The fictional names chosen that signal future events in the character's life include, *Brako*, *Akora Hwɛwodeɛso*, *Aberewa Nyawodeɛ, Nana Ayɛboafo,* and *Bediako*. In this novel, *Bediako* was named because his parents tried several times to get a child but failed until finally they gave birth to a son and therefore named him *Bediako,* "came to suffer". In Akan, being a single child is an unfortunate event. On page 118 the author creates pre-event toponyms and hopes that by their names people who will go there will acquire certain values. These are *Mmɔdenbɔ,* 'Industriousness' *Animia*, 'Perseverance, press hard', and *Nimdeɛ,* 'knowledge'. The author laments that although people are supposed to get training in these fictional towns, return and transform their societies, they have nothing to show after their return.

There are other fictional names that appear to have been given after the occurrence of an event. Examples of such fictional characters are *Onimdefo Anyakoafrɛ, Pɛohiahu, Aninwu;* the toponyms include *Bogyabiyɛdɔm*, *Ehiawoanwu, Akamani* and *Anhuntɛm.* The town *Anhuntɛm,* 'did not realise it early' was created to imply that Brako had accepted that he did not recognise the benefits in agriculture early. In Akan, people and towns may be given names, in addition to the ones they were originally given, based on events which occur in connection with them or their behaviour, in the case of people.

Even though the book – *Brako* – was published in 1973, 45 years ago, the issues discussed are even more relevant for the contemporary Ghanaian society where there are numerous vices, problems of urbanization and the shunning of farming by the youth. In effect, the book reflects one of the major roles and the interconnection of literature and society as recorded in Agyekum (2013: 22-23).

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TO DANCE OR NOT TO DANCE: MASCULINITIES IN AKAN PROVERBS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR CONTEMPORARY SOCIETIES

Grace Diabah and Nana Aba Appiah Amfo

Abstract

This paper looks at how men are represented in Akan proverbs and the implications of such representations for contemporary Ghanaian men. It assesses the traditional views on what it means to be 'a man' among the Akan and how Ghanaian men perceive these in contemporary times. This is particularly relevant in an age when the demands of the modern world (high living standards, economic hardships, high unemployment rates etc.) put undue pressure on both men and women. More so, it is an age when women are increasingly being empowered to take up traditionally masculine roles. Such an enterprise aligns with the call on feminist and gender researchers to consider studying how men experience and enact gender. Thus, we explore the dilemmas of the contemporary Ghanaian man as he negotiates the expectations of traditional Ghanaian societies and the demands of contemporary families. We analyse 44 Akan proverbs on men, collected from texts and oral sources, as well as responses from focus group discussions on these proverbs. The results show that men are expected to be brave, providers, protectors, and action or results-oriented. Men who are unable to live up to expectation are considered not men enough; they are often perceived as women's puppets. Reponses from our focus group discussions suggest that such representations put undue pressure on men to fulfil societal expectations; and as research has shown (for example, Ratele 2008), failure to fulfil such expectations can find expression in violence.

Keywords: Akan/Ghana, Africa, contemporary societies, masculinities, men, proverbs,

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1.   Introduction

This paper is an exploration of concepts of masculinities in traditional Akan societies as espoused in their proverbs. It forms the basis for extrapolating on the concepts of masculinities in the Ghanaian society, considering the pervasiveness of the Akan language and culture in the Ghanaian society (see section 3). Further to that, it examines the sustenance of such concepts in the contemporary Ghanaian society. The paper is a follow-up to Diabah and Amfo (2015), where we consider traditional views on the perceptions and roles of women in Akan societies/Ghanaian society as represented in Akan proverbs. We find it appropriate therefore to examine what Akan proverbs have to say about the expectations of the role of men in its society. Such an enterprise aligns with the call on feminist and gender researchers to consider studying how men experience and enact gender, the relationship between individual males and groups of males, and between males and females (Lindsay and Miescher 2003, Adomako Ampofo 2011). We share Kiyimba's (2010) assertion that the concept of male/masculinity in African oral literature (including proverbs) has not been adequately explored.

The paper therefore examines the representation of men as reflected in a number of Akan proverbs. The aim is to analyze traditional views on what it means to be a man – what one looks like, his social roles, expected behaviour etc. – in the Akan society (and by extension, the Ghanaian society) and explore the interrelation between language, gender and culture. We also explore, through focus group discussions, the implications of these traditional views on masculinities from men in contemporary Akan/Ghanaian society. The analysis is done within the context of African or Ghanaian masculinities (Miescher 2005, Uchendu 2009, Adomako Ampofo and Boateng 2011, Fiaveh, Izugbara, Okyerefo, Reysoo and Fayorsey 2015) and hegemonic and non-hegemonic masculinities (Connell 2005, Schippers 2007). We examine the masculinities represented by these proverbs in the light of traditional and contemporary gender relations within the Ghanaian society.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides a description of the proverb and its role in the African society. In section 3, we present a sociolinguistic overview of our study context, following which various concepts of masculinities, which forms the basis for our discussion are presented in section 4. In section 5, the data and methods for the study are provided. The discussion of the data based on the identified categories is done in section 6. Section 7 briefly considers how traditional views are faring within contemporary contexts. Section 8 is the conclusion.

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2.   Proverbs

Proverbs are often considered to represent the collective wisdom of societies which use them. It is deemed that proverbs exist across all cultures and societies, they are therefore considered as a universal phenomenon, which permeates communication across societies. Durkheim (1933: 170-171) defines the proverb as "a condensed statement of a collective idea or sentiment relative to a determined category of objects". He suggests the collective nature of the proverb and further elaborates on the communal value of the proverb by asserting that "every thought tends towards an expression adequate to it, if it is common to a certain number of individuals, it necessarily ends by being enclosed in a formula that is equally common to them" (p.170-171). Our choice of proverbs as an object of study, in our attempt to decipher the Akan society's concept of masculinities, is grounded in the collective nature of the proverbs. As reflected in Durkheim's definition, proverbs by their nature do not reflect individual thoughts, but rather they are reflective of communal opinions. Asante (2002) agrees with this view when, talking about Akan proverbs, he suggests that they express certain facts of life which have been arrived at as a result of careful observation.

In highlighting the potent and illuminating nature of the proverb, Kalu (2010: 1) describes it as "that ubiquitous verbal art whose formulaic structure provides moments of clarity in the daily commerce of African life". Thus, we believe that an interrogation of certain gendered Akan proverbs will provide insights into the traditional collective view of what is considered masculine and expected of males in the Akan society and, by reasonable extension, the Ghanaian society. Indeed, exploring proverbs in the quest to understand the notions of masculinities (or gendered relations more generally) in various societies is not completely novel. A number of chapters in Mugambi and Allan's (2010) edited volume on *Masculinities in African literary and cultural texts* dwell on the proverb as a basis for understanding certain gendered notions. Kalu (2010: 2) sums this idea up suitably when she suggests that "[t]he proverb is notable simultaneously for its practical wisdom, its symbolism and its insight into gender complementarity".

3.   A Socio-linguistic Overview

The label Akan is an ethnolinguistic one, used in reference to a specific group of people found in southern Ghana who have a shared culture and a common language. The Akans (with their various sub-divisions) collectively represent 47.5% of Ghana's population (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). Even though there are various sub-divisions of the

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larger ethnic group, the Akans are largely identified by their matrilineal custom, which forms the basis for inheritance and succession.[1]

The Akans originate from five out of ten regions in Ghana.[2] These are the Asante, Central, Eastern, Bono Ahafo and Western regions of Ghana. However, due to migration, they can be found all over the country. This is evidenced in the popularity of their language in other parts of the country as well. It is therefore apt for Simons and Fennig (2018) to describe Akan (and English) as the principal languages in Ghana. Earlier authors such as Guerini (2008), Essegbey (2009) and Bibiebome (2010) have all attested to the dominance of the Akan language even in the indigenously Ga capital of the country – Accra. It has been estimated that in addition to almost half of the population speaking it as their mother tongue, up to two-thirds use it as a lingua franca (Obeng 2005).

Considering the dominance of the Akan language in the country, we can assume that data from Akan is largely representative of the country. Akan has eleven dialects, out of which three are often referred to as the main dialects. This is because these three dialects (Asante, Akuapem and Mfantse) have been codified and are therefore considered as the literary dialects. The data used for this study are from the Asante dialect.

4.   Men and masculinities

Masculinity is what is traditionally associated with males. It is socially and discursively constructed, fluid, resulting in diverse forms across different contexts and mediated by various factors such as age and social status (Adomako Ampofo and Boateng 2011). Uchendu (2009) therefore defines masculinity as what a given society accepts as features associated with males and the expressions of maleness. From the cultural perspective on men and masculinities, Edley and Wetherell (1996: 105) also note that "every culture in the world must contain its own specific set of ideals or themes which relate to men and masculinity". This provides members of the community with "a shared understanding of what it means to be a man: what one looks like, how one should behave and so forth" (Edley and Wetherell 1996: 106). What may therefore be considered an ideal masculine behaviour, or otherwise, in Ghana may not necessarily be ideal in the UK, for example. In the literature on men and masculinities in Ghana, we identify certain ideals of masculinity like bravery or courage, resilience to pain, power, strength (both physical and emotional), virility, the ability to offer protection,

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[1] The exception to this is the Akuapem sub-group, who are patrilineal.
[2] Akans can be found in La Cote d'Ivoire as well, for our paper, we concentrate on the Akans and their language in Ghana.

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capacity to amass wealth, intelligence and wisdom, assertiveness, expression of authority and leadership qualities, exhibition of breadwinning competencies, phallic competence, among others (see Amoah 1991, Obeng 2003, Miescher 2005, Adomako Ampofo and Boateng 2011, Adinkra 2012, Diabah and Amfo 2015, Fiaveh, Izugbara, Okyerefo, Reysoo and Fayorsey 2015, Adjei 2016).

Deeply entrenched in studies on men and masculinities is the notion of hegemonic masculinity, which is defined as a dominant form of masculinity in a given setting (cf. Connell 1995, 2005). Schippers (2007: 94) defines it as "the qualities defined as manly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to femininity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women"; but this domination is amenable to contestations and struggles from women (Diabah 2011, Wetherell and Edley (1999). Hegemonic masculinity *also* operates through the subordination or marginalization of other masculinities it coexists with. It distinguishes itself from other masculinities and establishes itself by identifying, highlighting and celebrating certain characteristics (like exhibition of power and strength, resilience to pain, bravery etc.) as the true reflection of masculinity; and note that such characteristics will be context-specific. It thereby downgrades any potential value in other kinds of masculinities. Adomako Ampofo and Boateng (2011: 42) for instance note how men who do not fit into Ghanaian cultural ideals of masculinity may be ridiculed as being "female-men" (see also Diabah 2015). The understanding being that, although they are men, biologically, they construct themselves in ways that are considered as feminine (Diabah 2015). Hegemonic masculinity therefore "provides a way of explaining the fact that, though a number of masculinities coexist, a particular version of masculinity has supremacy and greater legitimacy in society" (Adomako Ampofo and Boateng 2011: 42).

As we interrogate how men are constructed in Akan proverbs, and the implications of such constructions for men in contemporary Ghanaian society, we shall draw on these notions of hegemonic and non-hegemonic (marginalised) masculinities.

5. Data and Methods

This paper is based on a selection of 44 Akan proverbs that relate to men. 31 of these proverbs were extracted from Appiah et al.'s (2007) extensive collection of 7015 Akan proverbs: *Bu me bɛ: Proverbs of the Akans*, and 13 from direct oral sources. Those from the oral sources were gathered from final year students of a Language and Gender class (2016 and 2017 year groups) and other native speakers of Akan. Most of these proverbs explicitly mention *ɔbarima* (or its plural form *mmarima*), the Akan word for male, which in many instances is aptly translated as "man/men". In some cases, a derivative

of *ɔbarima* (such as *nkɔkora*, "old men" and *mmranteɛ* "young men") is used, or concepts and names that are intrinsically linked to the notion of male, like *kunu* "husband", *Bɛkoe* "warrior". The data were checked with our focus group participants and other native speakers we encountered during presentations of aspects of our work[3]. In some instances, we amended Appiah et al.'s English translations of the proverbs based on our understanding of the proverbs and recommendations/suggestions from our focus group participants and other native speakers.

To interrogate the implications of men's representations in these proverbs for contemporary Ghanaian men, we conducted two focus group discussions (FGDs) with some male students from the Master of Arts (MA) Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) class. Group 1 was made up of 7 Year 1 students and group 2 was made up of 6 Year 2 students. Our FGD participants were from different ethnic backgrounds; they were either natives of Akan or fluent second language speakers of Akan. Each group had both married and unmarried men, as well as Christians and Moslems. The participants were asked to comment on the proverbs by giving their interpretations or understanding of each of them and indicate how these apply to men, generally, and to them in particular. They were also expected to comment on whether they think these proverbs have outlived their relevance in contemporary society. Responses were audio-recorded and transcribed for analysis.

To fulfil our promise of confidentiality and anonymity to participants, pseudonyms have been used. For each group, participants are assigned numbers, so a combination of these numbers and the year group will be used as pseudonyms. For example, P1Y1 refers to participant 1 in the year 1 group (the others in this group will be P2Y1, P3Y1, P4Y1, P5Y1, P6Y1, P7Y1) and P1Y2 refers to participant 1 in the year 2 group (the others will be P2Y2, P3Y2, P4Y2, P4Y2, P6Y2).

We analysed the data by looking for recurring patterns or themes in the selected proverbs. Based on our understanding of the proverbs, formed as a result of our native speaker competences and prolonged contact with the language community, the proverbs were put into 8 categories. Subsequently, each category and the meaning of each proverb were verified with our focus group participants. Interaction with our focus group participants and other native speakers who we encountered during presentations of aspects of this article, as well as our extensive reading on the literature on proverbs in Africa, resulted in a reorganisation of the categories, which we present in the following section.

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[3] This paper was presented in these two conferences: International Symposium in honour of Professor Florence Abena Dolphyne, 28 February 2018, University of Ghana, and the 2nd School of Languages Biennial Conference (SOLCON II), 24-26 October, 2017, University of Ghana.

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6.   Data Presentation and Analysis

As noted in the previous section, the proverbs were put into 8 categories based on emerging themes. These include men and bravery (17 proverbs), men as protectors (3), men as action- or results-oriented (5), men as providers (4), men as lecherous (3), the superiority of men (6), consequences of polygamy (2) and marginalized masculinities (4).

6.1   Men and Bravery

Bravery is one of the major marks of masculinity among Ghanaians (and in many cultures as well). In their discussion of notions of masculinity and femininity in Ghana, Fiaveh, Izugbara, Okyerefo, Reysoo and Fayorsey (2015) note that discussions on bravery and courage (and potency) were at the core of initiation rites for boys (cf. Sarpong 1977, Opoku 1978). In the Akan language, for instance, being bold is equated with being a "man" since "the Akan expressions, *ne bo yɛ duru or ne koko yɛ duru* (he's brave) carry a similar meaning to *ɔyɛ ɔbarima* (he's a real man)" (Fiaveh, Izugbara, Okyerefo, Reysoo and Fayorsey 2015: 651, cf. Adinkrah 2012). In contemporary society where the rites of passage from boyhood to manhood are no longer practised in many communities, parents still constantly remind their boys of the fact that being a man is being brave and courageous. It is therefore not surprising that, out of a total of 44 Akan proverbs on men used in this paper, 17 compare manliness with various acts of bravery and courage. The following examples illustrate this point further:

1. **Sɛ wokɔhwɛ Ohintinpraku asa a, wohyia wo wuo, woankɔ nso a, wo yere ne wo mma sere wo.**
   'If you go out to watch the dance of Ohintinpraku, you meet your death; if you do not go, your wife and children will ridicule you'
2. **Ɔbarima ne deɛ ɔako akɔ n'anim, ɛnyɛ deɛ ɔako adwane.**
   'A man is he who fights to the end, and not he who fights and runs away'
3. **Bɛkoe din fata no a, ɛfata no akono, ɛnnyɛ gyeduase.**
   'If Bɛkoe (Literally, he who comes to fight) deserves his name, he does so at the warfront and not under a shady tree (tree of reception)'
4. **Etuo to a ɛsi ɔbarima bo**
   'If one pulls the trigger of a gun, it lands on the chest of a man'

In example (1), the socio-cultural expectation that men should be brave is compared to going to watch the "dance" of *owhintinpraku* – a very deadly venture. *Ohwintinpraku*

is believed to be a kind of trap used for 'big' animals like *okwaduo* etc. When the trap releases, it comes with so much force that it traps all kinds of things in its way (personal communication, Kofi Agyekum[4]). Going to watch an *ohwintinpraku*'s "dance" (how it releases to catch animals) will mean putting one's life in danger, but failure to take the risk is perceived as an act of cowardice, resulting in the possibility of one being ridiculed by one's own wife and children. This proverb thus epitomizes the height of bravery, as one of the major ideals of masculinity in the Akan society. In a similar vein, example (2) suggests that what makes a man is his ability to fight (whatever storms there may be) to the end, even if it means dying in the process. Similarly, example (3) suggests that the bravery of a man is demonstrated at the war front, not in the comfort of the shade of trees. Thus, the expectation is that men should confront the difficult issues of life, rather than adopt an avoidance strategy. Participants from our focus groups largely agree that although caution should be exercised, dying in bravery is dying in honour (e.g. going to watch *owhintinpraku asa*, (1); fighting to the end (2); or receiving the bullets, (4)) and this is better than living a life of cowardice. P3Y2 for instance notes that "like in war … no matter what the situation is, you continue. If you die at the warfront, you are considered as a hero". This accounts for the honour given to war heroes.

Responses from the FGDs again suggest that exhibiting such courage or bravery, especially when it concerns protecting one's family, is key to understanding who a man is in contemporary society as well. This is how P5Y2 puts it:

> P5Y2: … it is like a man facing a problem. You need to face the problem squarely, to the end. You don't have to draw back … if you fight to the end and you lose, people will still see the efforts you have made … if you die in the end, you are a hero!

As noted by P1Y2, boldly confronting these life's challenges on behalf of the family is also consistent with perceiving men as the shield of the family (see also section 6.2). Like in example (4), a man is one who is able to receive life's "bullets" on behalf of his family and deals with them to the end. The idea is not that a man should necessarily be engaged in physical fights. They are expected to face life's challenges. Life is a battle and men are expected to fight it boldly and fiercely to the end.

