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INTRODUCTION

The papers in this *GJL* special issue stem from presentations given at the 4th School of Languages Conference (SOLCON IV) held at the University of Ghana from 3rd to 5th November, 2021. The theme for the conference was "Literary, Linguistic and Cultural Studies in a time of Crisis". The purpose of the conference was to bring together researchers, specialists and enthusiasts of language study and literature in general to exchange evidence-based insights on current issues in language, literary and cultural studies, and to ask probing questions on pertinent matters in these fields. The conference took place virtually during the COVID-19 pandemic, at a time of heightened awareness of the indispensability of human interaction – mediated via language – to the well-being and advancement of society and the maintenance of culture. Several papers, including the keynote address, engaged this theme from various perspectives. In addition, there were many other papers which spanned the gamut of disciplines in language and literature, examining issues in phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, sociolinguistics, African literature, pragmatics, psycholinguistics, discourse analysis, language teaching and learning, among others.

The six papers selected for this issue represent the diversity of the research presented at SOLCON IV. They are from the disciplines of literature (Lare, Mpotsiah), sociolinguistics (Boakye, Akpanglo-Nartey and Amuzu), phonology (Ofori), morphosyntax (Nindow) and language learning and teaching (Owusu). Lare directly engages the conference theme in a paper that examines two literary works by the eminent African authors, *Chinua Achebe* and *Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie.* He investigates how these two works, born out of crises (the latter being the COVID-19 pandemic) mould the authors' psyche and change their perspectives and goals. He draws parallels between the crisis of war and that of loss and disease to show how these authors and society draw on lessons learnt during adversity to improve their affective health and to reinvent themselves for the better. Mpotsiah's paper addresses the question of language use in written African literature. His engagement with enduring debates between relativists and universalists on the language of African Literature is with a view to underscore the impasse between the two viewpoints, and their deviation from the essence of African written literature. The paper proposes that rather, a premium must be placed on the projection of African cultural values and experiences in African written literature in spite of the language of communication.

Boakye, Akpanglo-Nartey and Amuzu interrogate the accuracy of the term "free variation" for describing the distribution of the sounds [r], [l] and [d] in intervocalic position and [r] and [l] in second consonant position of CCV syllable structures in three Akan words. They find that some dialectal and social variables correlate with the propensity to use particular variants: [d] is favoured more by speakers of the Asante dialect, and young, educated female speakers of both the Asante and Fante dialects showed a higher tendency of using [r] over [l]. In his phonological study of place names in Akan, Ofori sets out to investigate the rules and constraints which govern the resolution of vowel sequences at stem-stem boundaries in partative place-names. Guided by rule-based and constraint-based phonology, Ofori

found that functional, phonetic and phonological markedness were significant factors in determining outputs for partative place names and that there was a preference for the maintenance of marked units over unmarked units and unpredictable units over predictable units.

Nindow's work examines the morphosyntax of proverbial names in Dagbani. He identifies three types of proverbial names: single morpheme names, double morpheme names and names that constitute phrases and sentences. He argues that the form of these proverbial names is mediated by syntactic, morphological and phonological considerations. His work demonstrates the importance of understanding the interface between morphology, syntax, and phonology. For his part, Owusu presents findings from Ghanaian language teachers regarding virtual teaching and learning (VTL) during the COVID-19 crisis when face-to-face teaching was suspended. The study, which employs a mixed methods approach, surveys 10 language teachers from Sunyani Technical University and presents the challenges they faced, their preferences for learning platforms and learning models. It further makes recommendations for the formulation of VTL policy and pedagogy to cater for crisis situations and beyond.

All the papers in this issue contribute to our understanding of language and its relationship to culture, society and the human condition. They make new discoveries on which future scholarship could build on in the quest to fully harness the power of language and literature in advancing society. We hope you will find them as insightful and engaging as we did.

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Accra

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SOCIOPHONETICS OF [r] IN AKAN

Bernard Boakye
Rebecca Atchoi Akpanglo-Nartey
Evershed Kwasi Amuzu

The study interrogates what has hitherto been called 'free variation' in Akan (cf. Schachter and Fromkin (1968), Dolphyne (1988), and Abakah (2004)), i.e., the alternation of [r], [l] and [d] in intervocalic position (V_V) and the alternation of [r] and [l] at the second consonant (C_2) position of a CCV syllable structure in various dialects of the language. The study follows the quantitative sociolinguistic approach pioneered by Labov (1966) to investigate the extent to which the choice of one rather than the other of these sounds is not free but is dependent on the social backgrounds of speakers (described in terms of their age, gender, educational background and what dialect of Akan they speak). Interview and picture elicitation were the primary instruments of collecting data from 120 respondents (60 speakers of Asante and Fante respectively). The study did not uncover any major dialectal difference in the alternation between [r] and [l] but finds that [d] is decidedly an Asante variant that competes with the other two sounds in the speech of adults. The data however shows that the social variables age, level of education, and gender do influence the choice of [r] versus [l] in both Asante and Fante. Young, educated speakers, especially female speakers, demonstrated a higher tendency of using the [r] variant, which seems to have emerged as the most prestigious of the three variants.

1. Background

The distribution of [r], [l] and [d] in Akan words has piqued the interest of linguists. Schachter (1962) and Schachter and Fromkin (1968) were the first to study these sounds in detail. Schachter and Fromkin (1968) establish that [d] and [r] are in complementary distribution in Akan, arguing that:

> The surface realizations of progressive, however have the initial [r] (except in those in which the CV form of the morpheme is replaced by another form by means of P-rules. As noted… [r] does not normally occur initially in native Akan morphemes, but is, instead, in complementary distribution with [d] which occurs only morpheme initially (that is at the systematic phonemic level, [d] and [r] are not distinct) (p. 124-5).

They are of the view that [l] is not a native Akan sound, that it is a sound borrowed by Akan speakers who alternate it with [d] and [r].

Dolphyne (1988:42-3) also sees [r] and [d] as being in complementary distribution in some environments, which she describes as follows:

> …[d] and [r] complement each other in their distribution, since [d] occurs mainly in stem-initial position, and [r] mainly in stem-medial position… (p. 43)

Dolphyne highlights the free variation of [r], [d] and [l] when she observes that they "are members of the same phoneme, …different pronunciation of the same basic consonant," (p. 43) that alternate in intervocalic position in some words in Fante and Asante, as in:

(1) Fante: **ɔlɛ** / **ɔrɛ** / **ɔdɛ** 'he says' (p. 43)

(2) Asante: **akɔlaa** / **akɔraa** / **akɔdaa** 'child' (p. 43)

Like Schachter and Fromkin (1968), she argues that [l] is a borrowed sound "that mainly occurs in loan words such as 'lorry', 'ball'" (p. 42).

Abakah (2004) is the most comprehensive work on the distribution of the three sounds. Essentially, he disagrees with Dolphyne's position that on the one hand [r] and [d] are in complementary distribution in the environments she referred to. On the other hand, he agrees that the three sounds ([r], [d] and [l]) are in free variation in the intervocalic position in some other words. There are two distinctive aspects of his work, however. One is his stance that the three sounds are nonetheless contrastive (i.e., phonemic) in some words, as in the following pairs (p. 35):

(3) **duro** 'a bunch (of say, banana)'
    dudo 'concocted medicine'
(4) **bɔri** 'poison'
    bɔdi 'tumor'
(5) **kwasiara** 'Kwasi only'
    kwasiada 'Sunday'

The other distinctive aspect of his work is his stance that [l] is not a borrowed sound. In this respect, he argues that [l]

> …occurs at word-initial position in words, including the following, some of which may have started off as slang but are regular / formal words today… At word-initial position, it appears [l] is not in free variation with either [d] or [r]. At least, we have so far not heard of any speaker producing any of the above words with an initial [r] or [d]. (p. 45)

The examples he gave are (p. 45):

(6) [lotoo] 'filthy teeth'
(7) [lætenĩ] (Fa-An.) 'a liar'
(8) [lat^{s}ɪɪ] (Fa) / [latɪɪ] (Ak.As.) 'stuff'

The current study focuses on what these studies have called 'free variation', i.e., the alternation of [r], [l] and [d] in intervocalic position (V_V), as illustrated in examples (1) and (2) above, and the

alternation of [r] and [l] at the second consonant (C_2) position of a CCV[1] syllable structure in Asante, Fante and other dialects of Akan as illustrated in examples (9) and (10) below:

(9) **bra** / **bla** 'come'
(10) **frɛ** / **flɛ** **'**call'

The objective is to interrogate the extent to which the choice of one rather than the other of these sounds in the above-mentioned environments is not free but is dependent on the social backgrounds of speakers who use them. The research question, therefore, is: "To what extent do native speakers' sociolinguistic backgrounds (described in terms of their age, gender, educational background and the dialect of Akan they speak) define their choice of one rather than the other of these sounds in the two environments?" The work was pursued within the Variationist Sociolinguistics paradigm.

The organization of the remainder of paper is as follows: Section 2 reviews the related literature and we explain our methodology for data collection and the theoretical framework in section 3. Section 4 is devoted to data analysis. Our concluding remarks appear in section 5.

2. Literature Review

In discussing the consequences of free variation on grammar, Kager (2004) opines that the fact that variation is 'free' does not imply that it is totally unpredictable. He argues that a wide range of extra grammatical factors, including sociolinguistic variables (gender, age and class, etc.), do influence the choice of one rather than the other of the sounds that are seemingly freely alternated. We shall discuss just a few of those studies where social factors have accounted for so-called free variation.

Al-Ali and Arafa (2010) worked with speakers of Jordanian Arabic in Irbid, some of whom realized fricative /θ/ as [t] and [s]. For example, their alternation in [θala:t], namely [tala:t] [sala:t] 'three'. The fricative /ð/ could be realized as either [d] or [z] in a word like [ðahaba], namely [dahaba] and [zahaba] 'he went'. From the perspective of the variationist sociolinguistics paradigm, the framework they used in analyzing their data, /θ/ is seen as a phonetic variable that has three realizations or variants, [θ], [s] and [t], while the variable /ð/ has [ð], [d] and [z] as its variants. Al-Ali and Arafa's auditory analysis revealed that educational setting of respondents influenced their choice of variant and that females preferred more non-local variants than males. Thus, men and individuals with high school education have a higher tendency to maintain local variants [θ] and [ð] whereas women and individuals with university education have a higher tendency to adopt non-local prestigious variants [t], [s] and [d] and [z].

Ammour (2012) similarly examined the phonetic variable /ɖ/ which had two variants, [ʈ] and [ɖ] in the Nedroma Arabic dialect in Algeria; for instance, their alternation in [biiʈ] and [biiɖ] 'eggs' brings about no distinction in meaning. They also investigated the variable /ʤ/ which has

[1] CCV is not a basic syllable structure in Akan. The CCV structure in the language is only a phonetic form of a basic two-syllable string of CVrV that has been re-syllabified or restructured following a reduction in one. In the realization of CrV, there occurs an elision of the vowel in the preceding CV structure (Marfo and Yankson, 2008).

three variants [ʤ] [g] and [ʒ] in the use of a word like [ʤəzzaːr], [ʒəzzaːr], and [gəzzaːr]'butcher'. Their investigation revealed that the alternation is speaker-sensitive, i.e., it is socially conditioned by the educational status, age, and gender of speakers. For instance, males used more of [ɖ] and avoided [ʈ] because they tend to be more accommodating to other dialects as they are more exposed to many contact situations whereas women spend most of the time at home, hence their adoption of [ʈ]. The study also revealed that educated persons are likely to use [ʈ] while the young tend to avoid the traditional forms and use new forms.

Gordon (2001), in his study, drew samples from different locations in Michigan and was able to examine the interaction of three important social variables (location, age and gender) and the shift of vowels as well as the choice of linguistic variants, e.g., the alternation of [æ] and [ɛ] in [ænt] and [ɛnt] 'ant' in English words in the speech of speakers. He found that the choice of either [æ] or [ɛ] was influenced by the social variables studied. Using a multiway analysis of variance, he found that sex and age showed significant interaction in the choice of vowels. He also found that shifting of the vowel was more common among women than girls but was also more common among boys than men. In another study of sociophonology of English, Lawson et al. (2011) assessed the social stratification of the tongue shape for postvocalic [r] in Scottish English. The results revealed the social stratification of [r] at the articulatory level, with middle class speakers using bunched articulation, while working class speakers use greater proportions of tongue–tip and tongue-front raised variants. There was also some gender differentiation between the working-class males and females, with working class males using the most weakly rhotic variants than working class females. Tan (2012) did a similar study. He emphasized that the choice of either postvocalic–r or intrusive -r showed that there is a direct correlation between the educational level and socioeconomic status of speakers and their production of postvocalic–r and intrusive–r in Singaporean English. She found that speakers with higher education and socioeconomic status have a higher tendency to produce the postvocalic-r while speakers with lower education produce the intrusive-r.

Inusah, Amuzu and Akanlig-Pare (2019) tried to elucidate the social factors that accounted for what appears to be free variation of [r] and [l] in some words in Dagbani. Examples of words investigated are the name [labi], realized also as [rabi], and [liga] 'dress', realized also as [riga]. The findings revealed [r] is prevalent in the speech of males and the older generation while [l] is frequent in the speech of females and the younger generation. Overall, however, [l] has become the more dominant variant although it is the newer form.

Another example of research on socially constrained phonetic or phonological variation in West Africa is Folajimi et al. (2019) who examined the realization of English /θ/ as [t] and [s] by educated Nigerians. From the 729 tokens they collected, the analysis indicated that most of the speakers preferred to realize the variable in order of preference as [t] (356 tokens), [θ] (344 tokens) and [s] (29 tokens). The findings indicate that /θ/ variation in Nigerian English is sometimes affected by sociolinguistic factors, in particular gender. Folajimi et al. disclosed that female speakers significantly favoured [θ] more than [t] while male speakers used more [t] than the female counterparts. Though age did not have an impact, ethnic group (Yoruba vs Igbo) was very significant.

In what follows, we try to show that the alternation of [r], [l] and [d] in intervocalic position and the alternation of [r] and [l] as second consonant in the CCV syllable structure in some Akan words are as socially constrained as the cases discussed above.

3. Methodology and Theoretical Framework

3.1 Methodology

The methodology employed in this study is based on Hudson's (1996) outline of stages in conducting a quantitative sociolinguistic study. Hudson's first stage focuses on the selection of speakers, the circumstances of data collection, and the linguistic variables. Regarding selection of speakers, bearing in mind our research question, we settled for judgment sampling. We carefully selected 120 respondents fairly distributed in terms of dialect, gender, age, and educational background. The fieldwork was carried out at two sites: New Tafo, an Asante dialect speaking community, and Mankessim, a Fante dialect speaking community. The distribution of respondents according to dialect and gender is presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Dialect and gender distribution of respondents

Dialect	**Fante**	**Asante**	**Total**
Male	30	30	60
Female	30	30	60
Total	**60**	**60**	**120**

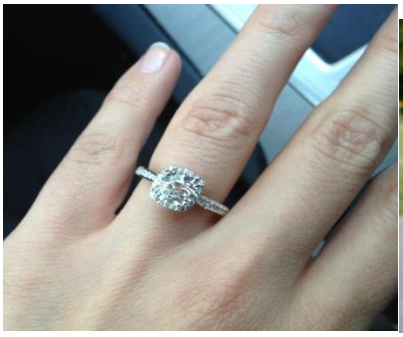
In Table 2 we show that 64 out of the 120 respondents had formal education and 56 had none. The table shows the age breakdown of those educated and those uneducated. Although genuine effort was made to ensure parity in the sampling across the age and the educational status variables, we needed to make some adjustments. For example, we did not find 'uneducated' children under 10 to sample because all children of this age were in school at the field work site.

Table 2: Educational status and age distribution of respondents

Age	**Educated**	**Uneducated**	**Total**
below 10	20	0	20
15-29	20	16	36
30-50	12	20	32
above 50	12	20	32
Total	**64**	**56**	**120**

The linguistic variable for the study is [r] which has three variants [r], [d] and [l]. For the purpose of this study, words containing [r], here **awareɛ** 'marriage', **afɔreɛ** 'tithe' and **praeɛ** 'broom', are treated as the citation/basic forms simply because they are the ones recognized in the orthography of Akan. We settled on these specific words because we anticipated (correctly) that respondents will be familiar with the entities or concepts they represent and will thus respond readily to prompts or instruments we used in the elicitation exercises.

The second of Hudson's (1996) stages is the collection of the data for the study. Interview and picture elicitation were the instruments used for the collection of data. Respondents were informed prior to the commencement of the interview that they would be recorded and that their consent was required. All respondents were native speakers of their respective dialects and because the researchers were not residents of the two communities, snowballing was used to select them. The interviews revolve around topics on biographical information, education, family, marriage, church and house chores and Akan was the primary language used for the data collection. The interviews were casual and conversational, not formal question and answer sessions. For the respondents to produce the needed variants [r], [l] and [d] in Akan, colour pictures were printed on large sheets of paper for them to describe, i.e., they were not merely asked to pronounce words in Akan which had the variants. The images presented to the respondents were a ring on the ring finger, a wedding couple, a hand in an offertory bowl in church, and a broom as shown below.



While respondents were describing the pictures, questions were asked to elicit the target words referred to above. The respondents had no fore knowledge of the fact that the research was about the alternation of [r], [l] and [d]; they were given the impression that we wanted to know more about the Akan culture.

Hudson's third stage focuses on identifying linguistic variables and their respective variants. The data extracted (and coded as 1=[r], 2= [l], and 3= [d]) was analyzed using the SPSS software following stage four procedures. In section 4, we shall present the data analysis as well as the interpretation/discussion of the data (stage five of Hudson's procedure).

3.2 Theoretical Framework

The approach used in the study is Labov's Variationist Sociolinguistic Theory, propounded in 1966; its other name is Labovian Sociolinguistics. The central idea is that the variation (called *linguistic variation*) witnessed at all levels of language (phonetic, phonological, morphological, etc.) is not random, that it will be found to be systematic and related to some social factors (called *social variables*) such as class, age, gender, socioeconomic status and education, and dialect of

speakers. This is a study of phonetic variation where a sound intended may be actualized in one of three sounds: ([r], [l], or [d]). The three are variants of the intended sound, which is a *phonetic variable*. The theory enjoins the researcher to work out whether and to what extent each variant may be statistically matched with specific categories of speakers (i.e., categorized in terms of age, dialect, educational background, and gender).