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6.2   Men as protectors

As is typical of patriarchal societies like Ghana, men are the heads of the family and are thus expected to play dominant and leading roles. They are not only expected to wield authority (Adomako Ampofo, Okyerefo and Pervarah 2009) and provide for the material needs of their family, but they are to provide them with protection too. The relevance of this protection, particularly for women, is seen in the following proverbs:

5. **Ɔbaa yɛ turo mu nhwiren, ne kunu yɛ ne ho ban**
    'A woman is a flower in the garden, her husband is the fence'
6. **Ɔbaa a ɔnni barima na yɛbo no yi akyea**
    'A woman who has no male (company) is the one we beat up/assault and walk away with impudence'
7. **Ɔbaa tɔ ɛtuo a ɛtwere barima dan mu.**
    'When/if a woman buys a gun, it is kept in a man's room'

In their discussion of the representation of women in Akan proverbs, Diabah and Amfo (2015) note how women are represented as vulnerable, weak and powerless, as in example (5). Men, on the other hand are represented, through the metaphor of a fence, as strong and powerful. Like the fence of a garden which protects its flowers by warding off intruders like animals, strong wind, etc., the man is seen as the protector and shield for the woman. It is in the context of this interpretation that it makes sense to argue that it is a woman who has no male (company) that one can beat up or assault and walk away with impudence (example 6). Because it is believed that men have the strength and power to protect and defend women, their company is considered crucial to the welfare of the woman. P2Y1 attests to the relevance of this perception even in contemporary society when he notes that his presence at home alone (when he goes home for vacation – he is a Senior High School teacher in a different town), without any action, is enough to ward off students who use a path behind his house to school. He is however informed of how they make noise and sometimes break in for petty thefts in his absence. What is interesting (and this is corroborated by P2Y1) is that not all men live up to these societal expectations of them, but they still enjoy what Connell calls "patriarchal dividend" (2005: 1808; 2002: 26), just for being males. This is what is referred to in the literature as complicit masculinity (Connell 1995).

The power of men, as the protectors of women is made stronger in example (7). Unlike examples (5) and (6) which highlight the weakness or vulnerability of the woman in an attempt to project men's power, example (7) portrays women as powerful, strong, to the extent that she can even buy a gun – a weapon for war, which is considered stereotypically masculine. However, even in cases where she has attained/acquired a

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stereotypically masculine status, she is still considered to be under the care, protection and direction of the man. Whoever she is and whatever she has are under the man's care and authority. This emphasises the point that men are indispensable in the lives of women. The examples discussed in this section thus largely reflect the hegemonic inclinations of the Akan/Ghanaian society, as they portray the power of men over women.

6.3   Men as providers

Another major ideal of masculinity in Ghana/Africa, and for many cultures, is the concept of the male breadwinner (see Willott and Griffin 1996, Lindsay 1999, 2007, Obeng 2003, Adomako Ampofo and Boateng 2011, Adinkra 2012, Diabah and Amfo 2015, Diabah forthcoming). Miescher places it under the concept of "adult masculinity" among the Akan of Ghana (2005:75). As a mark of being a man, indicating the transition from boyhood to manhood, a real man is expected to be able to take care of his family, and Ghanaian men strive hard to fulfil this expectation. A man who fails to fulfil this socio-cultural expectation is often perceived as not man enough. This concept of the male breadwinner is reproduced and reinforced in a number of the proverbs, as exemplified in (8) to (10) below.

8. **Ɔbaa ho yɛ fɛ a, na ɛfiri ɔbarima.**
   'If a woman is beautiful, it is because of a man'
9. **Ɛhia ɔbarima a, na mmaa serɛ no ankaa teɛ.**
   'It is when a man is poor that women ask (beg) him to pluck oranges for them'
10. **Sika ne barima**
    'Money is man'

In example (8), men's breadwinning competencies are shown in how they are praised for their female partners' beauty. As Diabah and Amfo (2015) explain, because women in the past were mostly absorbed in domestic activities, they became dependent on men, who were seen as the providers for the family, for their material needs. It is therefore not surprising that men took (and still take) credit for their wives' beauty and achievements. This is regardless of the fact that most women now take care of part or all of their own needs, and sometimes those of their husbands and other family members. For instance, our focus group participants (Year 1 group) recounted various experiences of how their wives "rescued" them from embarrassment. These include secretly putting money in his wallet at a restaurant when she realised the man had no money to pay for the food (P1Y1); giving money to him in the bedroom so he could give it to the children as their daily allowance (P3Y1); giving him her bank card so he could provide house-keeping money (P3Y1) and pay children's school fees (P4Y1);

giving him money so he could get Christmas gifts for the lady's parents (P5Y1). Here, even when women make the financial provisions, their husbands take the credit in order to satisfy societal expectations of them as "real" men. Since it is normal, and expected, for women to depend on men in the Ghanaian society, and not vice versa, they interpret their wives' acts as virtues meant to portray them (men) positively in the eyes of the society. They see this as a struggle to fulfil societal expectations of them as "real men". Discussions from the two focus groups therefore highlight the frustrations men go through when they are unemployed or have challenges for which they are unable to provide for the family. It is this kind of condition that will make women turn men who cannot provide for the family into their puppets, as suggested by example (9). In other words, a man who has no money and thus cannot provide for the family can be instructed by women to do any menial jobs. This is particularly important since example (10) makes us understand that money is what makes a man. The following comments from P1Y2 and P2Y2 illustrate these further:

> P1Y2: … a man who refuses to work hard or stays at one place to the extent that he lives like a poor man; for them, any odd job could be given to you … all odd jobs will be reserved for you because you are not successful.
>
> P2Y2: … if you are supposed to be the breadwinner for the house and it comes out that you don't have a job, you are not able to provide for the house … so you too they will make you do the house chores … but for a man who is resourceful, you won't even get him at home to give him any useless things to do.

They see this "compulsory" breadwinner role as a "burden of masculinity", since failure to live up to expectation portrays them as not men enough (Ratele 2008: 529). They believe that the same women who may have been benefitting from them when they had money would be the same to "mock at" them or use them for "useless" jobs (P2Y2). These accounts are consistent with findings from Ghana and other parts of Africa (see Adomako Ampofo and Boateng 2011, Ratele 2008). In their study of multiple meanings of manhood among boys in Ghana, Adomako Ampofo and Boateng, for example, note how the principle of the male breadwinner has created a situation in which "men feel compelled to 'provide' for their families and experience their masculinity as threatened if they are unable to fulfil this role" (2011: 47). Ratele (2008) also argues that working and producing income to support the family are key prerequisites for being a man in many cultures. The opportunities for African men to fulfil this "burden" of masculinity are limited because of the high unemployment rate and the fact that salaries for many people are below poverty lines. This, he hypothesises, can be linked to "levels of both instrumental and expressive male violence" (2008:529, see Prinsloo 2007, Schönteich & Louw 2001). The interpretation being that, fulfilling breadwinning competencies

satisfies ego needs as it portrays males as being real men, and failure to satisfy this ego need can find expression in violence or retreating into passivity.

6.4   Men as action- or results-oriented

Another representation of men in the dataset is perceiving them as action-oriented. The following examples illustrate this representation.

11. **Ɔbarima bɛko a, ɛwɔ ne tirim.**
    'If a man is going to fight, it is in his head'
12. **Ɔbarima gyae adwooguo a, ne nan po.**
    'If a man withdraws from an uncompleted venture, his legs become shaky'

Seeing men as action-oriented is aptly captured in example (11). What makes a man is not a lot of talk about what he can do, or what he is about to do; rather, it is about getting it done. Like the Akan maxim *ahwenepa nkasa* (a precious bead does not rattle, i.e. it does not need to rattle and draw attention to itself because we already know its value), we place value on the actions rather than on mere talk – action speaks louder than words. In other words, you are not brave merely because you say you are. This representation is in contrast to the stereotypical representation of women as chatterboxes or as frivolous in their use of language (see, for example, Lakoff's seminal work on language and women's place, 1975).

In example (12), the emphasis on what makes a man is on getting his task completed with results, and not just getting it started. This view is not exclusive to the Akan or Ghanaian culture. Among the Baganda of Uganda, the boy is referred to as *Naatuukirira*, which translates as "I will persevere to the end". On the contrary, the girl is called *Gannemeredde* "I cannot go any further", (Kiyimba 2010). Thus, not much perseverance is expected of the female while the male is not expected to give up in the middle of a task, no matter how daunting.

6.5   Men as lecherous

Another important masculine ideal in Ghana is phallic competence or sexual prowess (Diabah 2015, Fiaveh, Izugbara, Okyerefo, Reysoo and Fayorsey 2015, Adomako Ampofo et al 2009). A man is not considered a man if he is sexually weak (Diabah 2015). Sexual potency and competence may sometimes be judged by the number of wives or partners a man has, the number of children he has and his desire for sex; hence the stereotypical representation of men as lecherous. A man who does not show any

interest in sex is often branded as impotent, afraid of women and, thus, less of a man. Examples (13) and (14) show the Akan construction of men and their sexual desires:

13. **Ɔbarima se ɔbɛpere ɛtwɛ ho a, ma ɔmpere: na na ho ba a, na ɔbehunu sɛ ɛtwɛ nyɛ aduane.**
   'If a man says he will struggle over vagina too much, let him; but when he has "come" (ejaculated), then he will know that vagina is not food'

14. **Ɔbarima kɔtekɛseɛ na ɔte sika ma ɔbaa a, ɔnnwene ho.**
   'If a man with a big penis gives money to a woman, he doesn't think about it'

Both examples (13) and (14) represent men in ways that suggest that they have insatiable desires for sex. In (13), this is highlighted in the sentence *ɔbɛpere ɛtwɛ ho* "he will struggle over vagina", i.e. mistaking his strong desire for a necessity in life (food). Thus, men desire sex as if it is food, lack of which may kill them. However, they realise after ejaculation that it is no big deal. It is this same unquenchable desire that will make a man with a big penis, for fear of a possible rejection because of the size of his penis, willing to give out any amount of money to a woman so long as she is ready to "receive him" and satisfy his sexual desires (example 14). Although this perception (that women are afraid of a bigger penis) may be true for a section of the Ghanaian public (possibly those with small vaginas), it is inconsistent with studies that suggest that "there is the belief that the larger a male's penis the more pleasure a woman derives from sex, depending on the size of her vagina" (Fiaveh, Okyerefo, and Fayorsey 2015: 699, cf. Carroll 2007). Fiaveh, Izugbara, Okyerefo, Reysoo and Fayorsey (2015) and Fiaveh, Okyerefo and Fayorsey's (2015) findings show that what women do not like is a small penis since it "cannot stimulate their sexual pleasure satisfactorily and could not perform certain sexual positions" (Fiaveh, Okyerefo and Fayorsey2015: 708); but the most preferred is 'an average size penis' (p.708). The essential point here, however, is that the man is ready to pay whatever price is required for sexual gratification.

6.6   Consequences of polygamy

A possible offshoot of representing men as lecherous could be polygamy. A man with a strong sexual urge is likely to have multiple sexual partners. Although polygamy is no longer a very popular practice in Ghana, marriages contracted under the Customary Law are potentially polygamous (Awusabo-Asare 1990), and the society seems to be more tolerant of men with multiple sexual partners, whether this has been formalised through marriage or not. Men in polygamous marriages may have the "benefit" of

having many sexual encounters; but polygamy also has consequences, as noted in the examples (15) and (16) below.

> **15. Mmaa dodoɔ kunu ntoma yɛ fi a, ɔno ara na ɔsie.**
> 'If the husband of many women has a dirty cloth, he himself washes it.'
> **16. Mmaa dodoɔ kunu wu a, ɛkɔm na aku no.**
> 'If the husband of many women dies, then it is hunger that killed him.'

As noted in Appiah et al.'s (2007) commentary on example (15), it is expected that a man will use his own cloth to cover the woman who comes to his house (as was the tradition) to sleep with him. In a polygamous marriage, none of them will want to wash the cloth which has been used to cover the others. He is therefore forced to wash them himself. Similarly, example (16) indicates how a man in a polygamous marriage can die of hunger because each woman will expect the other person to cook for him. Thus, even though the Ghanaian society is tolerant of "polygamous" men, they are enlightened about the consequences of their actions through such proverbs. Some focus group participants (Moslems) also note that although polygamy is sanctioned on religious grounds, contemporary realities (e.g. high unemployment rates which may hinder men's ability to provide for a large family) make it unattractive.

6.7   The superiority of men

One of the major tenets of the concept of hegemonic masculinity is legitimising "the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Schippers 2007: 94, see section 4 for a discussion). As people living in a patriarchal society, it is not surprising that a number of the Akan proverbs (6, second to representing men as brave, 17) allude to the dominant position or superiority of men. We discuss three of such examples here.

> **17. Ɔbaa na ɔda ɔbarima akyi**
> 'A woman lies behind the man.'
> **18. Mmarima nni fie a, mmaabasia yi wɔn ho kyerɛ.**
> 'When men are not present, then women expose themselves.'
> **19. Mmarima mu nni ɔketewa.**
> 'Among males there is no inferior/smaller one.'

The examples in this section aptly capture the Akan's hegemonic inclination. Example (17) notes the second place of women while emphasising the headship and leadership

position of men. In example (18), men and their activities take precedence over women's. It is only in their absence that women have the chance to show their potential. Example (19) also attests to male supremacy. Since there is no inferior male (example 19), it may be argued that a younger male is likely to be considered superior to an adult female. This may be supported by the Akan/Ghanaian practice of *ammaneɛbɔ* "mission-telling" where it is the male among a group who is requested to inform their host why they are there. Even in cases where the male is the youngest or does not have the requisite skill, the woman who tells the mission must indicate that she is doing it on his behalf. This tradition is still practised in spite of the fact that research has shown that age (seniority) supersedes or blurs the lines of gender in Africa (Akyeampong and Obeng 1995, Oyewumi 1997, Miescher 2007). Supporting the view of seniority in favour of males in Africa, Kiyimba (2010) suggests that "African oral literature both originates and consolidates stereotypes of male superiority."

Focus group participants agree that although perceptions about male dominance still persist in contemporary Ghanaian society (especially in rural Ghana and among the non-educated), many men hardly insist on their traditional "rights" because of global gender awareness and women empowerment. They also cite examples of the strides women have made in Ghana's economy and politics (e.g. Chief Justices Georgina Theodora Wood and Sophia Akuffo) to support their argument that women are not treated as 'second class citizens' (P5Y1).

6.8   Marginalised and subordinate masculinities

Because masculinities are multiple and diverse, some are dominant, highlighted and celebrated (e.g. men as brave, protectors, providers); but others are marginalised and relegated to the background. We use marginalised and subordinate masculinities in this study to mean any form of masculinity that the Akan society disregards or looks down upon. In the sense of marginalised masculinity, this refers to men who are looked down upon based on their disability. And in the sense of subordinate masculinity, this refers to men who exhibit qualities considered as opposite to those valued in hegemonic masculinity (cf. Edley and Wetherell 1995, Wetherell and Edley 1999, Connell 2005, 1995). Examples of these groups are shown in the examples below:

20. **Ɔbarima a ɔdi mmaafodie na ɔsoa bokiti.**
    'A man who follows women too much carries a bucket'
21. **Ɛhia ɔbarima a na mmaa serɛ no ankaa teɛ.**
    'It is when a man is poor that women ask (beg) him to pluck oranges for them'

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22. Mmarima nni kurom a, na akyakya tu mirika kyerɛ mmaa
'If there is no (real) man in town, the hunchback runs to show off before women'

Examples (20) to (22) represent different kinds of men who fall short of the hegemonic standards discussed above. Carrying buckets or pots to go and fetch water from the stream (to be used for cooking, cleaning etc.) is a traditionally feminine practice in Ghana. A male who is fond of being in the company of women will become their puppet, and he can be used for doing things considered as feminine (example 20). Society looks down upon such men and does not consider them *real men* since it is believed that they are controlled by women (instead of the reverse) and do not have a mind of their own. This is similar to example (21), in which the man is controlled by women because of poverty. As discussed extensively in section 6.3, poverty (the fact that the man can no longer fulfil his breadwinner role, and a woman may probably be taking care of him) disempowers men and makes them "available" for women to use them for "any useless things" (P2Y2). Responses from our FGDs show that although it is becoming a norm that women contribute financially to the upkeep of the home in contemporary society, a man who brings no money home loses "his voice" and power as the head of the family when it comes to taking decisions on issues that require money to resolve. The idea of marginalised masculinities and their (implicit) comparison to women in these examples reinforces the subordinate role of women.

In example (22), on the other hand, some men are marginalised and are not considered as real men on the basis of their disability. Respondents from our focus groups note that perceiving disability as inability, and seeing such men as less of men, does not hold much water in contemporary society because of the education people have received on such issues; although some sections of the public (especially in rural Ghana) still look down on some of these people on religious and other cultural grounds. They however note that there are limitations on what such people can do, depending on the kind and the level of disability. This is particularly true in developing countries like Ghana where we lack the needed resources to help them realise their full potential as (Ghanaian or African) men.

7. Traditional values vs. Contemporary demands – Keeping the balance

As reflected in the proverbs, and reiterated by the FGDs, traditionally, gender roles are defined. It can be seen from section 6 that men are expected to show unrestrained bravery, protect and provide for their families, show leadership and be determined and action-oriented. In addition, society does not frown on their huge sexual appetite which

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often results in having multiple sexual partners, whether it happens in a formalised polygamous setting or not.

Participants of our FDGs endorsed the view that the proverbs encourage and motivate men to perform their expected roles, and that they do reflect, to a large extent, what happens in contemporary societies. There was the recognition that increasingly, women are being empowered to take up roles which are the traditional preserves of men. They recognised the need for shared responsibilities, but they suggest that there is the need to be mindful of the limits, for fear of men losing their superiority and generally privileged positions in the Ghanaian society. Indeed, there was the suggestion that creating opportunities for women, tend to reduce the opportunities for men to perform their roles adequately. Some men feel threatened by the numerous opportunities women get access to these days. When a woman is empowered to take responsibility for herself, she may not need a man to protect her (5) or provide for her needs (8), and this can lead to usurping their traditional powers (P6Y1). Thus, even though men are ready to accept the support provided by women, they are mindful of still keeping their superior status. P1Y2 for instance argues that although he welcomes his wife's support and he does not mind doing certain things considered as feminine because of his education and enlightenment, "when the women want to make the equality argument, then there is a problem."

8. Conclusion

Both the recurring themes from the proverbs and responses from our FGDs point to clearly demarcated gender roles and norms among the Akans of Ghana. The implication of such demarcation is that it tends to put undue pressure on men (and women), as they struggle to fulfil societal expectations of them as real Ghanaian or African men. Contemporary realities (e.g. economic hardships, women empowerment, global gender awareness) have however blurred the lines of these gender demarcations in many areas, but some men still hold very entrenched positions. As they welcome women's financial (and other) contributions to the family, for example, they warn that this should not be taken as a licence for 'demanding' power-sharing. Even though the contemporary Ghanaian man, in many instances, welcomes the woman's contribution in areas where men are expected to provide and perform, they still would like to enjoy the full dividends of their masculine status, and are therefore willing to take credit for things which have been done on their behalf by the women they are associated with. Such views point to the fact that patriarchal societies like Ghana are conscious about maintaining the status quo when it comes to the leadership roles expected of men and its almost invariable consequence of female subjugation in our communities.