4. Analysis and Discussion

This section contains the presentation, interpretation, and discussion of the results of the data collected for the study. The first part of the analysis is limited to establishing the variation while the second section focuses on the relationship between the choice of a variant and the social variables used for the study. The final section deals with the interaction between the social variables and the choice of a variant.

4.1 Establishing the variation

The frequency of the choice of variants in Akan is presented in Table 3. The analysis shows that [r] is the dominant variant chosen by speakers in all the words used in Fante. The variant [l] comes next for the Fante speakers and [d] was the least chosen variant by them. For the Asante speakers, [r] was the dominant choice in two of the target words **awareɛ** and **praeɛ** but /d/ emerged as the dominant choice with respect to **afɔreɛ**.

Table 3: Frequency of the choice of variants in Akan

		Variants			
Dialect	**words**	**r**	**l**	**d**	**Total**
Asante	awareɛ	32	21	7	60
	% of count	53.3%	35.0%	11.7%	
	afɔreɛ	25	8	27	60
	% of count	41.7%	13.3%	45%	
	praeɛ	34	26		60
	% of count	56.7%	43.3%		
Fante	awareɛ	34	26		60
	% of count	56.7%	43.3%		
	afɔreɛ	43	16	1	60
	% of count	71.6%	26.7%	1.7%	
	praeɛ	34	26		60
	% of count	56.7%	43.3%		

The cross-tabulation analysis in Table 3 presents the number of speakers by their respective dialects and the frequency of [r], [l] and [d] of each target word. The table illustrates that the dominant variant in Akan is [r], i.e., Akan speakers are more likely to use the [r] variant than [l] and [d] in speech. The percentages of the different dialects for /r/ and /l/ are very close so dialectal difference seems not to be very relevant in accounting for the alternation between /r/ and /l/. However, there is a major dialectal difference in the use of [d]; except for one occurrence, all instances of [d] were registered in the Asante data.

4.2 Explaining the variation

As seen in the section above, the sounds [r], [l] and [d] are in free variation among certain Akan speakers and they are more likely to use the [r] variant cross-dialectically in speech. This section shows the relationship between the use of each variant and the social variable of education, age, and gender.

4.2.1 Educational status and the choice of a variant

The relationship between educational status of respondents and the choice of a variant in the two dialects is presented in Table 4 and Table 5. The analysis shows that cross-linguistically, educated speakers of Akan are more likely to use a higher frequency of [r].

Table 4: Choice of a variant between Educated Asante and Fante Speakers

		Variants			
Dialect	**words**	**r**	**l**	**d**	**Total**
Asante	awareɛ	23	7	2	32
		71.9%	21.9%	6.2%	
Fante	awareɛ	23	9		32
		71.9%	28.1%		
Asante	afɔreɛ	17	3	12	32
		53.1%	9.4%	37.5%	
Fante	afɔreɛ	26	6		32
		81.3%	18.7%		
Asante	praeɛ	23	9		32
		71.9%	28.1%		
Fante	praeɛ	26	6		32
		81.2%	18.8%		

Table 4 shows the number of educated speakers, their respective dialect and the frequency of the variants in each target word. Educated Asante and Fante speakers used a higher frequency of the [r] variant for each of the target words than the [l] and [d] variants. In contrast [d] competes somewhat with [r] among educated Asante speakers; in fact, [d] is not used by educated Fante speakers in the three words.

Table 5 presents the alternation of the variants in the target words by both uneducated Asante and Fante respondents. The table shows the counts and percentages of the number of speakers who used specific variants. We find that uneducated Asante and Fante speakers used a higher frequency of [l] than [r] and [d] in two of the target words. Although [d] is uniquely Asante, an uneducated Fante speaker used it in an interview; we were unable to find out more about this speaker, whether he speaks Asante or not.

Table 5: Choice of a variant between Uneducated Asante and Fante Speakers

		Variants			
Dialect	**words**	**r**	**l**	**d**	**Total**
Asante	awareɛ	9	14	5	28
		32.1%	50.0%	17.9%	
Fante	awareɛ	11	17		28
		39%	60.7%		
Asante	afɔreɛ	8	5	15	28
		28.6%	17.9%	53.5%	
Fante	afɔreɛ	17	10	1	28
		60.7%	35.7%	3.6%	
Asante	praeɛ	11	17		28
		39.3%	60.7%		
Fante	praeɛ	8	20		28
		28.6%	71.4%		

The findings therefore reveal that there is a stronger variation in the use of the free variants in terms of formal education. It appears that educated Akan speakers (across the dialects) prefer [r], a tendency which has the potential to brand [r] as the prestigious variant. It is also possible that [r] has already acquired a superior status because it is what appears in the standard orthography in words that exhibit the [r], [l], and [d] alternation, as shown in the spelling of the three target words in Akan texts. This finding is not different from studies by Tan (2012), Ammour (2012), and Al-Ali et al. (2010). These works have found that the tendency to use different forms of pronunciation correlated with the educational statuses or levels of speakers, beside other factors.

4.2.2 Age and the choice of a variant

The relationship between age of the respondents and the choice of a variant is presented in Table 6 and 7. Even though the age distribution is not even, the analysis shows that the use of [r], which, as noted, is the dominant variant, appears to be most preferred in all age groups. Although the relationship between age and a variant choice is not as consistent as with the other social factors, a closer look at the data, in fact, indicates that interesting differences can be found.

Table 6: Age range and the choice of a variant by Asante speakers

			Variants			
Dialect	**Word**	**Age range**	**r**	**l**	**d**	**Total**
Asante	awareɛ	below 10	4	6	0	10
			40.0%	60.0%	0%	
		15 to 29	12	5	1	18
			66.6%	27.8%	5.6%	
		30 to 50	8	5	3	16
			50.0%	31.2%	18.8%	
		above 50	7	6	3	16
			43.8%	37.5%	18.8%	
Asante	afɔreɛ	below 10	6	3	1	10
			60.0%	30.0%	10.0%	
		15 to 29	10	2	6	18
			55.6%	11.1%	33.3%	
		30 to 50	4	2	10	16
			25.0%	12.5%	62.5%	
		above 50	5	1	10	16
			31.3%	6.2%	62.5%	
	praeɛ	below 10	3	7		10
			30.0%	70.0%		
		15 to 29	11	7		18
			61.1%	38.9%		
		30 to 50	10	6		16
			62.5%	37.5%		
		above 50	10	6		16
			62.5%	37.5%		

Table 7 presents the number of Asante speakers, their age ranges and the frequency of the variants chosen in each word. The table shows that [d], which, as noted, is uniquely Asante, seems to be prevalent in the speech of speakers who are 30 years and above. The table also reveals that in the use of the target words *afɔreɛ* and *awareɛ*, the Asante speakers 30 years and above predominantly used the [d] variant while respondents below 10 years used it sparingly. Respondents between 15 and 29 used a higher frequency of the [r] variant as that variant seems to be the preferred one among the age groups. Similarly, as indicated in Table 7 below, Fante speakers in the various age groups used a higher frequency of [r] in all target words.

Table 7: Age range and the choice of a variant in Fante speakers

			Variants			
Dialect	**word**	**Age range**	**r**	**l**	**d**	**Total**
Fante	awareɛ	below 10	4	6		10
			40.0%	60.0%		
		15 to 29	12	6		18
			66.7%	33.3%		
		30 to 50	10	6		16
			62.5%	37.5%		
		above 50	8	8		16
			50.0%	50.0%		
	afɔreɛ	below 10	5	5		10
			50.0%	50.0%		
		15 to 29	14	4		18
			77.8%	22.2%		
		30 to 50	11	4	1	16
			68.8%	25.0%	6.2%	
		above 50	13	3		16
			81.2%	18.8%		
	praeɛ	below 10	6	4		10
			60.0%	40.0%		
		15 to 29	13	5		18
			72.2%	27.8%		
		30 to 50	8	8		16
			50.0%	50.0%		
		above 50	7	9		16
			43.8%	56.2%		

The main conclusion to be drawn from the data regarding the distribution of the three variants in relation to age is that [r] is the most preferred by speakers between 15 and 50 while older people (above 50 years) and young people (10 years and below) show ambivalence in the choice between [r] and [l]. There was only one occurrence of [d] in the Fante data, as pointed out earlier.

4.2.3 Gender and choice of variant

The relationship between gender of respondents and the choice of a variant is presented in this section. Table 8 shows that, relatively, [r] was the common variant used by female Asante speakers while [l] and [d] were prevalent among the males. The table reveals that the female respondents led in the use of /r/ in all the words.

Table 8: Gender and the choice of a variant in the Asante dialects

			Variants			
Dialect	**Word**	**Gender**	**r**	**l**	**d**	**Total**
Asante	awareɛ	Male	15	12	3	30
			50.0%	40.0%	10.0%	
		Female	17	9	4	30
			56.7%	30.0%	13.3%	
Asante	afɔreɛ	Male	6	7	17	30
			20.0%	23.3%	56.7%	
		Female	19	1	10	30
			63.4%	3.3%	33.3%	
Asante	praeɛ	Male	14	16		30
			46.7%	53.3%		
		Female	20	10		30
			66.7%	33.3%		

The same picture emerges in Table 9 above regarding Fante speakers: Female speakers use a higher frequency of [r] than [l] in all the target words in speech as compared to the male speakers. The findings from this section feed into Labov's (1990:205) principle on gender and linguistic variation which asserts that women prefer variants with overt prestige whilst men do the opposite. The data reveals that females lead in the use of the /r/ variant which has been established as the most prevalent while the males lead in the use of /l/. The finding is similar to findings in Al-Ali and Arafa (2010) and Folajimi et al. (2019). In these studies, women led their male counterparts significantly in the usage of the dominant and prestigious variants.