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LANGUAGE AND LIBERTY IN GHANAIAN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE PERSPECTIVE

Samuel Gyasi Obeng

Abstract

The object of this study was to illustrate the entwining between language and liberty in Ghanaian political discourse. Using three letters written by Dr. J. B. Danquah (two addressed to President Nkrumah and one to the Speaker of Ghana's Parliament) and working within the framework of *language and liberty* (Obeng, in press), I demonstrate that even though by being candid, Ghanaian political actors in opposition risked personal danger, such actors had communicative ways for pursuing and defending their *negative liberty* and *positive liberty* and for challenging powerful political actors' oppressive and illegitimate actions. The discursive features employed to pursue liberty include: deferential mode of address, candour, inferencing, glittering generalities, emotional valence, politeness and intertextuality. The syntactic features used included conditional sentences, pronouns, physical verbs, lexical collocation and uppercase letters. The study concludes by submitting that liberty relies on language to become actuality and that political actors' views on liberty and the historical, legal, political and cultural contexts of the discourse ecology in which they operate all impact their discourse performance in their fight for liberty.

Keywords: *language, liberty, law, Ghana, Danquah, Nkrumah*

1. Introduction

Speech can be costly in Ghana despite the many traditional communicative maxims and axioms and constitutional provisions relating to free speech. Thus, despite free speech being clearly inserted in the various Ghanaian constitutions and in some Ghanaian ethnic groups' (such as the Akan) 'unwritten constitution' via the Akan communicative maxim *Ananse Kokroko antɔn kasa, ɔdemaa kwa* (Big Spider' (*God)* did not sell speech, he gave

it freely), both the spoken and written word can be costly if used without attention to the appropriate socio-cultural, political and juridical contexts of communication. In some of my earlier works on political discourse (Obeng, in press; 1997a; 1997b; 1997c), I note that there are safe mediums to express tabooed topics and that by using appropriate protective disguise, interactants may be able to make public, concealed aversion for political opponents' actions as well as such actors' views. In Obeng (1997a), I called for studies on political discourse to give appropriate weight to the diverging social principles of relevant cultures and of the varying degree of personal danger inherent in political ecology in which political actors function.

In this paper, I establish that language and liberty influence each other. Specifically, I prove that Dr. J. B. Danquah, via his letters to the Speaker of Ghana's Parliament and to President Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana's first President), established the difference between his thoughts and beliefs about liberty, and those of President Nkrumah. Using specific discursive and linguistic markers, Danquah criticized Nkrumah for trampling on his (Danquah's) and on other political actors' personal liberty. Danquah questioned his unlawful imprisonment and called for a restoration of his civil and personal liberty and, consequently, asked Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party (CPP) government to allow him to freely participate in Ghana's political and social processes. Furthermore, I establish that Danquah's choice of words provides us with access to his worldview of reality. As I note in Obeng (in press), for Danquah, his perpetual confinement and prohibition from partaking in Ghana's political activity was bad for both him and for Ghana's political process. To put this in perspective, I elucidate Danquah's role in Africa and Ghana's liberation struggle.

1.1. Ghanaian Independence

The European occupation of Ghana resulted in the appropriation of Ghana's human and natural resources, a denial of Ghanaians of their basic civil rights, and the fracturing of Ghanaian society. Borders created for Britain and other European colonialists' opportuneness cut through ethnic-based 'nation-states,' and empires in Ghana with impunity. For example, the Akan group were separated with a part of the Akan nation-state going to British Gold Coast (now Ghana) and the other half to French Cote d'Ivoire. For the Ewe, their nation-state was divided between the Germans and the French; the German

part was given to Britain after Germany lost the war; the other half, Togo, 'belonged' to France.

During the colonial occupation era, the ethnic groups in the Gold Coast had little or no say in the administration of their own nation-states despite Britain's so-called indirect rule (see Obeng 2018). The indigenous populace was consigned to the margins of society and dispossessed of its basic civil rights and their mineral deposits, virgin forests, and human capital were exploited for the benefit of the British crown and its peoples. Indeed, colonization deleteriously affected the colonized peoples by creating patterns of inferiority and the absence of self-respect (Obeng, in press).

An important area of language where British colonization was openly displayed was in the field of onomasiology, especially, anthroponymy (Obeng 2001) and toponymy. Ghanaians were either forced to take or willingly took European and Judeo-Christian names. Others Europeanized their Ghanaian names. Some even saw Ghanaian cultures as heathen and their Ghanaian names as capable of invoking a curse on them and hence abandoned such names. The land mass now named Ghana was named Gold Coast in reference to the large deposits of gold found in the country. Parks (such as *Victoria Park*), roadways and streets as well as other important monuments and installations were either named after the British monarch or after so-called important British colonial government officials or military generals. Ghanaians, some of who had never set foot in Britain, studied for British university degrees and those whose service were judged by the British monarch as promoting Britain's interest were awarded the title, *Sir*; titles they wore with pride! Indeed, the action by the British of firing their cannons at 12 noon, were transliterated into Akan (Ghanaian language) concept and naming of time with 12 noon being referred to as **prɛm-to-berɛ** (cannon-firing-time).

During Ghana's liberation struggle, a political discursive distinguishing feature of the struggle was the appropriation and use of political terminologies like *traitors, neo-colonialists, exploitation, comrades, communalism, independence now, people's, masses,* among others, by political actors of the Socialist inclination. For those political actors of the capitalist ideological orientation, words and expressions such as *rule of law, law and order, friends, partners, reactionaries, independence at the appropriate time and with dignity,* among others, became the mantra of that era.

Another important aspect of the interconnectedness between language and politics that was in-vogue during and immediately after the liberation was in the naming of important clubs and institutions. Note that during the colonial era, anything associated with blackness or black traits was looked down upon; even indigenous religions were subverted

and replaced with European religions. To snob Britain and racist Europe for their hatred of Black people and anything black, the government of independent Ghana decided to name national sporting institutions with the word *Black*. The men's national soccer team was named the *Black Stars*, the women's, *Black Maidens*. Others were: *Black Sticks* (the national hockey team), *Black Bombers* (the national Boxing team), *Black Meteors* (Ghana's under 21 national soccer team), *Black Starlets* (Ghana's under 17 soccer team), among many others.

Given that Ghana's liberation struggle took place during and in the context of the Cold War, the liberation struggle was caught up and eventually couched in the politics of the time. The political context of the time thus affected the nature of the liberation struggle to the extent that the different political parties in Ghana found themselves becoming either pro-Socialist or pro-Capitalist. Political actors such as Nkrumah and his lieutenants, Kojo Botsio and Komla Gbedemah, were seen as socialist (communist) in leaning; whereas Danquah, Ofori-Attah, Obetsebi-Lamptey and others were viewed as sympathizers of the capitalist ideology.

The ideological divide in the direction of Ghana's independence movement between Nkrumah and Danquah led Nkrumah to split from the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), the main liberation force, to form the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) – the party that won Ghana's first parliamentary elections in 1951. The Gold Coast became the first British colony in Africa to achieve self-governance when it gained independence on March 6, 1957. Nkrumah become Ghana's first Prime Minister and when Ghana became a Republic on July 1st, 1960, Nkrumah became its first President. It is important to note that even though Ghana was considered the first Black African country south of the Sahara to gain independence, Liberia, which was a 'free' or 'independent' country made up of freed slaves from the United States of America (USA) and indigenous African ethnic groups, was already 'free' but its status as an independent nation-state was 'challenged' because of its linkage with, and perpetual dependence at that time on the USA, and more especially, because of USA's over-bearing influence on Liberia's political leadership and economy – the Liberian dollar was equal to and tied to the US dollar and so Liberia was seen by most Africans as Imperialist USA's territory.

The UGCC which had disbanded in 1951, later became the United Party (UP) and was the main opposition party from 1957 to 1960 at which time Nkrumah's CPP government passed the *Avoidance of Discrimination Act, 1957 (C.A. 38)*; a bill which declared Ghana a one-party-state and banned the UP and other opposition parties such as

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the Anlo Youth Organization, the Ga Shifimopke, the Muslim Association Party, the National Liberation Movement, the Northern People's Party, and the Togoland Congress which Nkrumah considered confined to or identifiable with ethnic or religious groups. The ban took effect from December 31, 1957, which meant that the UP, the main opposition party, was an illegitimate party.

The ban on free multiparty democracy did not sit well with the opposition parties and the enmity between Nkrumah's CPP and Danquah's UP became so bad that Danquah and other political actors who Nkrumah viewed as a threat to his presidency were thrown into solitary confinement for years. This post-independence crisis led to several conflicts, military *coups d'état*, and economic depression in Ghana and it was in the context of the above political climate that Danquah, who was in jail on charges of treason for planning to forcibly overthrow Nkrumah and his CPP government, wrote the three letters that formed the basis of this study.

1.2.   Brief Biography of Dr. J. B. Danquah

Danquah was born on December 18, 1895, into the most influential Ghanaian political family. Three relatives from the family, namely: J. B. Danquah, Edward Akuffo-Addo and William Ofori-Attah, were among the founding fathers (referred to as the *Big Six*) of modern Ghana. President Nana Addo-Danquah Akuffo-Addo, Ghana's current president, is the son of former President Edward Akuffo-Addo and grandnephew of Danquah.

Danquah was a philosopher, lawyer, pan-Africanist, and a statesman in the West African sub-region. In 1925 he studied philosophy at the University of London earning his B.A. degree and in 1927, he completed his PhD in Philosophy with a dissertation titled "The Moral End as Moral Excellence." Danquah entered Britain's Inner Temple and was called to the United Kingdom Bar in 1926. His doctoral dissertation had considerable impact on his personal and professional lives and might eventually have led to his demise. As a philosopher studying morality and its impact on personal life and statecraft, he believed in the moral excellence and moral credence in governance. To that end, he passionately wrote about why personal fame and money-making should be taken away from politics, given that when personal and financial gain become part of politics then charlatans, not hard-working, qualified and sincere persons, flock into politics. Danquah also religiously spoke about liberty and defended it whenever and wherever.

As part of his scholarly and professional journey on moral excellence, Danquah helped to initiate and actively participated in Africa's emancipation during his student-days in Britain. He established *The West Africa Times* which was earlier called *The Times of West Africa*, in 1931. He also edited the *West African Student Union Magazine* from 1926 to 1928. Both newspapers became the voice and mouth-piece of Africa's liberation struggle. Danquah became a member of Ghana's Legislative Council in 1946 and actively pursued Ghana's path to independence. In 1947, he worked with some businessmen led by George Alfred Grant and some Gold Coast chiefs, academics and lawyers to form the pro-independence United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC). He was named leader of the UGCC with other prominent leaders being Ebenezer Ako-Adjei, R.A. Awoonor-Williams, Edward Akuffo-Addo, William Ofori-Attah, Alfred Grant (Paa Grant), Oheneba Ekow Richardson, Kofi Amponsah Dadzie, K Kesse Adu and Emmanuel Obetsebi-Lamptey.

On December 10, 1947, Kwame Nkrumah returned to the Gold Coast (Ghana) at the invitation of Danquah to become the UGCC's General Secretary. In 1948, following a boycott of European imports and subsequent rioting in Accra, Danquah, Nkrumah, Akufo-Addo, Obetsebi-Lamptey, Ako-Adjei and Ofori Atta (referred to as the "the big six") as well as Oheneba Ekow Richardson, Kofi Amponsah Dadzie, and K. Kesse Adu were jailed for a month by the British colonial authorities for 'inciting' the riots.

As noted in the previous section, after independence, Danquah was thrown in jail on October 3rd, 1961, on charges of subversion under the CPP's *Avoidance of Discrimination Act, 1957 (C.A. 38)* also referred to as the *Preventive Detention Act*. After his release from jail on June 22, 1962, Danquah was rearrested on January 8, 1964 and sent back to jail for an alleged implication in a plot against President Nkrumah

Given the enormous role Danquah played in Ghana's independence to the extent of being named as *the doyen of Ghanaian politics* by the Watson Commission of Inquiry report of 1948, he did not take his incarceration by Nkrumah lightly. Most importantly, Danquah's philosophical perception of liberty (especially, his understanding of *freedom from intrusion* and *freedom to participate* in Ghana's political process made him view Nkrumah's actions as unlawful and unconstitutional. Indeed, being the chief architect of Ghana's first constitution, and being subjected to detention without trial (something which he as a lawyer saw as intrusion on his constitutional right), emboldened him to communicate his views and displeasure about his incarceration and denial of freedoms to the Speaker of Ghana's Parliament and to President Nkrumah no matter the consequences and injury to his person and to his political career. Danquah's philosophical perception of

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liberty fuelled his desire to fight for it irrespective of what the most powerful political actor, Nkrumah, felt. He (Danquah) died of heart attack in detention at Ghana's Nsawam Medium Security Prison on February 4, 1965.

2.   Method

Three letters written by Danquah formed the basis of this study. The first letter was written on January 30, 1962, to the Speaker of the National Assembly and was titled "Nothing but the Truth." The second letter was written to President Nkrumah on January 8, 1965, titled "Demand for Immediate Release and Opportunity for Offer of Amends," and the third was written on January 23, 1965 and was intended to be an apology about his second letter having made Nkrumah angry.

The letters were chosen first and foremost because they are political in nature, were written within a political ecology, and were written by Danquah, one of the most prominent political actors (founding fathers) during Ghana's struggle for independence. Danquah led other political actors in the framing of Ghana's first constitution; he also wrote more about liberty from both academic and professional perspectives than any other Ghanaian political actor at the time. Indeed, his book titled *The Liberty of the Subject,* dealt with what became known as *the Cocoa Hold-up* and the subsequent boycott of European goods (Nowell Commission on the Hold-up of Cocoa, 1937-38). Thus, his academic, legal, and political background as well as his role in Ghana's independence movement and his expertise as well as his lived-experience involving denial of him of liberty, provide validity and credence to him being a politician and the content of his letters being politically-oriented and politically situated.

Furthermore, the data contained the speech acts of political: (a) *criticism* about the Executive's (Nkrumah's) and the Legislature's (CPP's) inattention to the constitution of order and fairness; (b) *complaint* about the Executive's inattention to liberty, the basic tenets of democracy; (c) *apology* (which involved apologizing for an earlier mail that supposedly made Nkrumah angry), and (d) *request* via which he asked Nkrumah to free him from a politically-motivated jail and an incarceration that he believed to be illegal. Through the data, we can demonstrate how Danquah appropriated various discursive strategies to let us into his worldview about liberty, how and why he sought liberty for one and all, and his desire to protect liberty once won. To understand how Danquah achieved the above communicative and political tasks, I briefly discuss the theoretical framework within which the study was carried out.

3.   Theoretical Framework

This study is done within the theory of *language and liberty* (Obeng, in press). In working within this theory it is important, firstly, to establish the fact that liberty, as a philosophical and legal concept, depends on language to become an actuality given that language is used to express liberty and its associated concepts. Also, liberty invokes and finds expression and realization in law and in politics. Following Sir Isaiah Berlin's (1960) work titled, *Four Essays on Liberty,* in which he elucidates the philosophical underpinnings of liberty, I note that liberty should be viewed from two perspectives—*liberty from,* also known as *negative liberty,* and *liberty to* also known as *positive liberty*. Liberty from (negative liberty) involves the protection of individuals and minorities from the intrusions of the government and others into their fundamental freedoms. *Liberty to* (positive liberty)*,* on the other hand, guarantees the right of individuals to participate in the process of government and to share in the political power of their communities or states; the right to self-determination of the various levels of political community (Berlin 1960).

As Berlin (1960) and Date-Bah (2008) note that governments must put in place the material conditions for maintaining liberty to ensure that individuals are guaranteed liberty. Specifically, there is the need for a legal structure to be preserved in a nation's instrument of government and in judicial precedent to ensure that individuals' liberties are guaranteed. This is because as Date-Bah (2008) notes, failure to enshrine a Bill of Rights in a nation's constitution has the potential of creating a situation in which political actors in power become tyrannical and infringe on individuals' freedoms (their negative liberty) and their positive liberty with impunity because they are not subjected to law. In the case of Ghana, the absence of a tradition of subjecting government to law at the time, enabled the CPP government to pass the *Avoidance of Discrimination Act, 1957 (C.A. 38)* also referred to as the *Preventive Detention Act* of 1957/58 immediately after independence and this, according to Date-Bah (2008), subsequently enabled Nkrumah to engage in human right abuses using what Date-Bah refers to as *parliamentary supremacy* that was provided for in Ghana's Independence Constitution of 1957. Furthermore, as Date-Bah (2008) surmised, even though the Ghanaian courts may have thought that they were implementing a law left for Ghana by the British common or constitutional law, the main legal conundrum was that whereas the British Parliament put up with divergent views, not only did the Ghanaian Parliament under Nkrumah inhibit divergent views, such views were considered treasonous

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and political actors who held such views were consequently incarcerated with and without judicial due process.

Framing the analysis of Danquah's letters within the theory of language and liberty will help to prove the extent to which he saw both his negative and positive liberty trampled upon by the Ghanaian Executive and Legislature. As a philosophical concept, Danquah, a leading philosopher of his time, must have been aware of liberty being entrenched in Ghanaian thought via the various ethnic groups' communicational mores and maxims. As an Akan-born, he must have been aware of the two Akan axioms: *Ananse Kokroko antɔn kasa, ɔdemaa kwa* (Big Spider' (*God)* did not sell speech, he gave it freely)); and *Woankasa wo ti ho a, yɛyi wo ayibɔne* (If you do not complain about your haircut, you get an ugly haircut). The first axiom points to an individual's unalienable right to free speech, and the second, to one's right to complain about and seek redress from mistreatment and to prevent others from infringing on their right to seek freedom from abuse and exploitation. Danquah's letters explicitly demonstrate that he rejected Nkrumah's use of his position of power to intrude his (Danquah's) negative liberty and to infringe upon his positive liberty; consequently, he called on Nkrumah and the Speaker of Ghana's Parliament to desist from their oppressive behaviours of flouting both liberties openly and with impunity. As a legal construct, Danquah, a legal luminary and a party to the framers of Ghana's first constitution, was aware of the separation of powers, which branch of government made the laws, who interpreted them, the due process regarding the laws application in the right juridical ecology, and what can happen if people elected to oversee government business and the judicial process neglect to follow due process.

Working within the theory of language and liberty requires us to examine the most important discursive and linguistic tools within which the fight for liberty finds expression. Specifically, we examine the lexical items and phrases as well as sentence types in which request for liberty are formulated as well as the discourse-pragmatic strategies such as inferencing, speech act types, deferential modes of address, politeness markers, as well as openings and closings used in seeking liberty (Obeng in press).

4. Aims

In this paper, we demonstrate that political actors without political power have discursive strategies for seeking and safeguarding their negative and positive liberty and that such strategies may be used to challenge the validity of claims made by those in power

despite the discourse being asymmetrical. Also demonstrated is the fact that language and liberty are intertwined.