Table 9: Gender and the choice of a variant in the Fante dialect

			Variants			
Dialect	**Word**	**Gender**	**r**	**l**	**d**	**Total**
Fante	awareɛ	Male	14	16		30
			46.7%	53.3%		
		Female	20	10		30
			66.7%	33.3%		
	Afɔreɛ	Male	19	10	1	30
			63.4%	33.3%	3.3%	
		Female	24	6		30
			80.0%	20.0%		
	Praeɛ	Male	16	14		30
			53.3%	46.7%		
		Female	18	12		30
			60.0%	40.0%		

4.3 Interaction of social variables with choice of phonetic variants

In this section, a co-variation analysis is done to determine the interaction of some social variables with the choice of the phonetic variants. First, we consider whether the choice of the phonetic variants can be attributed to the interaction of education and gender. We then discuss the interaction of education and age.

In the discussion in section 4.2.1, it was established that educated Akan speakers use the [r] variant and that their uneducated counterparts use the [l] variant more; the variant [d] is exclusively an Asante variant, as it was used mainly by educated and uneducated Asante males in specifically the target word **afɔreɛ**. Now, in Table 10, we present the interaction between educated males vs females (in their respective dialects) and the frequency of choice of variants in the target words. The table shows that educated Asante and Fante females lead their educated male counterparts in the use of [r]. The picture that emerges from Table 11 is that uneducated males in both dialects lead the uneducated females in the use of [l]. In any case, these patterns of preference by educated Akans seem to validate the opinion that [r] is the more prestigious variant among the three.

Table 10: Interaction between gender and educated Asante and Fante speakers in the choice of a variant

			Variants			
Dialect	**Word**	**Educational status**	**r**	**L**	**d**	**Total**
Asante	awareɛ	Educated Male	10 62.5%	5 31.25%	1 6.25%	16
		Educated Female	13 81.3%	2 12.5%	1 6.2%	16
	afɔreɛ	Educated Male	5 31.2%	3 18.8%	8 50.0%	16
		Educated Female	12 75.0%	0 0%	4 25.0%	16
	praeɛ	Educated Male	11 68.8%	5 31.2%		16
		Educated female	12 75.0%	4 25%		16
Fante	awareɛ	Educated male	9 56.2%	7 43.8%		16
		Educated female	14 87.5%	2 12.5%		16
	afɔreɛ	Educated Male	12 75.0%	4 25.0%%		16
		Educated female	14 87.5%	2 12.5%		16
	praeɛ	Educated male	12 75.0%	4 25.0%		16
		Educated female	14 87.5%	2 12.5%		16

Table 11: Interaction between gender and uneducated Asante and Fante speakers in the choice of variants

			Variants			
Dialect	**Word**	**Educational status**	**r**	**L**	**d**	**Total**
Asante	awareɛ	Uneducated Male	5 35.7%	7 50.0%	2 14.2%	14
		Uneducated Female	4 28.6%	7 50.0%	3 21.4%	14
	afɔreɛ	Uneducated Male	1 7.1%	4 28.6%	9 64.3	14
		Uneducated Female	4 28.6%	1 7.1%	9 64.3	14
	praeɛ	Uneducated Male	3 21.4%	11 75.6%		14
		Uneducated female	8 57.1%	6 42.9%		14
Fante	awareɛ	Uneducated male	5 35.7%	9 64.3%		14
		Uneducated female	6 42.9%	8 57.1%		14
	afɔreɛ	Uneducated Male	7 50%	6 42.9%	1 7.1%	14
		Uneducated female	10 71.4%	4 28.6%		14
	praeɛ	Uneducated male	4 28.6%	10 71.4%		14
		Uneducated female	4 28.6%	10 71.4%		14

We now turn to the cross-tabulation of education and age in tables 12 to 15. What emerges is that educated speakers across all ages seem to use a higher frequency of [r]. The educated Akan speakers in the 15-29 age bracket have a preference for [r] and it is they who seem to be promoting the tagging of [r] as the prestigious variant among the three. In other words, it is this group, the educated Akan youth, who appears to be leading the marginalization of the [l] and the [d] variants. This narrative seems to be different with respect to the uneducated speakers of both dialects. There seems not to be any major difference in the use of the variants by the uneducated speakers of both genders in Akan.

Table 12: Interaction between age range and educated Asante speakers in the choice of variants

			Variants			
Dialect	**Word**		**r**	**l**	**d**	**Total**
Asante	awareɛ	below 10	4	6		10
			40.0%	60.0%		
		15 to 29	9	0	1	10
			90.0%	0%	10.0%	
		30 to 50	5	1	0	6
			83.3%	16.7%	0%	
		above 50	5	0	1	6
			83.3%	0%	16.7%	
Asante	afɔreɛ	Below 10	6	3	1	10
			60.0%	30.0%	10.0%	
		15 to 29	6	0	4	10
			60.0%	0%	40.0%	
		30 to 50	2	0	4	6
			33.3%	0%	66.7%	
		above 50	3	0	3	6
			50.0%	0%	50.0%	
Asante	praeɛ	Below 10	3	7		10
			30.0%	70.0%		
		15 to 29	10	0		10
			100.0%	0%		
		30 to 50	5	1		6
			83.30%	16.7%		
		above 50	5	1		6
			83.30%	16.7%		

Table 13: Interaction between age range and educated Fante speakers in the choice of variants

			Variants			
Dialect	**Word**		**r**	**l**	**d**	**Total**
Fante	awareɛ	below 10	4	6		10
			40.0%	60.0%		
		15 to 29	9	1		10
			90.0%	10.0%		
		30 to 50	5	1		6
			83.3%	16.7%		
		above 50	5	1		6
			83.3%	16.7%		
Fante	afɔreɛ	Below 10	5	5		10
			50.0%	50.0%		
		15 to 29	10	0		10
			100.0%	0%		
		30 to 50	5	1		6
			83.3%	16.7%		
		above 50	6	0		6
			100.0%	0%		
Fante	praeɛ	Below 10	6	4		10
			60.0%	40.0%		
		15 to 29	10	0		10
			100.0%	0%		
		30 to 50	5	1		6
			83.30%	16.7%		
		above 50	5	1		6
			83.3%	16.7%		

Table 14: Interaction between age range and uneducated Asante speakers in the choice of variants.

			Variants			
Dialect	**word**		**r**	**l**	**d**	**Total**
Asante	awareɛ	15 to 29	3	5	0	8
			37.5%	62.5%	0%	
		30 to 50	3	4	3	10
			30.0%	40.0%	30.0%	
		above 50	3	5	2	10
			30.0%	50.0%	20.0%	
Asante	afɔreɛ	15 to 29	4	2	2	8
			50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	
		30 to 50	2	2	6	10
			20.0%	20.0%	60.0%	
		above 50	2	1	7	10
			20.0%	10.0%	70.0%	
Asante	praeɛ	15 to 29	1	7		8
			12.5%	87.5%		
		30 to 50	5	5		10
			50.0%	50.0%		
		above 50	5	5		10
			50.0%	50.0%		

Table 15: Interaction between age range and uneducated Fante speakers in the choice of the variant in the words.

			Variants			
Dialect	**word**		**r**	**l**	**d**	**Total**
Fante	awareɛ	15 to 29	3	5		8
			37.5%	62.5%		
		30 to 50	5	5		10
			50.0%	50.0%		
		above 50	3	7		10
			30.0%	70.0%		
Fante	afɔreɛ	15 to 29	4	4		8
			50.0%	50.0%		
		30 to 50	6	3	1	10
			60.0%	30.0%	10.0%	
		above 50	7	3		10
			70.0%	30.0%		
Fante	praeɛ	15 to 29	3	5		8
			37.5%	62.5%		
		30 to 50	3	7		10
			30.0%	70.0%		
		above 50	2	8		10
			20.0%	80.0%		

5.0 Conclusion

This paper investigated the distribution of the sounds [r], [l] and [d] in intervocalic position and [r] and [l] at the second consonant position of a CCV syllable structure in Akan words. Hitherto, any references to /r/ /l/ and /d/ alternation were firmly associated to free variation without consideration of the social factors that may characterize their distribution. What is new is that we analyzed the alternation from a sociophonetic perspective and in that regard the study is significant in showing that some social factors are involved and that the alternation is hardly free.

The study has shown that Akan speakers are more likely to use the [r] variant than [l] and [d] in intervocalic position in three target words investigated (i.e., **awareɛ** 'marriage', **afɔreɛ** 'tithe' and **praeɛ** 'broom'). The study did not uncover any major dialectal difference in the alternation between [r] and [l] but finds that [d] is decidedly an Asante variant that competes with the other two sounds in the speech of adults. The data however shows that the social variables age, level of education, and gender do influence the choice of [r] versus [l] in both Asante and Fante. Young, educated speakers, especially female speakers, demonstrated a higher tendency of using the [r] variant, which seems to have emerged as the most prestigious of the three variants.

We do acknowledge that this first-of-kind sociophonetic analysis of the [r], [l] and [d] alternation in Akan on the basis of a few target words is not exhaustive and that a more expanded list of variables (target words) will deepen insight into this alternation.

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COVID 19 AND THE METAPHORS OF CRISIS IN SELECTED TEXTS BY ADICHIE AND ACHEBE: A JUNGIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL READING

Damlègue Lare

This article aims at exploring Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's and Chinua Achebe's discourses on melancholy and grief in times of Covid 19 and Biafra crises in *Notes on Grief* (2021), and *There Was a Country: A Personal History of Biafra* (2012), as artists' experience with crisis. The study especially examines language from a Jungian perspective, to bring out the aesthetics of grief or pain as expressive modes of memory and the ideological concern for reviving self and deconstructing otherness. Taking a Jungian psycho-analytical stand, the study focuses on the self's perception of the other in the context of social crisis. It means to show that crisis is a powerful tool for intellectual regeneration of the artist and an experimental opportunity for society to assess itself, redefine values, reset boundaries and regenerate itself through the teachings drawn from the imposition of the new realities generated by that very crisis. The study finds that Adichie and Achebe's discourses highlight the necessity to reconceptualise grief and crisis not only as problematic occurrences that create emotive choc and despair, but also as recreational events that contribute to the mental and affective growing of both the artist and his/her society.

Keywords: crisis, artist, discourse, grief, Biafra, Covid 19.

Covid 19 et les métaphores de la crise dans des textes choisis d'Adichie et Achebe : une lecture psychanalytique jungienne

Résumé:
Cet article vise à explorer les discours de Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie et Chinua Achebe sur la mélancolie et le deuil en période de crises du covid 19 et du Biafra dans *Notes on Grief* (2021) et *There Was a Country: A Personal History of Biafra* (2012) en tant qu'expérience d'artistes face à la crise. L'étude interroge plus particulièrement le langage dans une perspective jungienne, pour faire émerger l'esthétique du deuil ou de la douleur comme modes d'expression de la mémoire affective et culturelle douloureuse et le souci idéologique de se revivifier et de déconstruire l'altérité. Prenant une position psychanalytique jungienne, l'étude porte sur la perception de soi de l'autre en contexte de crise sociale. Cela signifie montrer que la crise est un puissant outil de régénération intellectuelle de l'artiste et une opportunité expérimentale pour la société de s'évaluer, de redéfinir les valeurs, de réinitialiser les frontières et de se régénérer à travers les enseignements tirés de l'imposition des nouvelles réalités générées par cette même crise. L'étude révèle que les discours d'Adichie et d'Achebe soulignent la nécessité de reconceptualiser le deuil et la crise non seulement comme des événements problématiques qui créent un choc émotif et du désespoir, mais plutôt comme des événements récréatifs qui contribuent à la croissance mentale et affective de l'artiste et de sa société.
Mots clés : crise, artiste, discours, deuil, Biafra, covid 19.

Introduction

Aspects of the function of crisis in a writer's creative experience have been discussed by scholars without focussing on the recreative aspect of crisis. Okey Ndibe asserts that "A writer enjoys a paradoxical relationship to the notion of conflict" (Ndibe 2009: 27) without specifying how a writer can forge imaginative meaning out of crisis. Tanure Ojaide opines that conflict is an expression of difference involving competition for a writer (Ojaide 2012: 86). Ernest N. Emenyonu believes that the creative writer draws inspiration and themes from war situations, and yet has other challenges to confront. His imaginative work must still meet certain known aesthetic and critical standards (Emenyonu 2008: xii). It is Ogaga Okuyaye (2008) who seems to approach the problem from a pragmatic stand in his article "On the Versification of Pain: Nigerian Civil War Poetry" where he concentrates on the anesthetization of crisis without going further to articulate the positive effects of crisis on the artist himself. This stammering of criticism in the approach to the effects of crisis on the creative writer gives me room to analyse, in the present study, the double dimensions of the crisis of affective memory in Achebe's *There Was a Country* and Adichie's *Notes on Grief*. My focus in this paper is therefore to analyse the double effects of crisis in the psychology of Achebe and Adichie as creative writers who use pain for both expressing emotional shock and for growth in experience and creative vision.

My approach is a textual analysis based on Gustave Carl Yung's psychoanalytic approach to affective memory. Gustave Carl Jung has theorised affective memory to mean that part of the mind that captures events and facts that mark off the individual personality and prompts him/her to either react to such events or internalize them in his consciousness and sub-consciousness. Jungian affective memory in the present context purveys the sum total of intellectual and mental memories that have prompted Achebe and Adichie to write aspects of their conscious and unconscious mind. Affective memory refers to the mind's records of facts, events, ideas and issues that mark one's life and which are part of his/her mind patrimony in preservation. It alludes to the aspect of one's mental lore that charts with the endeared issues and events of the author's life. Achebe in *There Was A Country* recaptures the socio-political events that informed the Nigerian Biafra crisis in 1966. The mix-narrative method in which Achebe puts together nonfiction and fiction is a way for him to express the events that marked him during the crisis and which affected and shaped his critical mind of his nation, Nigeria. The foreign geopolitics in connection with Nigeria, the behaviour of the political leaders of the time, the turmoil and havoc inflicted on his countrymen the Igbos, and the experiences of writers under the trial of suffering related to war, and the general difficulties of the struggle for survival in war period function as assets catalysts that marked his writing experience, provoking in him the revulsion of inhumanity and reshaping his mind as a historical witness. Crisis functions as the barometer that emulates the writer's critical mind, provoking new instincts in artistic reflections and opening vistas for new outlooks on future creative perspectives. That the Biafra experience negatively affected Nigerian citizens' lives is an undeniable fact. But beyond the pogroms, the socio-political crisis functions as an incentive, spurring the creative stamina and reorienting the vision. Crisis supplies material for writing, creates new themes and brings the writer and the critic to a new dimension of productivity. Writing is seen here not only as an expressive mode of pain and emotional shock, but also as a healing method, writing as catharsis, writing as reconciling asset. Adichie makes the point that psychological pain caused by the loss of her daddy has given her the urge to write to express it and by the same token to heal. Writing becomes thus a remedy to psychological torture.

1. Parallel Paradigms between Covid 19 Crisis and Biafra Crisis

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie is often called the literary grand-daughter of Achebe in that she reached her international fame thanks to Achebe's blessing (Ernest Emenyonu 2017: 52). Both writers

essentially focus on Nigerian historical realities in their novels and critical essays. That strong connection brings them together when it comes to analyse their reflections on grief and memory. Both equally narrate on the Biafran crisis, Achebe in *There Was A Country: A Personal Narrative on Biafra* (2012) and Adichie in *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2006). Biafra was the subject of setting of fiction and non-fiction after the war. Yet what is aimed at here is the way both writers perceive pain in times of crisis. While Achebe focuses on Biafra, Adichie recently reflected on the loss of her father during the Covid-19 pandemic. I bring out here a number of parallel paradigms that are common between Nigerian/Biafra crisis and Covid crisis as perceived by them. A comparative analysis of both crisis reveals similarities worth pointing out. Both crises affect humans and their environment. The way in which Covid 19 pandemic broke out and the way the governments around the world fought it back, bring to memory the image of war. As Thomas M. Malafarina has observed,

> World War III has begun. But for the first time, mankind is not at war with his fellow man. Countries are too busy battling an unseen enemy, a bug, a germ a virus known as COVID-19. How this war will end remains to be seen. How many lives will be lost, and when those who survive do so, how will the world prepare for the next pandemic? And rest assured, there will, beyond any doubt, be a next pandemic (2020: 29).

Covid 19 pointedly afflicted humans when it was least expected just as the Biafra war took people unawares. The devastating social consequences of Covid 19 are very much akin to those of the Biafra crisis. Interestingly, Achebe's opinions towards the Biafra war are similar to Adichie's towards the corona virus. For both writers:

- They cause stress and affect the psyche of the victims
- They are costly in terms of monetary expenditures
- Both crises demand concerted and synergetic actions to fight against and solve them.
- Just as it is believed that Biafra war was a conspiracy against the Igbo community, it is also believed that Covid 19 is a conspiracy of Western nations to control the rest of the world.

In terms of differences, the Biafran crisis was a regional crisis while the Covid-19 crisis was a world crisis. While Covid-19 is a health concern, the Biafra war was a security concern. The means of fighting in the case of Biafra are firearms whereas Covid-19 is fought with medicines and vaccines. Nonetheless, both events have direct implications on human society.