5. Findings and Discussion

The first observation we put forward relates to the interconnectedness between language and liberty and is stated as follows: powerless political actors may speak vehemently for and about liberty irrespective of whether or not their pronouncements will result in being thrown into or kept in jail indefinitely, and that through their language we are brought into such political actors' worldview about how language and liberty inform each other. Thus, we observe that in asymmetrical power-oriented political discourse, despite being powerless, political actors in opposition have discursive strategies for raising and challenging the validity of claims and political actions of political actors in power. This observation contradicts that of Harris (1995:49) who argues that 'in non-congruent interactions there is an asymmetrical distribution of speech acts as a mode of strategic communication preventing validity claims being raised or challenged except by powerful institutional representatives.' Thus, via his letters, Danquah proves that without power, he still had discursive resources at his disposal to speak back to Nkrumah about liberty. On the other hand, given that Danquah died as a political prisoner, one could also argue that political actors who are not in a position of power and who resort to candour in their fight for liberty risk death. Six extracts are cited in support of the above observations. Note that the cited extracts are just six of the many cases that help illustrate the observations.

EXTRACT 1

On January 30, 1962, Danquah wrote from his jail cell in Ghana, to the Speaker of Ghana's Parliament about his unlawful arrest and detention. Source: "'Nothing but the Truth' (Petition from detention at Ussher Fort Prison)" from *Historic Speeches and Writings on Ghana by J. B. Danquah* (Akyeampong 1966: 154).

> Danquah: Sir, A Petition to the Parliament of Ghana through the Speaker of The National Assembly. I, the undersigned free citizen of Ghana, arrested and detained on 3rd October 1961. .... "Open my eyes that I may behold the wonders of thy law." I am compelled to

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> seek the intervention of the Legislative Authority of Ghana for the
> Executive Authority to provide redress for my grievances as a
> subject of the law, and a citizen of the State. The irregular, unjust
> and lawless manner in which the Government of Ghana has dealt
> with me, as with the other detainees arrested on or about the 3rd
> October 1961, (i.e., 172 of 1961) is the reason for this.

In the above extract (Extract 1), Danquah complains about: Nkrumah's denial of him of his negative liberty via intrusion into his fundamental freedoms and his positive liberty via a denial of him to participate in the process of government and in the sharing of the political power of his community. Danquah saw Nkrumah's denial of him of access to the courts of Ghana as being in direct contravention of a provision in Ghana's Republican Constitution of 1960, and as a violation of his Common Law right to have his day in court. Nkrumah had suppressed, from the public and press, the statutory "Representations" made by Danquah at the Nsawam Prison on October 13, 1961, in answer to the Statutory "Grounds for Detention" served on him (Danquah) within five days of his arrest. Meanwhile, Nkrumah's CPP government published a *White Pape*r containing new and unchartered "Grounds for Detention" against Danquah, but these were not served on Danquah within the statutory five days, or at all. Furthermore, Danquah argued that the *White Paper* was not issued in accordance with the provisions of the Preventive Detention Act, 1958 (Akyeampong 1966: 154–172). It is important to note that Danquah was arrested on October 3, 1961, but the *White Paper* on his arrest was published on December 11, 1961 (69 days after his arrest).

From the extract, we observe that Danquah viewed Nkrumah's action as a gross irregularity from the point of view of Ghana's jurisprudence. He (Danquah) yokes together two contrasting issues: that of being detained and yet being 'free.' An observation of the text reveals that there is an incongruity between the actual result of the sequence of events and the normal expected result – an issue that creates a situational and dramatic irony (Obeng 2016). By the expression, "I, the undersigned free citizen of Ghana, arrested and detained," Danquah is suggesting that freedom can be viewed from different levels, and that being imprisoned does not take away one's freedom to fight for liberty or protest his imprisonment. One could view Danquah as a character in a "legal drama," seeing himself as a 'free' citizen whose liberty had been intruded upon and who, by the Executive's intrusive act, had suffered loss of both his negative liberty (because the Executive by its unlawful action had encroached on his personal freedom) and his positive liberty given that

his incarceration prevented him from participating in his family life, his academic life (as an author whose dream was to continue writing about his people), his social life and his politico-cultural life (as a chief and a leading political actor).

Viewed from another angle, it could be argued that there was a pretence of ignorance on the part of Danquah and a kind of willingness on his part to learn from the Executive (Nkrumah) to make Nkrumah's false conceptions about liberty conspicuous by adroit questioning. Thus, in this political and juridical 'drama', Danquah implicitly: (a) identified Nkrumah's ignorance and inattention to the law; (b) pointed to the legislature's turning of a blind eye to Nkrumah's wilful disregard of and for the law; and consequently, (c) sought redress, a restoration of his negative and positive liberty, through the legislative body.

Viewed from an angle that makes the Executive (Nkrumah) the main character in the politico-juridical saga, one observes a dramatic irony as well as a tragic irony. The audience (including the public and the victim – Danquah) understood the denial of liberty done via the injustice and lawlessness perpetrated by the Executive in collaboration with the Legislature, but the main characters, the Executive and Legislature, did not appear to understand it. As noted in Obeng (2016), by appropriating the biblical text, Danquah was engaged in indirectness, an insinuation, by pleading with "God" to open the Ghanaian Parliamentarians' and Nkrumah's eyes so that they would understand the tenets of liberty (the 'wonders' of Ghana's laws and constitution) and not deny others of them (liberty). As noted in this paper, Danquah, a constitutional lawyer, led other political actors and legal personnel in the drafting of Ghana's first constitution so he understood its tenets and juridical implications. Nkrumah, having been invited by Danquah to join Ghana's independence struggle movement, and being a member of the nation's founding fathers, must have been aware of the scope and extent as well as the 'dos' and 'don'ts' of Ghana's Republican Constitution, and the constitution of order, so turning a blind eye to the very laws he (Nkrumah) swore to uphold made his rule illegitimate given the wilful and malicious nature with which he treated his opponents.

Danquah engaged in *delegitimization* (in the sense proposed by Chilton (2004)) of the action taken by Nkrumah by creating an "other" worldview that portrayed Nkrumah's action as being different from the 'right' legal norm. By so doing, Danquah distanced himself from that "other" (Nkrumah) by portraying the differences between his stance and worldview on liberty and upholding it as opposed to that of Nkrumah which involved flouting other people's liberty and thus involving lawlessness. Specifically, Danquah's

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delegitimization of Nkrumah's actions encompasses the speech acts of criticizing, blaming and accusing. He positioned himself as someone knowledgeable about Ghanaian law and constitution and as a victim of lawlessness. He then positions Nkrumah as being ignorant about the law and, hence, a perpetrator of lawlessness, and the Legislature as having the power and expertise to make laws and follow the constitution, but passing a 'questionable' law and then turning a blind eye to his (Danquah's) predicament.

Viewed from the perspective of Habermas' (1984, 1992) *validity claims*, we can argue that Danquah used this letter and the cited biblical text to lay claim to understandability, truth, and rightness; and, to accuse Nkrumah of lacking an understanding of the law, of shunning from the truth, and of taking a wrong stance towards his (Danquah's) 'wrongful imprisonment.' The biblical passage used by Danquah in Excerpt 1 is from Psalm 119: 18. Danquah, in using the biblical text, criticizes the Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislature (Ghana's National Assembly) for not living by the tenets of the law, but rather disregarding them. He appeared to be asking, 'Where have the Legislature and Judiciary been all this time when the Executive was breaking the law by intruding on individuals' liberty?'

From the point of view of intertextuality, the biblical passage helps Danquah to draw attention to the need for people in power to recognize people's negative and positive liberty and to uphold such liberty by defending the supreme laws of the land over which they rule. Through the voice of David, the Psalmist, Danquah was submitting that knowledge of the laws regarding liberty and the correct interpretation and application of such laws bring freedom, justice, and lawful behaviour; whereas, ignorance about, or inattention to the laws regarding liberty, as well as the misinterpretation and misapplication of such laws bring imprisonment, human suffering, injustice, and lawlessness, all of which intrude on individuals' negative and positive liberty.

Using the biblical texts served Danquah's philosophical, juridical, political, and communicative strategic ends. By citing from the Bible, Danquah revealed the delicate power imbalance and social injustice in Ghanaian society at the time of his writing. The intertextual relations between the biblical text and his message served to heighten the political tension in Ghana in the early to mid-1960s.

In the next extract, Danquah explains the grievance regarding denial of him of access to the Courts of Ghana; a denial which he viewed as a contravention to a solemn provision in the Ghanaian Republican Constitution of 1960.

EXTRACT 2 (Context: Same as Extract 1)

When therefore the Minister of Interior, at the instance or otherwise of the Government of Ghana, oppressively prohibits or refuses to permit any lawyer to visit any of us in prison he thereby denies or takes away from us our constitutional and common law right of access to the Court. In my case I have written to Mr. Koi Larbi, Barrister-at-Law of Accra to request him and Messrs. R.S. Blay and W. E. A. Ofori-Atta and de Graft Johnson, all Barristers, to visit me for consultation, but in no case has permission been given for any of them to gain access to me in prison.

In the above extract, Danquah viewed the denial of him of access to the Courts as an intrusion on his liberty given the fact that the denial took away his Common Law right to have his day in Court. As Danquah noted in the letter of January 30, 1962, when one's liberty is interfered with by anyone, it is the Judicial Authority (the Court) that becomes the individual's constitutionally appointed sovereign to judge between the individual and the respondent; in the current case, between him, Nkrumah and the Legislature. Taking away his (Danquah's) Common Law right therefore infringed on both his negative liberty (protection from the intrusions of the government and others into his fundamental freedoms) and positive liberty (his right to participate in the process of government and to share in the political power of his community or the state (Ghana).

Extract 2 illustrates Danquah's use of a conditional sentence. The conditional clause, *when therefore the Minister of Interior, at the instance or otherwise of the Government of Ghana, oppressively prohibits or refuses to permit any lawyer to visit any of us in prison,* states the condition, and the main clause, *he thereby denies or takes away from us our constitutional and common law right of access to the Court,* expresses the result of the condition. The subordinating conjunctions of the sentence are *when*, *therefore* and *thereby.* Via the conditional sentence, Danquah challenges the illegitimate action of the Executive (the President and his Ministers) by arguing that by preventing the detainees' lawyers from visiting them in prison, the Minister of Interior (at the instance of the Government of Ghana) was intruding upon his and the other prisoners' freedom (negative liberty) and their positive liberty. Danquah's use of the adverbial expression *oppressively prohibits or refuses ...* depicts his abhorrence of oppression and the intrusion on his liberty and how he viewed the Executive's lack of understanding of liberty. If the Executive understood the philosophical and legal tenets of liberty, it would have refrained from taking

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it away from its citizens. Furthermore, the expression, *take away from,* suggests that individuals, in theory, possess unalienable constitutional and common law right of access to the courts and that taking such rights away from them is an infringement on their liberty and is hence, illegal and unconstitutional.

From the above discussion, we could argue that Danquah's fight for liberty became reality through his use of language (specific lexical items and syntactic constructions). His understanding of the law on liberty regarding the rights of incarcerated persons and of how the law works helped him to frame his objections to the Executive and Legislature's illegitimate actions and that emboldened him to fight for his liberty regardless of the consequences.

In Extract 3, Danquah uses his letter sent to Nkrumah to criticize him (Nkrumah) for the mass incarceration of his opponents on 'trumped up' charges of sedition and treason.

EXTRACT 3

My wife's distress over her own feeling that I appear to have hurt Your Excellency is quite understandable for she, like many of our countrymen, is frightened of the situation today, where our country, which formerly did not know of seditions, not to mention treasons, is now fully of interminable treason trials and numerous number of secret detentions over which no one seems to have any remedy but to capitulate and to pray earnestly that God may one day be pleased to save Ghana from this curse.

In the above extract, Danquah employs emotional valence, via his wife's distress, to challenge power, namely, Nkrumah's arbitrary arrest and detention of his opponents for sedition and treason, something unknown in Independent Ghana prior to Nkrumah's actions. An important discursive strategy employed by Danquah is the use of a deferential mode of address; he refers to Nkrumah deferentially as *Your Excellency*. The extent of the arbitrary arrests, detentions and trials is captured in the collocating expressions, *interminable treason trials* and *numerous number of secret detentions*. Danquah shows his abhorrence for what he saw as Nkrumah's unlawful actions by describing it with the noun, *curse*. Thus, by resorting to the use of emotional valence, a deferential mode of address, collocation, and choice of a noun that denotes the invocation of the supernatural to inflict harm, Danquah was able to challenge what he perceived as Nkrumah's encroachment on his political opponents' liberty and his abuse of power in taking unlawful actions.

In the next extract, not only does Danquah complain about what he saw as his unlawful arrest and detention, he candidly noted the wrongful action of Nkrumah and his CPP government by 'educating' Nkrumah on how he and his government should have acted towards him – *thank him for his contribution to nation building and the national political discourse*.

EXTRACT 4

My next petition, in order of time, but first in order of importance, was the one dated the 12th of June, in which I set out the entire course of my life and 'activities', from June 1962, when I came out of the first detention, to January 4th, 1964, when I was again arrested. And I believe I made a case in that letter which, looked at fairly and squarely, what the Government of Ghana, with Your Excellency as the head, should have done for me was to send a distinguished national delegation to thank me for my contribution to the nation's wealth of thought, culture and progress, instead of sending against me hostile troops of the Ghana Army to invade me and destroy my home life as if I was the greatest felon and the vilest enemy of our beloved land.

In the above extract, Danquah candidly informs Nkrumah that he (Nkrumah) did not look at his (Danquah's) earlier petition *fairly and squarely* hence his undertaking of an action, that of *sending the Ghana Army to invade [him] and destroy [his] home life*. The extent of the intrusion on his liberty is couched in the bluntness of the petition which is expressed via the use of:

(a) the adverbial expression, *fairly and squarely* which by inferencing suggests *negligence* on Nkrumah's part in consideration of the case on its merit as well as Nkrumah's *inattention* to the facts of the case even when such facts were overt and simple; and

(b) the prepositional expression, *with Your Excellency as head,* suggesting that Danquah put the blame of his arbitrary arrest and continued incarceration without due process and due diligence, and turning a blind eye and consequent denial of his negative liberty (his imprisonment) and positive liberty (the denial of him to participate in his home life and in nation building) on Nkrumah.

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The cohesive import of such collocations as *fairly and squarely, hostile troops, distinguished national delegation, greatest felon* and *vilest enemy* vividly and lucidly describe what Danquah's perception of Nkrumah's actions were (that of illegality in the arbitrary arrest and detention of opponents) as well as what his (Danquah's) intentions were, and what he wanted Nkrumah to take from the letter – the need for Nkrumah to look at the facts of his case and stop denying him his liberty and civil rights. Thus, we see the petition of the oppressed and powerless Danquah, couched not in indirectness as we often see in the discourse of African political actors without power (Obeng 1997a), but in candour.

Furthermore, the pronoun pairs *I* and *me,* and *you* and *your* found throughout the extract point to candour in the fight for liberty. With the pronouns, *I* and *me*, Danquah was able to focus attention on himself. Through these pronouns, he appeared to be saying: *'I am the one who has been wronged and unjustly imprisoned several times.'* However, the pronouns, *you* and *your,* refer to Nkrumah and his CPP government. Danquah appeared to be saying, *'You and your government have used the military to wrong me because of your power which you are abusing.'* Use of the above pronouns helped to create the political communication strategy of '*us* vs. *them*,' through which *positive self representation* and *negative other representation* are rendered (van Dijk 2004). Via the pronouns and the antithetic expressions, *should have done for me* and *instead of sending against me,* Danquah draws attention to the *good* expected of the Executive and Legislature and the *bad* action that they did to him. Thus, Danquah amplifies how the Executive, acting in concert with the Legislature, ignored their duty of protecting their citizens and instead, intruded on the citizens' liberty.

Finally, Danquah used the physical verbs, *invade* and *destroy,* which are verbs denoting physical sensation, to demonstrate the violent nature of the intrusion on his liberty and the resulting injurious nature of the invasion; a destruction of his person and of his home life.

In sum, we observe that via his choice of words Danquah candidly and explicitly shows how, despite being powerless, he was able to show the impact of Nkrumah's intrusion on his liberty and how Nkrumah's actions affected his person, his profession and his home, and the potential of Nkrumah's actions to lead to his ultimate demise – something which happened.

In the next extract, Danquah makes further effort to draw President Nkrumah's attention to his (Nkrumah's) infringement on his (Danquah's) positive and negative liberty.

EXTRACT 5

May I, in this connection, recall that my first petition of the 21st May, 1964 for my release on cultural and humanitarian grounds, laid much stress on the fact of what we both held in the reverence and believed in common, Africa and the greatness of Ghana. I urged upon you in that letter that to enable me to continue my cultural contribution to these great ideals, it was useless keeping me in prison, kicking my heels away from the work I love, my profession, my duty to my family and children, and the books and the learned societies which help the advancement of these imperishable ideals. I much regret to say I was not honoured with any reply from you to this letter, despite its great human and scholarly appeal.

In Extract 5, Danquah, first, resorts to intertextuality by referring to a text (his letter of 21st May, 1964) whose content was known to both him and Nkrumah. By making an intertextual appeal to his previous text, Danquah is calling Nkrumah's refusal to reply to his letter, an unprofessional act that infringed on his (Danquah's) right to receive a response to his letter sent to Nkrumah. The expression, *I much regret to say I was not honoured with any reply from you to this letter, despite its great human and scholarly appeal*, not only draws attention to the lack of response from Nkrumah, it also calls Nkrumah's attention to the 'great human' and 'scholarly' appeal of that letter. The words in the expression, *great human and scholarly appeal,* collocate. The expression also has embedded in it, the quality of *glittering generality* (words of virtue). Danquah appears to be arguing that if the letter of 21st May 1964 had virtuous words in it, then the Executive ought to have taken note of it and at least responded.

What is most important about Extract 5, however, is Danquah's call on Nkrumah to stop intruding on his negative liberty. Danquah felt that besides taking away his freedom (his negative liberty), continually detaining him also prevented him from exercising his positive liberty which involved allowing him to make contribution to Ghanaian culture (something which he wrote about and also practised), his family and children's life, and to his legal practice (something which he indicated in his letters had suffered greatly due to his incarceration) and legal community (the Ghana Bar Association of which he was the president. Thus, via this extract, Danquah is showing the close connection between one's negative and positive liberty and how an action taken to encroach upon one leads to infringement on the other.

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An important comment worth noting relates to the expression, *my duty to my family and children.* For a person from a non-matrilineal society, one may question why Danquah mentions family and then children. In Akan society, even though a man's children are not members of his lineage (family), but are of the wife's lineage (family), a man is required to educate, feed, shelter and protect his children. A man who does not perform these duties is referred to as *kwaseampani* 'chief of fools' a label which if tagged to a man not only shames him but excludes him from public, social and political discourse since someone will most certainly raise this if the man attempted to speak at a public forum. Thus, participation in the affairs of one's matrilineal extended family, of one's spouse, and of one's children are required of anyone who wants to be recognized as a man and as a political actor.

In the final extract (Extract 6), Danquah challenges Nkrumah's intrusion on his negative and positive liberty on legal grounds and calls for a restoration of those liberties.

EXTRACT 6

My last communication is the one on 8th January, the one which appears to have greatly upset my wife ... On this occasion she travelled all the way to Nsawam, 20 miles or so, to see me because she had been upset by my annoying you. This last letter, was of course, not a 'representation' or a petition. It was a lawyer's letter of demand on the grounds that my detention was illegal and that I should be released immediately, and an offer of amends made by you, your Ministers and the Government of Ghana for the horrible damage you and they have caused me, including the breaking-up of my home, the damage to my legal profession and to all the great values I hold dear for Ghana and the world, as well as, of course, as to my family.

In the above extract, Danquah uses the expression, *it was a lawyer's letter of demand on the grounds that my detention was illegal,* to draw Nkrumah's attention to his disregard of and for liberty and the rule of law. As noted earlier, Danquah saw his detention as infringing on his negative liberty, a liberty he, Nkrumah and others fought to restore during the colonial era. He therefore demanded his release from incarceration by Nkrumah. The expression, *a lawyer's letter of demand*, involves candour and suggests that he was aware of and ready to fight for his liberty. In legal parlance, to *demand* that an action be taken is to suggest that a law had been broken or misinterpreted leading to a wrongful action such as wrongful incarceration of a person or injuring the person legally, and hence

seeking redress by way of the law. To demonstrate the fact that he saw himself as having been wrongfully mistreated and imprisoned without due process, he calls, not only for his immediate release, but also for an apology and appropriate compensation. Danquah is not shy about the nature of crime committed against him; he refers to it as, *horrible damage*, and then enumerates the crimes "*including the breaking-up of my home, the damage to my legal profession and to all the great values I hold dear for Ghana and the world, as well as, of course, as to my family.*" The discursive markers through which Danquah couches his expression is worth noting. The verbs, *damage* and *breaking up* are physical verbs and denote destruction and injury – acts which take away what one had, and which may or may not be replaceable. To break up and/or damage one's home is to take away one's positive liberty because losing such a right prevents one from participating in the affairs of one's livelihood, extended family, and one's marriage.

From the above extract and discussion, we observe how Danquah via his letters used language to express his views on liberty and how the quest for liberty 'emboldened' him to fight for it. We also note Danquah's use of various discursive strategies to fight for non-intrusion on his negative liberty and the protection of his positive liberty.

6.   Conclusion

Considered from the point of view of philosophy, especially from Sir Isaiah Berlin's (1969) theory on negative and positive liberty, something that Danquah often spoke and wrote about, we hope to have demonstrated that Danquah, via his letters, asked for both *Liberty from* and *Liberty to*. Specifically, Danquah requested the right to be free from intrusions from the State and others (Liberty from) as well as the right to participate in the process of governance, to share in the political power of Ghana (Liberty to), and to participate in his private, family and professional lives. The evidence drawn from the data showed that language and liberty inform each other and that it was through language that Danquah's views on liberty became a reality.

Furthermore, an observation of Danquah's letters suggests that his texts were influenced by the historical, social, political and cultural contexts in which he wrote those letters, as well as his language and cultural ideologies, his interactional goals, and his intended outcomes. In managing such politically delicate speech acts as criticisms, complaints, disagreements, and requests, Danquah employed communicative strategies that generally differed from those of other political actors who were in jail with him. Thus,

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although Ghanaian language ideology assumes that political actors in opposition are not as communicatively powerful as those in power, this study has shown that Danquah sometimes ignored this communicative stance and communicated to Nkrumah like someone with whom he was on equal power terms. This, I argued, may have been because having been jailed together with Nkrumah and hence knowing Nkrumah's familiarity with the rule of law, constitution of order, and administration of justice, he expected Nkrumah to see the political world from his (Danquah's) camera angle.

Moreover, we are made aware, via Danquah's letters, the complexity encapsulated in the political and legal use of language. Power relations, we observed, are deeply rooted in legal, cultural and political mores and ideologies and effective use of language helps produce and reproduce power relations and provides tools for fighting for liberty. There is no doubt that this study clearly invoked power relations and concepts of power as expressed through language use in political texts, where status, rules, and strategies occupied centre stage for the political actors. What is interesting is the fact that questions concerning relations of language, law, power and liberty arose regarding who the political actor was, what his political ideologies were, and the speech acts and speech events in which he was engaged. In effect, we could argue that language behaviour in a political ecology, as measured in terms of candour, is intricately coordinated with political actors' stance on liberty, their worldview of liberty, how strongly they view liberty and its relation to power, and how far they are willing to risk their own lives and freedom by candidly seeking liberty instead of giving up on words. As Danquah's wife pointed out to him, his letters made Nkrumah angry, yet Danquah felt the need to write to protest his incarceration and to seek liberty.

Among the discursive strategies employed in the fight for liberty were deferential modes of address and reference, politeness, candour, inferencing, glittering generalities, emotional valence and intertextuality. The grammatical features used included conditional sentences, political pronouns, physical verbs denoting destruction and injury, pronouns (especially, inclusive and exclusive pronouns), collocation, as well as adverbs and adverbial constructions. Also, from the data it was observed that Danquah used an important graphological feature, that of upper-case letters, to show emphasis. Furthermore, as Obeng (1997a) argues, Danquah's use of upper case letters helped to demonstrate his frustration at Nkrumah's lack of understanding of the rule of law and how government works, especially, regarding to which office political prisoners must make legal and political representations.

However, this study, like Obeng (1997a) has confirmed that knowledge of the interconnectedness between language and liberty goes beyond a mere list of correlations between discursive forms and liberty; it entails an understanding of how in seeking liberty political actors employ specific discursive forms to criticize, complain, request or apologize, and the norms of the political discourse ecology within which liberty is sought. It is important to also note that given that liberty is a philosophical and an ideological concept, in seeking it, Danquah ensured that his ideological preferences and expectations impacted the performance of his above-mentioned discursive tasks through which his fight for liberty was framed. Furthermore, being aware of the intertwining nature of language and liberty, and the power relationships between him and Nkrumah, Danquah framed his strategy of discursive performance to reflect these.

Throughout this study, we argued that Danquah's decision to resort to candor and political criticism of Nkrumah contrasted sharply with that of the other political prisoners namely William Ofori-Attah, Edward Akuffo-Addo, Mr. Ako-Adjei and others who decided not to communicate their displeasure about their wrongful incarceration to Nkrumah and who were consequently freed from jail. However, it is important to note that Danquah felt that fighting for liberty the way he did was in accordance with Ghana's constitution of order, its jurisprudence and political ecology. He regarded freedom from prison and a return to normal life as a return to the dynamic relationship between one and the practical affairs of one's country's political and juridical action and social affairs. Thus, he viewed a nation's achievement of survival and realization of the security and happiness of its citizens as a function of the exercise by its individual members to freely contribute their unique talents and qualities and to the making of liberty for all, a reality. Danquah therefore saw intrusion on one's negative liberty as a hindrance to the espousal of liberty.

The above discussion also shows the close connection between language and liberty. Nkrumah had political power and hence determined whether Danquah's letters were appropriate pathway for seeking liberty. Given that it was alleged (by Mrs. Danquah) that Danquah's letters made Nkrumah angry we could conclude that Nkrumah did not approve of them (the letters). As Danquah himself noted in one of his letters, he could have engaged in triadic communication by asking such a respected pseudo-epicentre as Nana Sir Tsibu Darku to negotiate on his behalf. We could argue that Nkrumah implicitly used Danquah's letters to reassert the differing power hierarchy between him and Danquah; an act that offered a glimpse about the strong interdependence between language, law, power and liberty.

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Also, from the letters we learn about the connection between liberty, power and politeness. Danquah's discourse opening (the salutation), his use of address and referential forms, and his discourse closings all point to his performance of politeness. The fact that Nkrumah refused to grant him his request of release from incarceration leading to his ultimate death suggests that power may override politeness and that the discursive type used (letter-writing) which Nkrumah viewed as improper and possibly 'dangerous,' overrode Danquah's use of politeness strategies. In Ghanaian society, oral communication is sometimes preferred to written communication when it comes to matters relating to law and governance since it is believed that written communication is evidentiary and difficult to dispute in a court of law. I would therefore like to submit that had Danquah gone the route of engaging a respectable Chief (as noted in the previous paragraph) to plead on his behalf in his fight for liberty, Nkrumah may have more likely heeded his request and freed him from detention.

Like Obeng (1997a), this study has implications for contemporary Ghanaian politics and jurisprudence. Specifically, Danquah's strategy of fighting for liberty via written medium has been appropriated by contemporary Ghanaian political actors. During the dictatorships of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council and People's National Defence Council during which time Ghanaians' liberty was intruded upon with associated planned public and private executions, a *culture of silence* was created. It was the adherents of the Danquah ideological orientation (led by a History Professor, Adu Boahene) who, following Danquah's footsteps, broke the silence and openly fought for their liberty by challenging the authorities. It was the desire for liberty that eventually led to Ghana's current constitutional democracy. Like Danquah's use of the media, during the fight for Ghana's independence and thereafter, the Ghanaian media continue to seek liberty for Ghanaians by bringing to book, actors who infringe on the liberty of other political actors and the citizenry.

Finally, Danquah's use of the courts to seek redress on matters relating to liberty continues to play an important role in contemporary Ghanaian governance and jurisprudence. Ordinary Ghanaians have been emboldened to take governments or Presidents to court if they feel aggrieved. Also, the Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, a watch-dog of Ghana's governance and liberty, organizes annual lectures to showcase Danquah's contributions to Ghana's democracy. Danquah, thus proved through his letters that despite restrictions sometimes placed on free speech and infringement on negative and positive liberty, Ghanaians, in participating in the collective enterprise of nation-building,

must seek and protect such liberty at all cost and never be afraid to talk back to authority if they face any form of oppression and injustice.

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SHIFTING SANDS: LANGUAGE POLICIES IN EDUCATION IN GHANA AND IMPLEMENTATION CHALLENGES

Akosua Anyidoho

Abstract

This paper discusses the lack of consistency in language in education policies which have been endorsed by various governments of Ghana. A small-scale investigation carried out in two regions of Ghana exposes the current abysmal level of attention given to the indigenous languages in the schools in the cosmopolitan areas especially. It argues that the neglect of the indigenous languages might result in a communication gap between the non-English speakers and the educated, English-speaking elite who tend to represent the former group in government. This situation in turn could impede economic development and the democratic process as the voices of the marginalized non-English speakers would not be fully represented in governance. Similarly, the language shifts that the education system tends to promote, in the long term could result in the endangerment or near extinction of the local languages and the indigenous knowledge embodied in them. The paper ends with recommendations towards addressing the challenges associated with the implementation of the 2004 language policy in education.

Keywords: Communication, L1 in education, L1 literacy, indigenous language in education, language of instruction, NALAP (National Literacy Acceleration Programme), language policy implementation

1. Introduction

At the onset, I would like to observe that communication is an indispensable tool in human society as it is an avenue for humans to successfully give or share with others their thoughts, feelings, ideas, and information. Though humans communicate through body movements, signs, and other means, by far superior in terms of accuracy, effectiveness and efficiency is speech and the writing systems based on it. When people come together to achieve a common purpose in the home, community, society, and nation, speech becomes a requisite tool for the success of that enterprise. Basic phenomena such as the socialization of the young and the transmission of culture are

very much enhanced through verbal language. In the globalised world, classroom education, which is the most viable avenue for training and passing on information and knowledge to younger generations, is also severely hampered without speech and writing.

Successful communication becomes possible when the interlocutors share a common language. Therefore, issues related to satisfactory communication of information to all the citizens in multilingual societies have aroused debates, especially as to the role the various languages should play in the life of the people. Arguably, the most passionate debates concern the place of indigenous languages in societies where world-wide languages such as English have become official languages. These debates are the result of the understanding that language is one of the most far-reaching element of identity. It is a tool of knowledge creation and dissemination as well as the repository of the accumulated knowledge and of the culture of a society.

Though generally individuals learn their home language through exposure in their environment, in contemporary times, the school is viewed as the main avenue for enhancing competencies in the spoken language and for the acquisition of reading and writing skills needed for continuous learning and personal development. As such, countries the world over develop language in education policies through which the language skills of their citizens are sharpened. In multilingual countries, such policies would indicate which language(s) should be used as the medium of instruction and at what stage as well as other languages that would be taught at the various levels of education. How has Ghana fared in using the school system for this purpose? This question is discussed next.

2. Language Policy in education in Ghana

Since western-style education was introduced in multilingual Ghana, language-in-education policy has had a chequered history as different government administrations on assumption of office invariably decide to modify or make a complete shift in whatever policy existed before they came into office. For a detailed historical account and analysis of this situation, see McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh (1975), Nkansa-Kyeremateng (1996), Markin-Yankah (1999), Anyidoho (2004), Owu-Ewie (2006), Anyidoho and Dakubu (2008), Anyidoho and Anyidoho (2009) and Ansah (2014). Rather than reiterating information that is covered by these and other writers, this paper describes the policies that have come into existence since 2000, bringing to the fore the lack of consistency in language-in-education policy in Ghana.

In January 2001, the Director General of the Ghana Education Service[1] (GES) signed a letter that sought to remind its officials, teacher associations and all heads of Basic Schools[2] in the country about the then existing language policy originally announced in 1971. Part of this widely distributed letter is as follows:

> Essentially, the Policy is that, "instruction at the Lower Primary Level (Primary 1 – 3) will be conducted in the pupil's mother tongue, or in the major Ghanaian Language of the local area, while English will be studied as one of the subjects offered at the Lower Primary Level. From Primary 4 onwards, class instruction will be conducted in English; and the Ghanaian Language will then be studied as one of the subjects offered.

The Director General rationalized the policy as follows:

> The fundamental philosophy underlying the Ghanaian Language Policy in our schools is to enable the individual acquire a sense of cultural identity and make him/her literate in his/her own mother tongue. Another essential factor is that basic literacy in one's mother tongue or the local language enhances the child's ability to transfer and apply acquired learning skills in the local language to proficiency in learning English and other languages. (Signed by the Director General of GES, Jan. 2001)

The measures that were being taken at the time to facilitate effective implementation of the policy were outlined in the letter, i.e. printing of textbooks, training and posting of teachers.

However, within 17 months of the circulation of this reminder, a policy change was declared by the Minster of Education, which compelled the GES Director General to send another circular to inform the same recipients that:

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[1] The Ghana Education Service is the implementing body of education policies formulated by the Ministry of Education, a government department.

[2] The Basic School level consists of a two-year kindergarten (KG 1 & 2), three-year Lower Primary (P1 – P3), three-year Upper Primary (P4 - P6) and three-year Junior High School (JHS 1 – JHS 3). Graduates of the Basic School proceed to a three-year Senior High School (SHS 1 – SHS 3)

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> At its meeting in May 2002, Cabinet deliberated on revision of the
> Ghanaian Language policy and approved the New (Revised) Language
> Policy for implementation by the GES as follows:
> a)   English should replace vernacular as the medium of instruction
>   in the first three years of Primary schooling.
> b)   Every Ghanaian child must study one Local Language from
>   Primary One up to the Senior Secondary School Level.
> c)   Students should be encouraged to study the French Language
>
> Regional and District Directors of Education, General Managers of
> Education and Proprietors/Proprietresses of Private Schools are advised
> to take note of the revised Policy and implement it accordingly. (Signed
> by Director General of GES, August 2002.)

It is important to note that prior to the May 2002 announcement, the government had
set up an Education Review Committee to study the educational system and its related
issues and to make recommendations for improvement. For readers to comprehend the
motivation for the setting up of the committee, we recall that in 1987, the People's
National Democratic Congress (PNDC)[3] government, which had been in office since
1981, under pressure from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund,
commenced a major educational reform which reduced basic and secondary education
from 15yrs to 12yrs and increased university education from 3yrs to 4yrs. Two
objectives of the reform were, (a) compulsory and universal nine-year basic education
(P1 – JHS3), and (b) equipping young people with employable skills. Therefore, instead
of focusing mainly on academic content, the reform introduced technical and vocational
skills training in the Basic School curriculum. Though the reform might have been well
intended, it was perceived that the government had rushed to implement it without prior
adequate preparation, including the training of teachers, provision of school
infrastructure, supply of books and equipment and education of the general public.
Consequently, when the majority of the first batch of graduates from the new school

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[3] The People's National Democratic Congress (PNDC) government, which came into power in 1981
through a military coup d'état, was headed by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings. While still in
office, in 1992, this leader of the military junta, stood and won the general elections on the ticket of a
political party which he founded, the National Democratic Congress (NDC). Rawlings then
metamorphosed into a democratically elected president and had two four-year terms in office, 1992 -
2000. His party lost the elections to the New Patriotic Party (NPP).

system failed their final examinations, criticism of the reform was intensified, and suggestions were made for a return to the former system.

For our present purpose, it is important to mention that in addition to retaining the local language as the medium of instruction in P1 – 3, the 1987 reform made the study of the local language compulsory and examinable throughout Basic and Senior High School levels. This requirement was another area of dissatisfaction and criticism, stemming from the negative attitude that Ghanaians generally have about the indigenous languages. The contention was that the school curriculum was crowded with many non-essential subjects such as the indigenous languages and that students faced enormous challenges in learning all of them efficiently.

The defeat of the NDC in the 2000 general elections gave the new administration the opportunity to overhaul what was generally perceived as an ill-conceived and inefficient educational system. Focusing on language policy in particular, the compulsory study of and examination in the indigenous language became a casualty of the review. The committee recommended that its study should remain mandatory at the Basic School but optional at the Senior High School level. A government white paper published after the submission of the Education Review Committee's report accepted this recommendation. On the issue of the medium of instruction in P1– 3, a section of the white paper reads:

> Government accepts the recommendation that the children's home language and Ghana's official language, English, should be used as the medium of instruction at the kindergarten and primary level (2004, p.27).

In the same section, there was a caveat, which seemed to give some weight to the local language as follows:

> …where teachers and learning materials are available and linguistic composition of classes is fairly uniform, the children's first language must be used as the dominant medium of instruction in kindergarten and lower primary (p.27 &28).

The above quotations indicate that the May 2002 policy was later modified to allow the use of both the local language and English as languages of instruction at the lower primary level. This modified policy, for all intent and purposes, was in place from 2008–2016, during the John Atta Mills's and John Dramani Mahama's administrations as no announcement of a change occurred. In fact, in 2016 the Ministry of Education

received funding from the USAID in support and enhancement of the implementation of the existing policy.