Both Achebe and Adichie narrate two versions of grief related to affectional crisis. Achebe narrates the painful memories of Biafra crisis which affected negatively his fellow Igbos (killings, injuries, forceful displacements, starvation, mental injuries, and the impunity of crime perpetuators). Such painful memories pricked into his consciousness and projected an introvert and extravert articulation of the creative experience as a healing process. This narrative form is in consonance with Carl Jung who proposes two mechanisms – introversion and extraversion – both of which are at work in all humans. It is only the relative predominance of the one over the other that determines whether a writer is more extraverted or introverted. Achebe uses the introvert telling to articulate feelings and pains that marked him negatively during the Biafra war and which prove difficult to forget: "This was a very special kind of inspiration. Some of us decided to tackle the big subjects of the day—imperialism, slavery, independence, gender, racism, etc. And some did not. One could write about roses or the air or about love for all I cared; that was fine too. As for me, however, I chose the former" (TWAC: 50). This statement brings to the fore how Achebe reconstructs Biafran crisis through realist annalysis. More specifically, Achebe brings the affective memory to bear on the narratives and create a kind of catharsis that will heal emotionally broken people. Language here thus has the power to wound and the power to heal and Achebe narrates the Biafra story to tell his version of the event to the effect of creating space for a kind of constructive dialogue that will definitely heal broken spirits. The capacity of language to heal tension resides in the restitution of truth. Healing may occur after emotional shock and Achebe believes that beyond the political cleavages that divided Nigerians in the past, national unity and socio-political resilience are possible through the meditative force of historical narrative. *There Was A*

Country rates the Biafran war to be a historical flaw from which constructive lessons can be learnt to avoid future conflicts. For instance, Achebe advocates the three Rs: Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Reconciliation" as fundamental (*TWAC*: 235). Simply put, Achebe perceives literature as a means of producing educative discourse on the values that look in the past for references, analyses the present for actions that will guide decisions in the future. Events affect memory but should also serve to build new ideas, to think out ways of behaving that construct peace and harmony.

"It was important to us that a body of work be developed of the highest possible quality that would oppose the negative discourse in some of the novels we encountered" (*TWAC*: 50).

Affective memory derives from cognitive psychology and is used here to refer to the idea that people are comfortable when their attitudes are consistent with the information they have about the world and that part of attitudes is affective in nature and this affective component can change along with the cognitive component when new information is encountered. Attitudes can be changed by first changing either the affective or cognitive component with the other following (David Matsumoto 2009: 20).

In line with the Jungian approach, Achebe narrates the Biafran history with individuation of the pain he felt as a writer with regard to the effects of the political crisis (civil war). First the crisis disturbed social peace and impaired literary productivity. Secondly, Achebe has it that the crisis mostly affected his compatriots the Igbo who paid with their lives the cessation project of Biafra. This led to what Jung calls individuation of the narration, that is, a deep inner coming together of ideas that symbolize the union of consciousness with the unconscious (Ann Casement 2001: 146). Crisis becomes for Achebe a subject of reflection and expression of his pain as a member of the suffering group but at the same time it becomes a source of inspiration, a motivational tool for literary production. Achebe believes that the artist is the conscience of his community and should survive the crisis to be able to tell the story for historical records and for future generations. Narrative in that case is a way of provoking thinking and initiating discussions on how best to conduct life during and after the pandemic.

While Adichie finds in her father's death the opportunity to reflect on the covid 19 impacts, Achebe finds in the Biafra war an occasion to meditate on the nature and philosophy of life, an opportunity to critically address and assess the function of crisis in a nation. Crises undermine society to some extent. Achebe asserts that the Biafra crisis occasioned "the pogrom that claimed over thirty thousand lives" (Achebe 2012: 85). Yet it gives an opportunity to the people involved to discover themselves, to gauge their strengths and weaknesses and to be able to learn values, develop new ways of approaching problems. The perception of life in times of crisis differs from the usual image one has of it through daily routines. Achebe finds in crisis such affective stamina that projects the writer and his or her community in a realm of tactical creation, a technical ability to reinvent ways of positioning anew in a posturing of problem solving. If crisis of the Biafra type exists and affects negatively human memory, Achebe thinks that crisis can also enable the community to grow, to learn from experience.

Achebe refers to the displacement of the Igbo people (running for their life) as "a nightmare" (Achebe 2012: 85), an apt metaphor for the undesirable conditions of the crisis that put people in uncomfortable conditions. But one needs to state that before physical displacement took place mental displacement occurred first. It is the mental process of escaping the uncomfortable, the pain. Creating for oneself mental displacement as a way of escaping the undesirable environment is what Jung calls "active imagination and transcendent escape". The light in which Achebe's assessment of the affective memory crisis needs to be seen gives one the privilege to ascertain that humanity nurtures healthy memories and anti-humane actions hurts such memory. It should also be established that there is a relationship between the immediate human wellbeing and the news that inform and fill our minds. Good news uplifts the human mind while bad ones sadden it. The psychological impacts of Biafra as Achebe views them appear to have crystalized hopes of immediate reconstructions, frustrated minds

and discouraged inter-ethnic cordial relations. It follows that to heal from such memories beside the social remedy of reconciliation and forgiveness, literature can serve as a tool to confront with pragmatism mistakes of the past and create through dialogue the mental stamina necessary to transcend ethnic resentment and build social cohesion.

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie conceptualizes crisis as a personal experience of the emotional discomfort she goes through during the passing away of her father. Crisis, though individual, enables the author to articulate grief as a demotivating and demoralizing element she goes through. Adichie expresses grief as an emotional journey that leads her to a new dimension of social apprehension: "The laughter becomes tears and becomes sadness and becomes rage" (Adichie 2021: 9). The loss of her father gives her an occasion to discover herself, to see her weaknesses as a human being. It enables her to reassess life and see it differently: "Grief is forcing new skins on me, scraping scales from my eyes. I regret my past certainties: surely you should mourn, talk through it, face it, go through it" (6). Here, grief appears as a catalyst that brings Adichie to a new self-discovery. It is in the first place deconstructive, in the sense that the author negates aspects of human existence and reconstructs life in a new creative vision: "Grief is not gauzy; it is substantial, oppressive, a thing opaque. The weight is heaviest in mornings, post-sleep: a leaden heart, a stubborn reality that refuses to budge" (Adichie 2021: 24). Here Adichie temporarily loses assurance in herself, in her ego as a successful person. Hitherto Adichie's effective memory was resting on what Achebe calls "solid personal achievements". As a professional writer, she has known success worldwide and scored an impressive number of awards. Her affective memory was then shaped by a sense of stability, assurance in material possession. Yet the loss of her father seems to have awakened in her another awareness that life achievements are not eternal, that values are temporal no matter their standing. Adichie conceptualizes a new dimension of life as ephemeral. This brings her to a new sense of life and the attainment of humility.

On the other hand, grief has recreated Adichie in the sense that she emerges from it with a new vision of society and life in general. Critical moments as the crisis she goes through has brought her to understand the ambivalent nature of life. One would say that hitherto, Adichie's perception of life was lopsided, and the advent of bereavement brought her to reconsider it as offering both positive and negative moments. While the positive gives occasions of celebrating success, the negative ones enable one to reconsider life and society. Adichie puts it this way: "Until now, grief belonged to other people. Does love bring, even if unconsciously, the delusional arrogance of expecting never to be touched by grief? We stumble, we veer from an extreme forced cheer to passive aggressiveness… (Adichie 2021: 51)". What she means here is that beyond the emotional shock of losing a loved one, grief has offered her a new understanding of human nature, and reshaped her creative vision as a writer. Adichie takes a new posture to rejig and rekindle her vision in a humane decimal of active reconstruction of social life. When she asserts "it does not matter whether I wanted to be changed, because I am changed. A new voice is pushing itself out of my writing, full of the closeness I feel to death, the awareness of my own mortality, so finely, so acute. A new urgency" (Adichie 2021: 66), she is referring to that reshaping of her creative vision that she says will bring her closer to humanity, to human frailty.

Fragility often recurs in Adichie's narratives. In *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2003), Adichie has depicted how melancholy makes characters like Olanna and Igwu who have to experience war trauma in the context of Biafra crisis. Pauline Dodgson-Katiyo (2017: 123) finds out that given her family's painful memories, Adichie feared that she would be taking a risk in writing about

war in *Half of a Yellow Sun*, a risk that her novel would only perpetuate the western association of Africa with war, a stereotypical and generalizing view that ignores the dynamism of the African past. Her dilemma was complicated further by her own worldview, which she admits is largely a dark one and which has led her to sometimes wonder whether being African means that she must always indulge in fragile negotiations in order to fully explore her artistic vision. Furthermore, Igwu's history, just by virtue of being written, presents a strong narrative of survival. Another necessary narrative of trauma associated with mourning and melancholia that circulates around Olanna's memory compensates for the romanticization of Okeoma, a symbol of Christopher Okigbo who was killed during that Biafra war and which Adichie refers to as the monumental loss. During and after the war, Olanna shows signs of melancholia when her strength fails her. Her vision of life, like Adichie's is largely a dark one and her grief and the depression that is referred to as "dark swoops" deprive her of the happiness she desires and that Ugwu thinks she deserves. Before and after the war, Olanna shows signs of melancholia. Carl Jung, following the works of Sigmund Freud, distinguishes between mourning and melancholia two conditions he attributes to the crisis of affective memory. He describes mourning as a normal state that will end after a period of time of grief and melancholia as pathological, an illness with no clearly defined end. Both mourning and melancholia are centrally concerned with the loss of a loved person or a loved object or an ideal such as liberty. Nevertheless, Olanna's experiences suggest that she suffers from some of the symptoms of depression that Jung describes as melancholia.