What the preceding discussion reveals is that within a period of three and a half years, January 2001 to August 2004, heads of Basic Schools must have received three circulars stating different language policies they were expected to implement in P1 – 3, i.e. (a) the sole use of local language in teaching, (b) the sole use of English, (c) the use of both local language and English. For ease of reference, these will be henceforth called 2001, 2002, and 2004 policies respectively. The presentation above gives only a glimpse of the general lack of continuity and consistency, a major problem that has dogged language-in-education policy since the inception of formal education in Ghana. A brief overview of policies formulated prior to the 2000 would enable readers to appreciate this chaotic situation.

To begin with, Kwemena-Poh informs us that the Wesleyan Mission that concentrated their educational and evangelistic activities in the south-central part of the country started opening schools in 1838 and emphasized English in the curriculum. A few years later, the Basel (1843) and the Bremen (1847) missions also set up schools in the south-eastern part (Akuapim, Ga and Ewe areas), and used the indigenous languages as media of instruction at the primary level (P1 – P6). Then when the various European trading companies set up schools to train the local people, the classes were conducted in the relevant European language. Even though these decisions on language of instruction were not guided by formal government policies, they set the stage for later events. In 1874 when the British declared the southern part of Ghana a British colony and began establishing public schools, they forced the Christian missions that used mainly the local language in teaching to include English in their curriculum in order to receive funding from the colonial administration. (See Boadi 1976.) The colonial policy of instruction through English was upheld until 1922, when the Phelps-Stoke Commission was set up to make recommendations towards the improvement of education in British West Africa. One of the recommendations of the commission was the use of the indigenous language as medium of instruction in the lower primary classes (P1 – P3) and English at the upper levels. In 1951, another committee endorsed the use of the local language medium at the lower primary classes. We note that like previous policies, the local language was to be taught as a subject from P4 onwards, at which point English became the language of instruction.

An important milestone in the history of language-in-education policy in Ghana occurred in 1957 when the government declared English as the medium of instruction at all levels including the very early stages, P1– P3. The choice of English in 1957 seems puzzling since it coincided with the year of Ghana's independence from British colonial domination when the indigenous language option would have been expected.

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Ten years later, the military government of the National Liberation Council (NLC), which ousted the Convention People's Party administration led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in 1966, opted for a return to the local language policy. However, the policy allowed urban and private schools to provide instruction in English at the lower primary. The Progress Party civilian administration which was in power from 1969 – 1971 retained the local language medium in the lower primary.

Then came the military government of the National Redemption Council (NRC) which wrenched political power from the Progress Party government in 1972. This administration modified the existing policy by making the indigenous language the medium of instruction in P1 only. From 1982-2000, the military government of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC, 1982-1992), which later became the National Democratic Congress (NDC, 1993-2000), retained the policy it inherited. It would be recalled that in 1987 when the PNDC decided on a restructuring of the education system, it made the study of the local language compulsory and examinable at the Basic and SHS levels, but this policy was short-lived. In 1994 the local language was made an optional subject of study at the SHS level.

In sum, since the inception of formal education and especially since Ghana's independence in 1957, governments have been consistent in the view that the indigenous language should be studied as a subject from the lowest level. What they have differed on are: a) the language of instruction at the Lower Primary level and, b) the stage at which the switch to the English medium should occur if the L1 medium is selected, and c) the level of commitment to the policy option adopted. As the preceding discussion shows, on the first issue, some administrations opted for the L1 medium of instruction and others, the L2. Regarding the second question, P6, P4, and P2 were mandated by different governments. The third issue will be discussed later. Such have been the pendulum swings in language-in-education policy, with most government administrations making some input, but not necessarily from the vantage point of full knowledge and 'insight into the nature of language political processes, such as language attrition, maintenance, spread and development, language policy construction and language policy implementation, and the nature of the relationship between language and society at the macro-level' (Webb 2002: 1). In the light of such frequent changes, an issue that would be of interest to readers is how language-in-education policies are implemented in Ghana and what happens on the ground? This question is the focus of the next section.

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3. Research on implementation of language policies in Ghana

Markin-Yankah (1999) assessed the extent of implementation of the 1971 policy in the Shama-Ahanta East District of the Western Region of Ghana. Her subjects were 76 Lower Primary and 76 Upper Primary teachers. She found that though 57% of P1 – P3 teachers involved in the study reported native competence in the dominant local language, Fante, and 34% also reported average and above average proficiency in Fante, only 32.9% taught their lessons in Fante. Giving reasons for their action, some of the teachers erroneously claimed that they were following the Ministry of Education's English-medium policy, and others observed that the children were already proficient in Fante therefore there was no need to 'waste precious time to study or use it in teaching' (p.84). When the P4 – P6 teachers were asked if they taught Fante as a subject, 64.6% asserted that they did, but 31.6% answered in the negative while 3.8% of them failed to respond to this question. Again, when all the 152 Primary 1 – 6 teachers were asked whether or not the L1 medium policy for P1 – P3 should be maintained, 81% of the Lower Primary and 68% of the Upper Primary teachers observed that it should be changed to English, the official language of the country and which, in their view, was also the language of all school examinations as well as of upward social and economic mobility.

In an attempt to find out the implementation level of the 2004 policy, in March 2011, this writer did a small-scale study in two of the ten administrative regions of the country: East Akim area of the Eastern Region and Dome-Kwabenya area of the Greater Accra Region. The former district lies within the southern forest belt, where many of the residents cultivate cocoa as a cash crop and practice subsistence farming as well. The indigenous language of the area is Akyem Twi, a dialect of Akan, the most widely spoken indigenous language in the country. Because of the cocoa industry, the area has a sizable migrant-settler population from other ethnic groups and also attracts a good number of itinerant labourers during the cocoa planting and harvesting seasons. Apart from the then district capital, New Tafo, which can be categorized as semi-urban, the district is rural, dotted by small towns and villages in relative close proximity. Generally, schools in this research area are typical of those found in rural Ghana, characterized by poor infrastructure.

The Greater Accra Region is found on the south-eastern coast of Ghana and covers Accra, the capital of the country and Tema, a harbour city, and their surrounding areas. Apart from encompassing the largest city in the country, the Greater Accra Region is also the nexus of all government ministries, institutions and agencies as well as of most international companies and organizations. The Greater Accra Region, especially the Accra and Tema metropolis, forms the financial, commercial,

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educational, medical, and social hub of the country and is therefore inhabited by people from all parts of the country and elsewhere. Though the indigenes of the region speak Ga, due to its cosmopolitan nature, the population is ethnically and linguistically diverse. The original settlements of the Ga people are surrounded by many settlements and suburbs, some of which have high concentrations of specific ethnic and linguistic groups. Infrastructure in the schools in this region is slightly better than in those found in the Eastern Region where the research was undertaken.

At the time of the investigation, schools in Ghana were supposed to be participating in the National Literacy Acceleration Program (NALAP), a project designed and coordinated by the GES in its attempt to implement the 2004 language policy. Some background information about NALAP is necessary here.

Having identified low literacy skills as the core problem and the main factor undermining education quality, the GES set up a National Literacy Task Force (NLTF) in 2006 to review the situation and make recommendations for improving the literacy skills of school children. The task force recommended the adoption of the National Literacy Acceleration Program (NALAP),

> an instructional approach which provides teachers and pupils of the Lower Primary level (KG 1 – P3) with quality literacy materials, effective instruction and public support to read and write in their local language and in English. The methodology seeks to make pupils literate in their local language for a smooth transition to English. Therefore, by P3, it is expected that the pupils would be fully bilingual. (GES REPORT, 2010, P.1)

The specific objectives of NALAP are the following:

> To equip the majority of children leaving the basic education system with skills of literacy that would improve their learning abilities and serve as a springboard for further academic pursuit. This means that by P3, pupils would be functionally literate and would achieve reading fluency in their local language (L1) and in English (L2). (GES report, 2010:1)

In NALAP, 80% of instructional time is allocated to the local language in KG and P1 but gradually reduces to 50% by P3. In effect NALAP is in consonance with the 2004 policy.

As part of the research on the implementation of NALAP, a questionnaire, prepared for teachers, sought information about them and their pupils. With regard to the teachers, there were questions related to their background training and teaching experience, their first language, the language policy they were expected to implement,

whether or not they agreed with the policy, availability or otherwise of language teaching and learning materials, etc. The teachers were also asked to indicate class enrolment, pupils' L1, pupils' proficiency level in the local language and in English. Head teachers were interviewed and language classes were observed where possible. Altogether nine public Basic Schools were visited in the Eastern Region and ninety-four (94) teachers completed the questionnaire. In the Greater Accra Region, six Basic Schools, consisting of two private and four public schools were involved in the investigation and fifty-six (56) teachers participated in the study.

4. Results of the Survey

4.1. Teachers' Knowledge of 2004 Language Policy in Education

To assess teachers' knowledge and understanding of the policy, the questionnaire requested them to state the medium of instruction for KG 1 through P3.

Eastern Region: Of the 92 teachers who responded to this item, 5 (5.4%) indicated that it was English, 70 (76%) mentioned the local language, 17 (18.5%) said both English and the local language were to be used. A similar question was asked concerning P4-P6. Eighty-eight (88) (95.6%) selected English and 5 (5.4%) chose local language and English. Regarding when English was to be introduced to children, many of them responded that it was to begin in P4. As many as 42 (45.6%) selected P4; 20 (21.7%) said it was in KG; 19 (20.6%) mentioned P1 and 7 (7.6%), P3.

Greater Accra: The return rate of the questionnaire in the Greater Accra Region was rather low but the pattern was not different from what emerged in the Eastern Region. Answering the question on the language-in-education policy, 43 (76.8%) of the 56 respondents said the local language was the medium of instruction, 6 (10.7%) said it was English, and 7 (12.7%) said it was both the local language and English. Concerning the medium of instruction for the Upper Primary (P4 – 6), all the respondents, except one, said it was English. On the introduction of English, 25 (46.3%) reported that it was in P4, 12 (22.2%) said it was KG, 10 (18.5) P1, and 4 (7.4%) chose P3.

4.2. Local Language Proficiency of Teachers and Pupils

The implementation of the 2004 policy would be feasible if KG1 – P3 teachers were proficient in and trained to teach in both English and the local language.

Eastern Region: Of the ninety-three teachers who indicated their L1, eighty-one were native speakers of the language of the area; all the others also reported fluency in that

language. Concentrating on the lower primary level, where the use of the local language is crucial, I found that the twenty-two teachers who taught KG1 – P3 had native competence in the local language. Similarly, of the 1,846 children enrolment in KG 1 through P6, only twenty-five were reported to speak other languages as L1. However, further investigation revealed that these children were born in the area, and were in fact, bilingual first language speakers, that is, they learned the language spoken by their parents and that of the area simultaneously. Also, all the 749 lower primary children (KG 1 – P3) were reported to be fluent speakers of the local language.

Greater Accra: The teachers in the survey belonged to three main linguistic groups; 26 (46.43%) spoke Akan, 17 (30.4%) spoke Ewe, 12 (21.4%) spoke Ga, 1 (1.8%), Nzema and 1 (1.8%) Buli. Note that the first three languages in this list are also the majority languages in Ghana. Asked whether they spoke any other Ghanaian language, 24 (42.8%) indicated Akan, 22 (39.2%) Ga, and 5 (8.9%) Ewe. On the first language of the children, in each of the schools Akan, Ewe and Ga appeared in the responses though the teachers could not provide the exact number of children who spoke each of these languages as L1. Many of the teachers also simply wrote 'mixed', meaning that the children came from different linguistic backgrounds. Another interesting fact that emerged in the survey was that some teachers from the same school gave different answers to the question that required them to state the language spoken in the locality. Again, Akan, Ga and Ewe were reported.

4.3. Level of implementation of 2004 policy

Eastern Region: The statistics obtained in the Eastern Regions would suggest that the 2004 policy, that 'where teachers and learning materials are available and linguistic composition of classes is fairly uniform, the children's first language must be used as the dominant medium of instruction in kindergarten and lower primary' (Government White Paper, pp.27 & 28) would be implemented in the nine schools. This happened to be the case. The KG1 – P3 teachers reported that they used both the local language and English in instruction, even though some of them could not state the language policy accurately. All the schools visited reported that KG 1 – P3 teachers had been trained in the use of the new programme and were following its guidelines. Most of the teachers claimed that they had adequate textbooks and teaching materials for both English and local language classes. Also, P1-P3 children were being taught to read and write in both languages; this report was confirmed through class observation and examination of children's exercise books.

Greater Accra: The picture was very different here. Asked whether they taught in a Ghanaian language in their schools, only three of the KG 1 – P3 teachers answered in the affirmative. Of this number, it appeared that two perceived English as a Ghanaian language for when they were asked to name the textbook they used in teaching the school subjects, they wrote the title of their English textbooks. The conclusion then is that the 2004 policy was not being implemented effectively in the six schools surveyed in the region. The factors leading to this situation will be discussed presently.

5. Discussion of Results

The results indicated above paint a disturbing picture about the implementation of the 2004 policy. First, teachers in both regions seem to have inadequate knowledge and understanding of the 2004 policy they are expected to implement. Regarding the proficiency level of children and teachers in the language of the areas, as already mentioned, Akan is the most widely spoken of the estimated forty-four languages in the country as reported by Kropp-Dakubu et al. 1988. (Simons G. F. & Fennig 2018 put the number at seventy-three.) Akan is the first language of 40% of the population and is learned as a second or third language by a large proportion of the other speakers. The finding that all the teachers and children in the schools surveyed in the Eastern Region were fluent in the local language might be due to Akan being a majority language, and also the fact that the schools were located in largely monolingual rural communities. The survey in the Greater Accra Region tells a different story. The teachers in the six schools came from three main language backgrounds: Akan, Ewe, Ga in that order in terms of numbers. However, according to the teachers, even though the dominant language of the locality was not Ga, the District Education office had directed them to use Ga as the language of instruction alongside English in KG1 – P3 and to be taught as a subject from P4 onwards. Since most of the teachers and the pupils did not speak Ga, (as reported in the preceding section) the teachers simply set aside the directive and taught all the school subjects in English. Explaining why she did not teach in a Ghanaian language, a head teacher indicated that she had petitioned the Ghana Education Service to allow her school to use Akan or Ewe as language of instruction, but her appeal had been turned down. It needs to be clarified that the GES at the time of the research had mandated Ga to be used alongside English in all Basic Schools located in the Greater Accra Region in contravention of the policy which the GES itself was expected to implement. This one-size-fit-all policy for the region seems to have

been influenced by political considerations rather than educational and pedagogic ones.[4]

Another issue stemming from the above is that NALAP involves only eleven of the languages in the country. These are Asante (Ashanti) Twi, Akuapim (Akwapim) Twi, and Fante (Mfantse), Ewe, Ga, Dangme, Dagbane, Nzema, Dagaare, Gonja, and Kasem. Note that the first three of the list are mutually comprehensible and are classified by linguists as dialects of the same language, Akan, but are treated as separate languages in the school system. This fact then reduces the number of languages employed in NALAP to nine. This implies that many children are not receiving content knowledge and literacy in their first languages.

Related to the preceding point, endorsing seven languages, the GES Acting Deputy Director at the time of the investigation, Mr. Adu, argued that most minority language groups in Ghana were fluent in the dominant languages spoken in their regions, and therefore these bilinguals were expected to be taught in the dominant or second languages. However, some researchers have pointed out that this assertion might not be accurate and that children taught in their second languages might not have enough competence to understand lessons delivered in those languages, and that they might be disadvantaged in their school performance compared to the native speakers. Indeed, some researchers have shown that this is the case. For example, Dovlo (2011) compares the school achievement of speakers of Logba (a minority language in the Volta Region) who are taught in Ewe, the dominant language, with native Ewe speakers. He reports that the Logba children had a lower proficiency in Ewe, and consequently, a lower school achievement than their native Ewe counterparts.

Another implementation issue is the position of ethnic groups whose languages are not currently provided for in the school system. For example, the then Acting Deputy Director General of GES told this writer that NALAP was not being implemented in the whole of the Upper East Region, one of the ten administrative areas of Ghana. He explained that speakers of Gurene, the language of the regional capital, Bolgatanga, were insistent that their language had a bigger population and was spoken in a wider geographical area than Kasem, which had government approval to be used as the language of instruction in KG1 – P3 and subsequently to be taught as a subject in the whole region. They added that the assertion that speakers of Gurene were also fluent in Kasem was inaccurate. They called into question the criteria used by policy

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[4] For many years, the opinion leaders of the Ga, the original settlers of the Greater Accra Region, have complained that the presence of another major indigenous language in their area is undermining the use of Ga in their territory. The GES probably succumbed to pressure to remain inflexible in the policy in order to avoid the displeasure of the Ga people.

makers in their decision to endorse one language rather than another. Consequently, at the time of the research, NALAP therefore did not have the support of Gurene scholars and opinion leaders, who had also influenced teachers in their area to set aside the policy. It needs to be mentioned that Gurene speakers were not alone in their displeasure about the exclusion of their language from government endorsement.

Such protestations indicate two things; a) the importance of accurate linguistic and sociolinguistic facts that are relevant to language planning and language policy, and b) the need for policy makers to work in close consultation with the affected groups instead of imposing policy on them. Note that several multilingual countries the world over, have encountered similar challenges in language policy implementation. For example, Webb (2002) recalls the situation that occurred

> in South Africa when the Apartheid government decided that Afrikaans should be the medium of instruction in secondary schools along with English. Teachers and students rejected this decision, arguing that the teachers and pupils weren't proficient enough in Afrikaans, that textbooks were not available in Afrikaans, and that the people directly affected by the policy decision had never been consulted. The government, of course, rejected the objections of the teachers and pupils, and there was a direct confrontation between protesting pupils and police. (Webb 2002:5)

This well-known Soweto incident, which initially centred on language policy, shows clearly how central language is to many aspects of national life and the need for policies of inclusion rather than exclusion because of the far-reaching consequences that can be engendered when communities feel that their rights and interests are unjustifiably ignored.

In the case of Ghana, the non-adherence to NALAP as described in the preceding paragraphs seems to undermine a major policy of the Ghana Education Service. To graduate from the JHS level to SHS, students were required to pass in some core subjects, including Ghanaian Language. Since local language study is excluded from the school curriculum in the Upper East Region, the GES was compelled to modify the above criterion to exclude Ghanaian Language study from the list. This decision is likely to affect the level of attention that teachers and students might devote to the teaching and study of the local language since it is no longer a JHS graduation requirement.

From the discussion above, one can infer that there is the underlying assumption by those in authority that everyone will learn English and thereby participate in

governance and decision making at all levels. This manner of thinking does not take into consideration the reality. First, according to the 2000 census, 51% of the people are literate, speaking and writing in English. Though Simons and Fennig (2018) put the current literacy rate at 71%, it is necessary to add that a large percentage of the so-called English speakers do not have the level of proficiency that would enable them to participate meaningfully in major national discussions in that language. Second, formal education, which is the main avenue for the acquisition of English, is not available to a large percentage of the Ghanaian population. Compulsory education became a policy in Ghana in the early 1960s when Nkrumah's administration launched the Five-Year Development Plan. As part of this plan, every child in Ghana was supposed to receive elementary education. In practice, the policy was never enforced. In the 1990s, the Free, Compulsory, Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) was also launched. More than almost three decades on, basic education is still not accessible and not compulsory and not universal as a sizable percentage of Ghanaian children still remain outside the school system with many of them roaming the streets of the cities.

Currently, teaching in the local languages may not be attractive to many parents, students and teachers because competence in those languages does not seem to matter in educational, social and economic advancement. However, insistence on English only as the language of instruction at the lowest level of education, with the current high rate of pupils' failure in attaining appreciable proficiency levels, consigns many JHS leavers to the bottom of society. The social and economic cost to the nation stemming from lives that are thus jeopardized cannot be quantified in monetary terms. On the other hand, there is no guarantee that English will become the national language and the language of choice any time soon. Even if Ghana was lucky to achieve this feat of getting all its citizens to communicate effectively in English, making the local languages redundant, there are many reasons why the local languages should not be ignored, but these cannot be discussed here. Suffice it to say that the accumulated indigenous knowledge and the cultures embodied in those languages would gradually be lost.

An offshoot of the minimal attention given to the local language in Ghana's education system is that gradually but steadily many Ghanaians acquire and use English as their first language, having very little or no proficiency at all in a local language. Generally, such individuals become part of the elite, the opinion leaders and the people's representatives in governance. If the educational system gives these individuals the opportunity to become true bilinguals who have the flexibility to speak, read and write in a local language as well as in English, they would be able to communicate better with the non-English speaking masses of the population.

6. Recommendations

The preceding survey has revealed that attempts are being made to implement the 2004 language-in-education policy in some monolingual areas of the Eastern Region of Ghana while implementation has stalled in some multilingual territories of the Greater Accra Region due to the multiple languages spoken by the children and their teachers. The directive that in this region, Ga should be used as the language of instruction in all lower primary schools and also be taught as a subject from Primary 4 and beyond does not take into account the nature of the populations of the schools. It appears some flexibility in the choice of language of instruction in this region is necessary. Also, for NALAP to work for most children, if not all, the role of teachers should not be underestimated since they are the major players in what actually happens in the schools. In that regard, teacher proficiency in the indigenous language should be taken into account in the process of teacher posting. Similarly, teachers need to be educated to understand the policy and be provided with clear guidelines for effective implementation. Furthermore, to give true meaning to the NALAP principle of providing content knowledge and initial literacy to children in their own languages, it is essential for the Ministry of Education to draw up a plan through which it would gradually endorse most of the indigenous languages for use in schools. This should be the ultimate aim of NALAP, but until that goal is achieved, decisions regarding which indigenous language to be used in which locality should involve the affected communities in order to gain their full support and cooperation. (See also a report emanating from the School of Languages conference held at the University of Ghana, Legon in 2015.)[5]

7. Conclusion

This paper has focused on the frequent changes and inconsistencies associated with language in education policies endorsed by different administrations of Ghana. While some of the policies require that English, a world language and a major linguistic capital in contemporary times, which is also the adopted official language of the country, be used as the medium of instruction at the lowest level of education, others approve the local language medium at that stage, while still others allow the use of both English and the local language for the same purpose. As discussed in this paper, NALAP principles,

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[5] Report to the Minister on the first School of Languages Conference (SOLCON 1) held at the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) Conference Facility, University of Ghana, from 27th to 29th October, 2015. Theme: 'Multilingualism in the African Context: A Challenge or Resource?'

are in line with the existing policy which endorses the local language medium at the lowest level (KG – P2/3) and encourage the teaching of English as a subject at that stage as well. An investigation into the level of implementation of NALAP in the schools reveals that while it is quite successful in some monolingual communities, there are a number of challenges associated with it in multilingual areas. The paper ends with suggestions for addressing those implementation bottlenecks.

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REMINISCING THE CONTRIBUTION OF A PIONEER OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TWI[1] LANGUAGE: CLEMENT ANDERSON AKROFI

Mercy Akrofi Ansah

Abstract

The object of this paper is to evoke the life and contribution of the late C. A. Akrofi, a Ghanaian linguist, to the development of Twi, and to reflect on the relevance of his works to contemporary Akan linguistics studies. The study draws on tenets of the Rhetorical Narrative Theory (Herman et al 2012), an approach embedded in the Narrative Tradition, propounded by Epston and White (1990). Literature on the development of indigenous languages of Ghana attest that it is the preliminary work of Basel and Scottish Missionaries which formed the bedrock of the study and documentation of the languages (Bediako 1995; Debrunner 1967; Kpobi 2008). The paper is an account of the life of an individual who was undaunted by his physical incapacities, but with the foundation laid by the Basel and Scottish Missionaries, strove to leave a legacy in the study of Akan linguistics. Information for this study was partly acquired from narratives recorded from semi-structured interviews, and secondary sources from the library and archives of the Akrofi-Christaller Institute of Theology, Mission and Culture at Akropong Akuapem; the Akrofi family archives at Apirede-Akuapem and his personal records. The paper contributes to literature in interdisciplinary biographical research.

Keywords: Akan, Twi, missionary, education, grammar, dictionary, language.

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[1] The language C.A. Akrofi worked on is Twi. It refers to Asante and Akuapem, dialects of Akan. His studies were primarily based on the Akuapem dialect whose sound system and structure are akin to those of Asante. He sometimes uses Akan and Twi interchangeably.

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1. Introduction: The Place of Language in Missionary Work in Ghana and Beyond

This paper represents the life and work of Clement Anderson Akrofi, and the relevance of his legacy to current Akan linguistics studies. A survey of literature on the development of the indigenous languages of Ghana, and indeed many parts of Africa is closely linked with Christian missionary work. The establishment of schools was central to missionary work; all denominations opened schools to educate and also propagate the Christian gospel. As the missionaries produced grammars, dictionaries, textbooks and translations of religious texts, they laid the foundations for literature in African languages (Bediako 2014; Debrunner 1967; Groves 1948-58; Pawlikova-Vilhanova 2007). It is therefore appropriate that a section of this paper is devoted to the role language played in missionary work, particularly, in Ghana.

The study and use of indigenous languages occupied an important place in missionary work. The Basel and Scottish missionaries recognized the centrality of indigenous languages in their work, and therefore the need to develop and study them. Andreas N. Riis (1804-54) arrived in the Gold Coast in 1832 and founded the Basel Mission in Akuapem in 1835. After working fruitlessly for about 10 years without a single convert, a depressed Riis left, apparently having accomplished very little in conversions (Brokensha 1966). In a report to Basel he wrote: "…the language of the natives should not be suppressed in favour of English". The observation was followed up with a commitment to study Twi, the language of the indigenes and in 1854, Riis published the first compilation of Twi grammatical rules, including Twi-English; English-Twi Dictionary. This publication formed an invaluable resource for the beginning of research on Twi.

Between 1853-1868 J.G. Christaller, a linguist from Basel, Switzerland was sent to augment the efforts of earlier missionaries; he settled in Akropong and Kyebi to continue the work of Riis. Within six years, Christaller was able to publish the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in the Twi language. He also prepared other devotional materials in Twi for use in schools. All these efforts worked towards facilitating missionary work amongst the indigenes. Other works of Christaller were translations of key portions of the Bible, religious songs, and prayers into Twi and a publication of a canon in 1881, *The Dictionary of the Asante and Fanti Language called Tshi* which continues to serve as a very useful resource in Akan language research.

Missionary work in the Akuapem District contributed to linguistic studies and the development of education. The first Twi school, an Infant School (now Kindergarten), was started in 1844 at Akropong-Akuapem, making the Mission an important agent for transmission of knowledge and education (Debrunner 1967). Consequently, Twi became a 'book language' as J.G. Christaller described it. The development of Twi into a 'book language' was sown in the educational vision of the Basel Mission in the nineteenth century (Debrunner 1967: 173). The work of A. N. Riis and J.G. Christaller did not only raise the Twi language to a literary level, but went further to provide the basis of all later work in the language. It is upon this foundation that C.A. Akrofi built his later studies.

The language policy adopted by the Basel Mission further promoted indigenous languages. Per the policy, the African ought to hear the gospel, read the bible, worship and be taught in their own mother tongue. In view of the policy, the missionaries, on arrival were trained in language skills, and were required to apply themselves to studying and using the indigenous languages to propagate the gospel (Kpobi 2008: 78). Similarly, other indigenous languages like Ga were also developed through missionary work. Johannes Zimmermann produced the Ga Primer; Grammar and Dictionary in 1857 and 'A grammatical sketch of the Ga language' (volumes 1 and 2) in 1858. He also revised the New Testament in Ga in 1869. Through the initiative of the Basel Missionaries, Twi and Ga languages were selected for special study and became important parts of the curriculum of any school established by the Basel Mission (Kpobi 2008:78). Consequently, pioneering work in African languages may be justly attributed to the missionaries.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows: in section 2, the methods used for the study and sources of the data used are outlined. Sections 3-6 concentrate on Akrofi's childhood and education; family life; work life and public life respectively. In section 7, attention is paid to his works/publications and their relevance to current language and linguistics studies. The paper is summarized in section 8 where conclusions are drawn and some recommendations are offered.

2. Theoretical Framework

The research draws on the principles of Rhetorical Narrative Theory (Herman et al 2012), one of the approaches within the Narrative tradition founded by Epston and White (1990). In contemporary biographical research, biographers' interest has not only focused

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on the content, but also on how the story is told. It has been noted that the logical study of how a story was told could help in better understanding what really happened (Riemann 2003). Rhetorical Narrative theorists consider narrative as a rhetorical act rather than as an object, '… a purposive communication of a certain kind from one person (or a group of persons) to one or more others' They further define narrative simply as '… somebody telling somebody else, on some occasion, and for some purposes, that something happened to someone or something' (Herman et al 2012: 3). Generally, Narrative theorists are concerned with ways in which stories help people to make sense of the world, while also studying how people make sense of stories. To this end, they draw on ideas from such fields as rhetoric, sociolinguistics, philosophical ethics, cognitive science, folklore and gender theory to explore how narratives work as a tool for managing experience (Herman et al 2012).

In line with the rhetorical narrative tradition, this study highlights the experiences of the subject as narrated by close family members and contemporaries. As the interviewer (researcher) and interviewees engaged, the latter recounted the subject's life, giving readers an insight into the experiences of the subject and the social processes he had been involved in (Riemann 2003).

3. Methodology and Sources of Data

The study is purely qualitative. Group and individual discussions with acquaintances and family members of C. A. Akrofi were held. In many cases snowballing was effective in leading the researcher to key informants who were also interviewed. The narratives produced by the interviewees were subsequently recorded and transcribed verbatim. In all seven interviews were held with 5 men and 2 women. Table 1 illustrates the background of the interviewees.

Table 1 Background of interviewees

Name	Relationship	Age Range (years)	Occupation	Educational Background
J.H.K. Nketia	Colleague in academia	90-100	Professor Emeritus	PhD
Kwabena Boohene	Colleague in academia	80-90	Retired educationist; former Principal of the Presbyterian College of Education, Akropong-Akuapem	MA
Fred Sakyi	Domestic aide	60-70	Cocoa farmer	Middle School Leaving Certificate
Kwabena Ogyiri Mante	Domestic aide	80-90	Retired teacher/Assistant Director, Ghana Education Service	Post-Certificate A; Specialist, Twi
Kwadwo Tieku Apau	Nephew	40-50	Subsistence farmer	Middle School Leaving Certificate
Paulina Boateng	Niece	60-70	Retired Principal Nursing Officer	
Florence Owusu- Bamfo	Acquaintance	80-90	Retired Kindergarten teacher	Middle School Leaving Certificate

The Akrofi-Christaller Institute of Theology, Mission and Culture (ACI) Archives at Akropong Akuapem was a good resource. From the ACI archives, I had access to some work tools of C.A. Akrofi: his typewriter and one of his wheelchairs. At the family

archives at Apirede-Akuapem, I was shown personal items that the subject used in his lifetime; among these were family photographs, books, personal letters, academic certificates and a kerosene lamp which revealed many aspects of the life of C. A. Akrofi. Published materials such as books and newspaper articles were also consulted. Some pieces of information were also gleaned from unpublished sources such as speeches read by him (when he received his honorary doctoral degree) and also written and read in his honour (at the University of Cape coast), and tributes at his death.
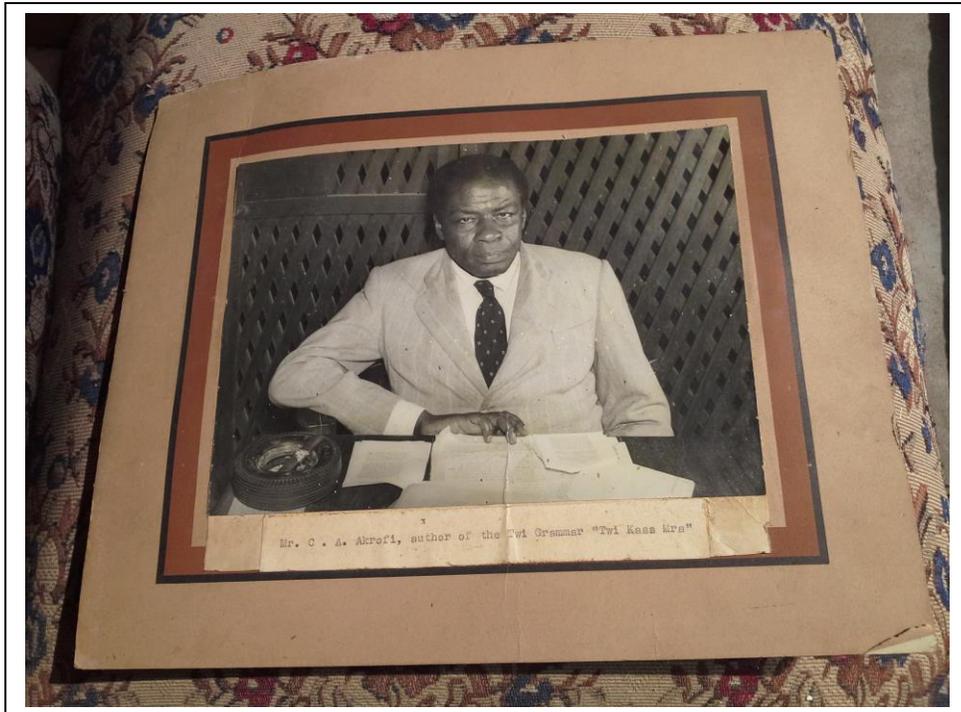
Fig. 1 C.A. Akrofi at his desk

4. Childhood and Education

Clement Anderson Akrofi, a.k.a C.A. Akrofi was born on July 1, 1901 at Apirede Akuapem in the Akuapem North District to Mr. Andreas Kwaku Adu and Rosina Akosua Twewa who were peasant farmers. His parents were among the first to join the Local

Basel Mission (now the Presbyterian Church). It is believed that his parents' early association with the Basel Missionaries might have instigated their resolve to enrol their son, young Akrofi, in school, defying numerous bouts of sicknesses. Unfortunately, after a couple of years in Primary School, young Akrofi was hit by a mild form of childhood paralysis. With support from Dr. Mueller a German stationed at the Basel Mission Hospital at Aburi-Akuapem and Dr. Hev at Odumase Krobo, he received partial recovery and completed Primary school in 1914 without any break. With tenacity and moral support from family, friends and teachers, he continued to Middle School at the Presbyterian Boys' Middle School, Salem at Akropong Akuapem (January 1915-December 1918). Regardless of much apprehension from the Principal of the Scottish Mission Training College (now P.C.E) at Akropong Akuapem, Akrofi entered the college in January 1921 and completed in December 1923. The anxiety expressed by the Principal was informed by Akrofi's physical disabilities. His fear was that he would not be able to cope, because there were not the necessary facilities to aid his mobility.

It is interesting to note that, before serious academic work had begun, Akrofi had proved all the sceptics wrong by coming tops in a national examination for first year students. This success spurred him on, and it also gave cause for the tutors to offer him all the assistance he needed for his academic pursuit. At the Training College, his academic interest was in English and Twi. He studied books written by the Basel Missionaries, notably, A.N. Riis and J. G. Christaller, on rules and principles guiding the writing of Twi. His interest in the Twi language was inspired by the two missionaries, and whilst at the training college, he devoted much time to study their writings. With much determination and focus, Akrofi completed his teacher training programme in December 1923. For C.A. Akrofi, and typical of a scholar, studying did not cease until he was called to his maker on July 1, 1967; he spent time investigating and studying work on the Twi language that his predecessors had done.

5. Family Life

C. A. Akrofi's family life may be described as communal. As one interviewee remarked: *'na yɛdɔɔso pa ara wɔ fie',* meaning, 'we were many at home'. Reasons attributed to the large numbers included his desire to support financially disadvantaged young boys through school, and also the mobility assistance he needed from those young boys, which made the relationship mutually beneficial. He often kept close ties with the young boys

even after they had left his home to live independently. He maintained such close relationships through letter-writing (see Passage 1 for the English translation; original text as appendix 4) and occasional visits by the young boys who had grown up to be young men.

A correspondence in 1958 with a boy (Ogyiri Mante) he lived with who had gone through teacher training, and had qualified as a teacher bears witness to his communal family life. Portions of the letter are translated as follows:

Passage 1

...I believe that if it is God's will, Ata and the others will be confirmed on November 30, but I am a little worried, because preparations are not going on well at all. Ata needs a white suit and also a pair of palm-beach suit, a hat, a proper shirt and a pair of white canvass shoes. In addition to all that, we need to have money for housekeeping for the day. But we have not heard from their parents at all; so when you receive this letter, let your father know about the preparations, so that he tells us how he wants Ata's confirmation to be.

I end here with many greetings from Auntie, the children and me.

Fig. 2 The wedding of Mr. C.A. Akrofi and Mrs. Deede Akrofi at Akropong-Akuapem.

The marriage between C.A. Akrofi and Deede yielded no children, but they lived with many children whom they nurtured as their very own. It is reported that at every point in time, there were at least 6 children living in their home at '*Mohr Turo*'[2] at Akropong Akuapem, near the then Scottish Mission Training College, now Presbyterian College of Education (P.C.E.)

6. His Work Life

Clement Anderson Akrofi has been described as an educator, theologian, linguist, researcher and bible translator (Dwarko 1977; Bediako 1998). These descriptives or titles summarise his vocation and legacy. His experience as clerk was for about a year (1919-1920) when he had completed Middle School. He worked as a clerk in a Produce Buying Company, but resigned due to physical disability. C.A. Akrofi had demonstrated intellectual competence at the Scottish Mission Training College (SMTC); it therefore came as no surprise when after a successful completion of his studies, he was employed as an English and Twi tutor in 1923. His duties included the scoring of English exercises and the teaching of Twi. He performed both duties creditably for a couple of years, and then he was discharged from English assignments, and was required to focus on Twi only. Throughout his work life, Akrofi battled with physical incapacities. Although he remained calm and undeterred by this condition, it impeded his free movement. Consequently, his students attended classes in his home.