According to Sigmund Freud, the occasions that give rise to melancholia 'extend for the most part beyond the clear case of a loss by death, and includes all those situations of being slighted, neglected or disappointed which can import opposed feelings of love and hate into the relationship or reinforce an already existing ambivalence (2001: 259). On two occasions before the war, Olanna believes she has lost Odenigbo. The first is when the mother calls her a witch and Olanna angrily leaves his house because, he will not defend her; the second is when she learns that Odenigbo slept with and impregnated Amala, a young woman his mother has brought from the village for that purpose. After the first incident, Olanna feels psychologically charged. During the war, Olanna continues having ambivalent feelings towards Odenigbo as he changes from being the confident person she would like to emulate to someone who has lost his ability to take control of situations. Odenigbo's loss of control is particularly evident in his depression following the news of his mother's death and his behaviour after they received the erroneous news that Egwu has been killed. As Odenigbo becomes depressed, he neglects his work and starts to drink heavily. On seeing that, Olanna feels an anger towards him, which is exacerbated by her own sense of inadequacy. Freud commenting on the poor self-image of the person suffering from melancholia, suggests that there is a stage when the clinician perceives that the patient's self-accusations 'fits someone else', someone whom the patient loves or has loved or should love and that these self-reproaches are reproaches against a love object which have been shifted away from it on to the patient's own ego (2001: 248).

2. Covid 19 Perspective and Narrative Relevance Expressive of the Crisis

Parallelism needs to be established between the corona virus pandemic as it goes on in Adichie's *Notes on Grief* and the Biafra warfare as portrayed in Achebe's *There Was a Country*. What is depicted by Adichie is the spectre of the pandemic. In the first instance, humans went into war against a virus. The same mood of warfare often observed during real war could be observed during the peak of the pandemic. There was a general psychosis created by the fear of death, the fear of an unknown future and the fear of evil. At the political level the fear was further emphasised by the speculations that Covid was a biological warfare between China the epicentre of the pandemic and the United States. Such a fact has a further implication because,

ideological warfare among world powers like United States and China would leave poorer countries in Africa in difficulties. Many of the utilities in terms of food, clothing, communication devices like mobile phones, transportation means like motorbikes, cars, and building materials are imported from China. If ever the Covid 19 pandemic restructured the terms of economic exchanges, African developing countries could run short of the aforementioned utilities.

Another parameter of the Covid-19 was the social one. The virus brought about an acute imperative demand of lockdown generating massive unemployment.
Reading Adichie and Achebe's analysis of crisis leads one to assert that the Covid-19 pandemic left some legacies in Africa. Covid-19 united peoples in this forcible communality of fear and manic preparedness. Every day, every minute, people were nourished with the daily propaganda of coronavirus prevention, courtesy of the health technicians. Much sensitization was done in terms of recommendations about the imperative of washing hands regularly, maintaining social distance, not touching ones' face and staying home. The talk exchanges on medias and social networks only underscored that unity, further eliminating the divide between the haves and have-nots and those (most of us) who fall in between.

Yet the crisis was sobering in that it held up a mirror to our true selves as humans, showing what people were made of and who the real unsung heroes of our society are (and they're not the immortal or untouchable). It is the everyday people we took for granted before the pandemic: the healthcare workers, grocery store employees, pharmacy employees, mail carriers, subway conductors, who became even more close and important as they helped in meeting the basic needs of people. These are the people, the essential workers, who were on the frontlines, putting their lives at risk. They are the ones whom we depended on for our society to be operational when it seemed like so many of us were in suspension. Perhaps one of the greatest legacies of Covid-19 is that these essential workers may be viewed in a new light in the aftermath while celebrity might be trivialized. If the latter is possible in this celebrity-obsessed culture, let's take a moment and pretend it is. One may reflect on all the news stories of doctors and nurses working themselves to exhaustion in hospitals that did not have enough ventilators or even beds for infected patients; regular citizens launching campaigns to find more masks and personal protective equipment to donate to hospitals that were in dire need of them; young people offering to shop for and deliver groceries to the elderly or medically fragile; or restaurants forced to shut down during the lockdown providing free meals to healthcare workers who were so insanely busy with attending to the massive, unending overflow of incoming Covid-19 patients they had no time to eat.

In majority of African countries, the economic activities are run in the informal sector including petty trading, where community markets are the headquarters. Such commercial activities are carried out on a daily basis since revenue is predicted on the daily based immediate sales. With the advent of the lockdown there was a necessity to close even if temporarily these markets, and thereby occasioning starvation in most families. Even in eventual cases of lockdown, the government volunteered to help, food distribution in households would pose serious problems as most houses do not have addresses or references to be easily located, and most houses are enclaved by natural barriers like mountains and rivers unreachable by car or boat.

Coming to the job issues, during the pandemic most developed countries resorted to telework whereby employees would remain at home and work via the internet. Such an alternative has been problematic in Africa due to the fact that most countries do not have advanced network

facilities to sustain teleservice. In addition, the adoption of telework would render most services irrelevant, reduce manpower and put many employees into a jobless condition.
The lack of health facilities to take in charge the Covid-19-infected sick was another decimal that was problematized. African countries do have few health centres and the few that exist do not have big admission facilities and enough space to accommodate Covid-infected people. As a matter of fact, the imbalance between health facilities and the number of infected cases would create more deaths than recoveries in the populations. This very state of affairs brought the health authorities to encourage people to remain at home when they are infected with Covid as they will not find adequate care at the hospital. This created further fears and health concerns among the population about the absence of facilities and the cataclysmic consequences therein to expect.

The next major concern became now the lack of vaccine. While the pandemic made thousands of victims in shorter time, the advent of anti-covid vaccine delayed and this created a moral trauma and worries among the populations. At the beginning the major problem was how to find the vaccine. News from the media asserted that when the vaccine would be available, only rich countries that were able to finance medical research in laboratories on vaccine mission would have access to the vaccines. But in actual facts, at the advent of the vaccines, controversies rose as to the inefficiency of the very vaccines themselves. As a results, though in shorter time the vaccines became available and accessible to poorer countries too, the administration of these vaccines became controversial as many media outlined campaigned against the vaccine. It was spread that the vaccines were the very causes of more severe forms of viruses and those who were vaccinated were likely able to further spread the disease.
The pandemic sheltered realities at political, social, economic, cultural and educational levels. Politically speaking, some important decisions had to be taken to enable the control of the pandemic. Such decisions are for instance the decision to finance research laboratories, and the decision to limit international travelling among the population. At the social level the crisis caused discomfort as ethno-religious conflicts deepened and family members were dispersed across the country. It poisoned social relations, created a climate of mistrust and a forceful moving of the population from their homeland to refugee countries. Many people were wounded and some killed. At the economic level the Biafran crisis provoked inflation, joblessness and a decrease of living standards. Starvation, poor sanitation, inadequate medication and unschooling are some of the corollaries of the crisis on Nigerians as Achebe and Adichie describe them in *There Was A Country* and *Half of a Yellow Sun* respectively. They establish a link between the social atmosphere and the psychological conditions of the people in time of crisis. When society is well, humans enjoy peace of mind. When society is troubled, people's peace is disturbed. At a cultural level, let us note the disturbances of cultural activities in times of crisis. Culture goes hand in hand with art and literature; all of which are sustained by the creative mind. The creative mind is important in the development of cultural activities in that aspects of cultural performances are designed and carried out with the support of the mind. As a matter of fact, the best cultural activities are performed with the mind in a state of emotional balance. In that logic, Adichie makes the point that the artist can also use crisis as an impetus and stamina to create and entertain art work. Crisis thus plays a double function for the artist: firstly, it builds self-defence in the creative posture and secondly it boosts the creative mind of the artist as it constitutes for him/her the raw material for building stories and developing plots.
Adichie's experience with emotional crisis informs her desire to reconstruct in the unconsciousness the lost past. The authoress uses memory as a constructive tool, a remedy to reimagine and reinvent the unreal, the irrecoverable from the nostalgic lives. It verges on what Cathy Caruth calls the ongoing experience of having survived "death". For Caruth, within

trauma stories, there is a kind of double telling, the oscillation between a crisis of death and the correlative crisis of life. Both Achebe and Adichie pass through melancholy (Caruth 2017: 98). Melancholy is the feeling of sadness, depression and discomfort which characterizes people in situations of affective and emotional crisis. Adichie's psychological condition is caused by her father's death. What obtains from the analyses of the authors' critical points is that they sustain the philosophy of remembering or memory as a fundamental ingredient in the building and maintenance of internal peace. Achebe and Adichie establish that emotional healing after shock should thrive on the victory of the memory over the painful narrative. In other words, the acceptance of the mind and the heart of what occurred in bad and good and the will to forgive and forget constitute the real remedies for the mind.