C.A. Akrofi did not only teach in the regular school, he also had private students. One informant, Mr. Ogyiri Mante commented that he used to be virtually inundated by people who came to him to learn Twi for functional purposes, and also those who came to consult him on issues in connection with the grammar of the Twi language. According to Mr. Ogyiri, when his wife wanted him to have a break from the numerous visitors, C.A. Akrofi never agreed to that. Whenever he sensed that there was a visitor, he would shout: *'Ɛyɛ hena? Momma no mmra!'* meaning, 'who wants to see me? Allow him to

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[2] *Mohr Turo* means Mohr's garden. This was a garden cultivated by Rev. Joseph Mohr, a Basel Missionary where a house was later built for the Basel missionaries. The house was occupied by C.A. Akrofi when he was a tutor at the Scottish Mission Training College, now Presbyterian College of Education.

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come'. His private students included diplomats, civil servants, teachers and ministers of the gospel.

As a researcher, he conducted studies into spoken and written Twi. His research and eventual publication on Twi orthography was founded on the works of J.G. Christaller and A. N. Riis. Among his consultants were chiefs and spokespersons or *akyeame*. He studied works of popular English authors (e.g., William Shakespeare and Geoffrey Chaucer). He also worked with colleagues like J. H. Nketia, S.K. Aboa; S. W. Asomaning; Rev. Amoako; E.O Koranteng and Krakye Denteh. In 1920-1929, he worked closely with Prof. Rapp, a linguist from the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz, Germany on Twi Orthography.

He was commissioned by the Christian Council of Ghana to revise the Twi Bible, a job which was jointly undertaken with Rapp. Some major decisions taken by Akrofi and Rapp included the removal of diacritical marks from some letters in the Twi Bible. The revision was guided by the principles documented in the 'Twi Spelling Book' yielding a new version of the Twi Bible, devoid of diacritical marks, which was initially opposed by a section of the Christian community. The rules and principles, guiding the writing of Twi (Twi Spelling Book) were however approved by the Education Department of the Gold Coast, now Ministry of Education, Ghana (Asare Opoku 1967; Souvenir Brochure 1974).

His research into Twi was recognized at both national and international levels. Subsequently, he was appointed, the External Examiner in Twi by the Universities of London and Cambridge for their overseas examinations. Locally, C.A. Akrofi also worked as an Examiner for the Teachers' Promotion Examinations in Ghana. In 1930, the Education Department appointed him as advisor on all problems regarding the writing of Twi. By this appointment, he was given the charge of endorsing all Twi manuscripts for publication. What this meant was, before any publication of any Twi material was carried out, it had to be edited and approved by C.A. Akrofi. The West African Examination Council also appointed him as examiner for the West African School Certificate Examination (Dwarko 1977; Souvenir Brochure Nov. 30, 1974). All put together, it is amazing how C.A. Akrofi managed to carry out all those tasks, including attending meetings of the numerous committees and boards on which he served. He was obviously undaunted by his physical disabilities as his legacy bears witness to that.

He officially retired from government service in 1956, after which he devoted much of his time and effort in working for the Presbyterian Church of Ghana (Asare Opoku 1967). C.A. Akrofi continued to work on the Twi language, teaching it privately

and serving on related committees to ensure its development. C.A. Akrofi served on various committees and boards which were language-related. They may be summarized as follows: Vernacular Literature Bureau; Presbyterian Church Literature Committee; Revised Twi Bible Advisory Committee; Advisory Committee on Vernacular Orthography (Akan Panel 1); Interim Editorial Committee of the Vernacular Literature Board; Textbook and Publication Sub-committee; and Member, British and Foreign Bible Society.

7. Public Life

It is reported that although C.A. Akrofi was confined to his desk for the most part of his life, he was well known and well sought after. One of his aides, who was interviewed remarked that, he would often send him to people he knew in Akropong, with specific directions. Beyond the Akuapem ridge, he had acquaintances at the national level too. In 1960 for instance when Queen Elizabeth 11 visited Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah introduced C.A. Akrofi to her as the 'Chaucer of our language'. He interacted with Dr. Kwame Nkrumah at official levels and advocated for linguistic nationalism, the adoption of a national language which he believed was the only weapon against tribalism and the fragmentation of national effort. To all intents and purposes, Twi was his preference. This dream, however was not fulfilled until his demise, and even now, has still not materialised.

8. An Overview of Akrofi's Major Works/Publications

The following is the list of works/publications by C.A. Akrofi which was retrieved. In the section that follows the list, an overview of four notable publications of his is presented.

- 1937. *Twi Kasa Mmara* (Twi Grammar Book). Accra: Waterville
- With E.L. Rapp.1938. *A Twi Spelling Book (Twi Nsɛm Nkorɛnkorɛ Kyerɛwbea).* Accra: Government Printing Office.
- With J.J. Adjei. 1948. *Mmɔdenbɔ bu mmusu abasa so* (short stories in Twi). London, New York: T. Nelson.
- 1958. *Twi Mmebusɛm.* (Twi Proverbs). Kumasi: Presbyterian Book Depot. (Earlier ones published by Riis, Christaller, Rattray).

- – With G.L. Botchway. 1968. *An English, Twi, Ga Dictionary*. Accra: Waterville.
- – With E. L. Rapp. 1964. *Anyamesɛm anasɛ Kyerɛw Kronkron Apam dedaw ne Apam foforo nsɛm wo Twi mu* (Holy Bible translated from the original tongues into the Twi language). Accra: Bible Societies in West Africa.
- – With J. Yeboah Dankwa. 1973. *History of the Presbyterian Training College, 125 years Anniversary.* Accra: Presbyterian Book Depot.
- – *Lidia ne Margaret.* (Two women of the Cameroons). A true life story of two Cameroonian women who worked as pathfinders for the spread of Christianity.
- – *Yesu fi n'adwuma ase* (Jesus begins His work).

It is fitting to reiterate the words of C.A. Akrofi in acknowledging the solid foundation laid by his predecessors, upon which he built. In his own words, on the occasion when he was receiving[3] an award of a Doctorate Degree in Theology by Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz, Germany on 28th October, 1960 he said:

> *It is my hope that the greater work of our predecessors on Twi and Fante- of the gallant pioneer A.N. Riis, the immortal Christaller, David Asante, Balmer and Grant, Gaddiel Acquaah- and that of Prof. Dr. Rapp as well as of other Twi and Fante scholars, will lead to the creation of a chair for the national language of Ghana in the proposed University of Ghana as a first step towards the eventual acceptance of Akan as the national language of Ghana.*

C.A. Akrofi was the first Ghanaian to produce the first Grammar Book of Twi, written in Twi. In the foreword to this feat, *Twi Kasa Mmara (*Twi Grammar), the author of the foreword, Professor Westermann[4] stated among others: 'He has learned to look at it from the African angle, that is to say, from the viewpoint of the language itself and not from preconceived European ideas' (1937: vii). This observation is akin to a key tenet of Basic Linguistic Theory[5], put forward by R.M.W. Dixon. 'The theory emphasizes the need to

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[3] The award was presented and received at the Great Hall of the University of Ghana on October 28, 1960.

[4] Formerly, Director of the International Institution of African Languages and Cultures.

[5] Basic Linguistic Theory is a term coined by R.M.W Dixon to describe the theoretical and basic concepts that are usually used in grammatical description.

describe each language in its own terms, rather than imposing on individual languages, concepts whose primary motivation comes from other languages' (Dixon 1997: 211).

In what may be considered a comparison with previous works done on the grammar of Twi by the missionaries, Westermann admitted that '… it is obvious that an African language can best be interpreted by an African scholar writing in his own language' (1937: vii).

Twi Kasa Mmara was published with the approval of the Department of Education of the Gold Coast to meet the need for a Twi Grammar book, written in Twi. The book delineates the grammatical and stylistic rules of Twi; it explains how Twi must be spoken and written. For scholars who are interested in studying, documenting and describing undescribed languages, it serves as a stimulus. The author's target users included teachers in Akan-speaking Junior Schools (now Basic School) and students of Senior Schools; Secondary Schools and Training Colleges.

The book is divided into three broad chapters. In the first part, the author introduces readers to the Phonetics of the language and the structure of the syntactic units of the language. There is also a general introduction to the parts of speech which is given a more detailed treatment in the second section of the book. The last section treats sentence structure, the various tense/aspect types and handles more of the parts of speech found in the language. Finally, in the appendices, E.L. Rapp outlines the criteria for classifying Twi nouns. There are also paradigms of verbs in ten different tenses. Finally, there are samples of sentence analyses and a study of punctuations in Twi. In all, *Twi Kasa Mmara* serves as a good model for anyone who would like to write a Reference Grammar for a language. It is also a handbook for teachers of Akan at all levels of education in Akan speaking areas in Ghana.

Yet another feat of C.A. Akrofi is the Twi Spelling Book *(Twi Nsɛm Nkorɛnkorɛ Kyerɛwbea)* which was authored with E.L. Rapp and published in 1938.This book is principally on orthography, rules governing the writing and spelling of Twi. In this book, words are arranged in alphabetical order where the first letter of the root is used. This work replaced the script adopted for Twi language in 1927, and also that which was revised by Christaller and published in 1933. It is important to note that the authors followed the 1933 edition as far as possible. However, it became necessary for Akrofi and Rapp to revise the two earlier versions: 1927, 1933 to resolve a number of inconsistencies in spelling.

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Some of the topics the Twi Spelling Book *(Twi Nsɛm Nkorɛnkorɛ Kyerɛwbea)* treats are rules concerning the division of syllables and writing reduplications and repetitions. In addition, the book presents twenty specimen paradigms of verbs, conjugated in the various tense/aspectual forms, operational in Twi. Upon outlining the rules of spelling, a new edition of the Holy Bible in Twi was done by C.A. Akrofi and Rapp. It is reported that whereas a section of the reading public kicked against the revision, another section, including the Ministry of Education embraced it as the standard for writing Twi (Souvenir Brochure Nov. 30, 1974). A comparison of the following passages, 1 (translated from Greek by the early missionaries) and 2 (from the current Twi, Akuapem Holy Bible) illustrates the contribution of Akrofi and Rapp in making the reading of Twi less cumbersome.

Passage 1a. (Matthew 6: 33) (Translated from the original Greek)
"Na moṅf̌wef̌we̥ Onyaṅkõpo̥ṅ ahenni nè ne trẽnẽ kaṅ;
 na wo̥de yinom ṅhĩnã be̥kā mo hõ".

Passage 1b. (Matthew 6: 33) (Current version of the Bible in Twi: Akuapem; United Bible Societies, 1964)
"Na monhwehwɛ Onyankopɔn ahenni ne ne trenee kan;
  na wɔde eyinom nyinaa bɛka mo ho."

Passage 1c. (Matthew 6: 33) English (New International Version)
"But seek first his kingdom and his righteousness, and all
These things will be given to you as well".

 Passage 2a. Matthew 7:7 (Translated from the original Greek)
Múmmisà, na wo̥be̥mã mo; moṅf̌wef̌we, na mobehú;
 mompem, na wo̥behĩe̥ mo.
Passage 2b. **(Current version of the Bible in Twi: Akuapem; United Bible Societies, 1964).**
Mummisa, na wɔbɛma mo, monhwehwɛ, na mubehu,
mompem na wobehiɛ mo.

Passage 2c (English Translation, New International Version)
"Ask and it will be given to you; seek and you will find;

Knock and the door will be opened to you".

Passages 1a and 2a are texts which were directly translated from Greek, the work of the Basel Mission Society. The letters have diacritical marks for ease of pronunciation for the non-speakers of Twi. It is observed that the advanced vowels /e, o/ have been underlined to indicate /ɛ, ɔ/. In some instances, tone has been marked to resolve ambiguity. For instance, the meaning of the word *mummisa* will change if marked differently. Nasal vowels are also marked. The sound /fw/ (2a) has been replaced with the labialized pre-palatal fricative sound /hw/. These are but a few issues that Akrofi and Rapp had to resolve to simplify the writing and pronunciation of Twi. From the project, Akrofi and Rapp compiled rules that were intended to guide the writing of Twi. It is important to note that this work served as a basis upon which further work on the language was done. In Dolphyne (2006: 52) for instance, there is a revision of the division of the Akan syllable where the nasal is considered as a syllable, contrary to the rule of Akrofi (1938: 8).

Akrofi's collection of 1,000 proverbs, *Twi Mmebusɛm* (Twi Proverbs), was from discussions with elderly men, chiefs, *akyeame* (the chief's spokepersons) and Twi speakers over a period of years. *Twi Mmebusɛm* (Twi Proverbs) is structured as follows: the text of each proverb is given, accompanied by a literal English translation. An explanation of the proverb is given in Twi, and for some, the use or the context in which the proverb may be used is given. These are also translated into English. For instance, Proverb number 334 is set out as follows:

Proverb: *Ade pa na ɛtɔn ne ho.*
Meaning*: Obi aguade ye, a ɔmmrɛ ne tɔn ho, efisɛ ɛyɛ ade pa*
Usage*: Wɔde hyɛ aguadifo, adentɔnfo, akuafo ne ade nkuran.*

English Translation:
Literally, a good thing sells itself
Meaning: A good thing advertises itself and sells quickly.
Usage: Used in encouraging producers of cocoa (and other crops) to produce only the best quality.

Under Appendices, a few folktales have been given as a means of showing the relation between Twi folktales and proverbs. Twi proverbs, or proverbs in general are usually used to support or corroborate a statement and it is expected that a speaker who wants to encourage and sustain interest in their audience may use the contents of this book for that purpose. *Twi Mmebusɛm* is also recommendable to learners of Twi as a second language, where the learner speaks and understands English. It is also an invaluable resource for teachers of Twi as a subject, and the growing number of people who are seeking to understand Akan folklore. In 1968, a multilingual dictionary, an *English-Twi-Ga Dictionary* was jointly published by C.A. Akrofi and G.L. Botchway. This was later revised to include an Ewe component by B.K. Takyi. The purpose of this was to help both readers and writers to use words in the indigenous languages correctly. In this publication, English words are arranged alphabetically; for each English entry, Akan, Ewe, Ga equivalents are given. The dictionary is a useful reference material for students, foreign scholars and learners of any of the three indigenous languages. C.A. Akrofi's works reveal that his primary interest was in the intensive study of the Twi language. He subsequently produced reference works and material that would ensure good Twi writing.

　　C.A. Akrofi's work indirectly produced other scholarly works that cannot be overlooked. It is noteworthy that a Ghanaian Twi-speaking professor of Classics in the University of Ghana, Lawrence Henry Yaw Ofosu-Appiah, employed the knowledge he gained from work done on Twi to translate into Twi, whole portions from the classics of ancient Greek literature. In 1962, he translated Homer's Odyssey into Twi which was used as a set book by the Ministry of Education. He also translated Plato's Apology and Sophocles' Antigone. Commenting on the Greek-Twi translation, Bediako (2014: 53) writes: 'If Hebrew and Greek provided the means for Africans to have access to the fullness of the divine truth in the bible, now an African language served to mediate to Africans the literary treasures of another people'. Ofosu-Appiah's work is a notable scholarly achievement in the Twi language, an achievement which is inextricably linked to the foundation laid by C.A. Akrofi.

　　C.A. Akrofi was awarded and recognized in diverse ways for his contribution towards the development of Twi:
- January 1944. Membership of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire by King George VI of England. (M.B.E)
- July 1960. Award of Doctorate Degree in Theology by the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz, Germany. Award presented by Prof. E.I. Rapp on October 28, 1960 at the Great Hall of the University of Ghana.

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− The Institute of Theology, Mission and Culture has been named after C.A. Akrofi and J.G. Christaller at Akropong-Akuapem.
− A street on the campus of the University of Cape coast has been named after C.A. Akrofi (Akrofi Street, leading to the University Practice High School).

9. Conclusion

Clement Anderson Akrofi has been aptly described as scholar, author, and linguist. His life and work was sustained by courage, faith and the grace of God. He defied his physical challenges and left an irreplaceable legacy which formed the basis of linguistics studies in Akan and other Ghanaian languages. All of this was however made possible by the solid foundation laid by the Basel and Scottish Missionaries of the nineteenth century. His published works serve as invaluable resource material for the study of languages which are yet to be described, and also for the teaching of Twi and Akan on the whole. However, it is obvious that further studies done on the Akan languages may have led to a number of revisions of the principles C.A. Akrofi put forward. In line with findings from current linguistics studies, a review of some of his works, for example, the 'Twi Spelling Book' is recommended.

In the spirit of interdisciplinary research whose findings have the potential of benefitting a wider academic audience, this study adds to interdisciplinary literature in the area of biographical research. More of interdisciplinary research must therefore be encouraged as a response to the over specialization that is taking over many academic domains.

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Inauguration Brochure: 19th April 1987. The Akrofi-Christaller Memorial Centre. For Mission Research and Applied Theology.

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Appendices

Exhibits

Appendix 1. **One of C.A. Akrofi's wheelchairs kept at the family's archives**

Appendix 2. A second wheelchair kept at the A.C.I. archives

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Appendix 3. The typewriter used by C.A. Akrofi

P. O. Box 19,
Akropong-Akwapim.

12th November, 1953.

Me ba pa Mante,

Wo nhoma no abɛka me nsa na meda wo ase pii.

Migye midi sɛ Onyame ma ho kwan a, wobɛhyira
Ata nom November 30, nanso ɛhaw me kakra sɛ wɔn ahoboa
nkɔ so koraa. Ɛhia Ata atade fitaa soro ne fam, ne Palm-
beach nso soro ne fam, kyɛw biako, shirt pa biako, ne white
canvas shoes. Eyinom akyi na ɛsɛ sɛ yɛpɛ nea wɔde bɛbɔ
akɔnhama da no.

Nso yɛnte awofo no nka koraa; enti nhoma yi
ka wo nsa a, ma wo papa nte na yɛnhu sɛnea ɔpɛ sɛ yɛyɛ
Ata nhyira no.

Misi ha kyia wo papaapa, me ne Antie ne mmofra
no nyinaa.

Me,

C. A. Akrofi

....
C. A. Akrofi.

Mr. Ogyiri Mante,
Local Council Middle School,
FANKYENEKɔ.

Appendix 4. A personal letter from C.A. Akrofi to Ogyiri Mante

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References made in the notes or in the text should, for the most part, conform to the American Sociological Association (ASA) Style Guide, 5th edition, including the author's last name, the date of publication and the relevant page number(s), e.g. (Bodomo 2004:18-9).

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