In Achebe's *There Was A Country* remembering bears a particular significance. To remember is to bring to one's memory past events. Such events like the 1966 coup and the subsequent repression that caused the massacre of numerous Igbo affected Achebe's life rather negatively. Psychological trauma and mental pain culminated into emotional crisis. Propaganda of false accusations, fake news, the loss of beloved ones like Christopher Okigbo, Achebe's good friend, left him in emotional depression. Remembering plays a double function: when the things about which one remembers are good ones they boost the person who remembers' moral stamina. When they are bad they downgrade and inflict moral pain. But the most important function of memory in Achebe and Adichie's discourses is the historical construction of the postcolonial subject or personality. Remembering is thus a catalyst for human moral construction and a reference for wise decisions. Achebe has it that at times good and salutary decisions are taken with reference to past actions or the results of past actions. A perilous past action is a good reference for the avoidance of future similar mistakes while wise ones are reference and encouragement for similar actions. Collective memory is a guidance for collective social actions. The better the collective memory is in terms of the rules that guarantee peaceful social conduct, the better community members are likely to promote values conducive to the development of that society. The Subject matter in *There Was a Country* is the 1966 Nigerian civil war and the different forces that crystallised the events. At a deeper level Achebe does a reminiscence of the implications of these forces in the construction of national memory. Most memories went in sympathy for the victims of that sorrowful event. In clear one should be able to see beyond cultural boundaries the interests of the colonial powers that shaped the destiny of the young independent nation of Nigeria. The fictional narratives of the events have a double function: to revive that painful events for the construction of a stronger democracy based on the avoidance of past mistakes and secondly to train the human mind to take progressive steps towards concretive actions aiming at the discordance with violence. Be it in the first situation or the second, Achebe purviews the writer's role not as a simple chronicler of the social mores but also as an informed societal architect of values that chart human life. To be exact, memory does to the mind what medicine does to the body. True therapy, it helps the mind to recover from injuries, revitalises the spirit and balances the body with the soul. To remember is to survive one's time. It is to live beyond boundaries of human frailty. It is also to outstand the ups and downs of individual and/or collective storyline building therein the essential foundations of humanity. To remember is reset life anew to be able to accommodate tension, reduce pressure and relive between pain and pleasure. Nevertheless, Achebe sees in the memory beyond real fact, a symbol of creative consciousness. That consciousness comes when the mind sets on to fetch the transformative power of the subject of remembrance. As the brain plays a key role in the construction of memory, it is in solicitude of the substantial potency of the mind that it can provoke mental rebirth. The rebirth comes when a new energy is given to the brain to pay back upcoming credentials. Adichie holds the same philosophy regarding

memory when she asserts in a seminal article "we remember differently" (Adichie 2014: 45). The only remedy to painful memories is the passing of time. Time heals the wounds of memory. It softens the emotional shocks that are not easily forgotten. Time has the virtue of accommodating the mind with the reality of painful events. In the context of Biafran war and Covid-19, Achebe and Adichie point out that reality by establishing the relation between memory and human brain. Good memories seem to last for a little time and painful ones seem to stay longer.

Results and conclusion

The objective of this paper has been to discuss the loss of affective memory in times of crisis. As two key ideas have emerged from the analysis: Achebe and Adichie both use crisis to tell how their creative experiences have been tested by the catalyst of moral and effective discomfort. Crisis shock the affective memory and inform the reality of temporality and frailty of human existence. Secondly the discomfort born from such crisis have resulted into personal discovery and the rebirth of new visions that chart with the imperatives of humanity and prospective resilience. As creative writers, Achebe and Adichie reconceptualise art that functions to reflect the artist's conscious and unconscious beings.

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MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX OF DAGBANI PROVERBIAL NAMES

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This paper presents a detailed analysis of the morphosyntax of proverbial names in Dagbani (Gur, Ghana). It demonstrates that these proverb-based names can comprise of 1. single morphemes, **Nasara,** 'victory', 2. two morphemes, **Neesim** 'lights'. The third group consists of phrases and sentences with other grammatical particles fused in the sentences to form those name sets. I argue that the morphology provides the template for syntax to apply in this name formation. The data for this paper are from three sources: the author's knowledge as a native speaker of the language and those drawn from existing Dagbani literature on personal names. I also interviewed three parents to take some data for this paper. Phonological processes such as homorganic nasal assimilation **n+baŋ+ba→/ḿ.báŋ̀.bá/,** 'I have known them', vowel epenthesis and deletion **bɛ+neei+ti → /bɛneeti/** 'they have woken us (from sleep) apply phonotactically in the formation of these proverb-based names. The findings showed that there is an interwoven relationship between morphology, syntax and phonology in the formation of proverbial names.

Keywords: Proverbial name, Structure, Dagbani, Mabia (Gur), compound.

1. Introduction*

This paper explores the structure of proverbial names among the Dagbamba, an ethnic group in Ghana, West Africa. The people refer to themselves as Dagbamba 'plural' and Dagbana 'singular' but the name has been anglicized as Dagomba 'singular' and Dagombas 'plural'. Dagbamba, an ethnic group that speaks Dagbani as their mother tongue and a member of the Mabia language family is in northern Ghana (Naden 1988). Dagbani is a tonal language (Hudu and O 2020, Hudu 2010, Olawsky 1999) where meaning is distinguished at the morpheme level. Dagbani is predominantly spoken in western and eastern Dagbaŋ. The dialect spoken in western Dagbaŋ i.e., Tamale and its environs is the Tomo (western dialect), while that of eastern Dagbaŋ is Nayahili (eastern dialect). Nanuni, which has been identified as a dialect of Dagbani (Hudu, 2010) is spoken in Yendi and Bimbilla and their neighbouring communities respectively. These three dialects make up the language, which is also spoken in other parts of the Northern region and some parts of the country. Dagbani is closely related to Mampurili, Waala, Dagaare, Gurene, and Kusaal among the Gur language family (Naden, 1988).

The goals of this research are as follows: firstly, the paper will look at the structure of proverbial names in Dagbani. Secondly, it will look at the possible linguistic elements that come together to form a proverbial name. Finally, the paper will discuss the interaction between morphology, syntax, and phonology in giving these proverb-based names in Dagbani.

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According to Musere (1999) cited in (Simelane-Kalumba, Mabeqa and Ngubane 2015), "a proverbial name is formed when a distinctive word or morpheme (most commonly nouns) from a proverb is employed as a personal or other type of name". These names are usually made from the first word of a proverb (Finnegan 1970). By their morphology and pragmatic effects, name forms are lexical (Ogunwale 2012). This lexical nature of names does not mean that names, and for the purposes of this paper, a proverbial name does not contain other lexical items in them. A proverbial name in Dagbani may contain many lexical items compounded together as a lexical unit to form a single name such as **Ya-ka-di-ka** 'Where does it not exist?' and **Ti-wum-tiɣi** 'We have heard enough'.

Researchers of Dagbani morpho-syntax have not done much in analyzing the structure of personal names in Dagbani. Apart from Dakubu (2000), the most recent publication on Dagbani personal names is (Abubakari et al. 2023) where they did a comparative study on names among four Mabia languages. In this case, what I try to discuss is the linguistic items that form a proverbial name. I discuss the structure of the Dagbamba proverbial names based on their linguistic structures such as single morphemes, phrases and sentences that are present in them. Dagbani proverbial names may consist of just a morpheme, for example, **Kasi** 'cleanliness', two morphemes **Wum-ya** 'heard', a compound **Baŋba** 'Know them' 'or a phrase such as **Wuni+pini** 'God's gift' or a sentence, **N+niŋ+dini** 'What have I done'. It is shown that syntactically a proverbial name might be a whole sentence whose linguistic form in Dagbani allows it to be used as a name. The paper also examined some phonological processes involved in the formation of the proverbial names.

A circumstance always leads to the choice of a name for a newborn baby. Proverbial names are unique in form and carry deep meaning, mainly known by the "giver" (parent of the newborn) and interpreted by society based on the names. That is why the Dagbamba say **ŋaha ŋahira nyɛla vubɔra, ŋun baŋ li gba nyɛla vubɔra** that is, 'both the user of proverbs and the interpreter are trouble rousers'. For instance, the proverb seen below is a complex sentence, but a name can be carved out of it in the form of a word.

(1) **Tikuma ni puhi vari, n libigi dakabiriba**

'dry trees will shoot leaves to the amazement of firewood hunters'

Truncated name: **Tikuma** "dry trees"

A child can be named '**Tikuma**' depending on several circumstances; a) if a father feels that his brothers expect him to fail or his brothers think he will fail in life then he finally made it, he can name his child 'Tikuma', or b) if two brothers, one wealthy and the other poor are contesting for a title and the wealthy man has more support because of his wealth and the poor finally wins the contest, he can name his child "**Tikuma"**. This is to communicate to the brothers that money cannot do everything. Every proverb has a meaning and a reason for the person saying it. The reason and meaning make people give proverbial names to their children. Proverbial names are good and appropriate, but one will have to be cautious when giving it to a child. These kinds of names can bring enmity to the innocent child who has no idea about the reason for his name.

Linguists of Dagbani have not paid much attention to the morphosyntax of proverbial names of the Dagbamba. Dakubu (2000) observes that personal names are given based on the following: names given with the aid of a soothsayer, names of ancestors and shrines etc. She opines that there are also names given based on time **Tisua**, festival **Damba** and **Chimsi**, as

well as day and month names. Dakubu (2000) worked on the documentation of Dagbamba personal names and does not touch on their linguistic structures. This current paper, therefore, presents an analysis of the morphology and syntax of the Dagbamba proverbial names.

1.0 Previous studies on Mabia personal names

The study of personal names is not new to the Mabia literature as there have been studies on different aspects of names within the language family. Most recent works in this field are (Abubakari et al. 2023), (Amidu 2020), (Abubakari 2020) etc. In this section, I review previous literature on the topic of naming within the Mabia language family and other languages.

According to Abubakari et al. (2023), names in Mabia languages tell stories of the circumstances of birth, place of birth, religious beliefs, family history, and genealogy. Their study focused on the socio-cultural significance and typology of personal names in some selected Mabia languages of Ghana such as Dagbani, Kusaal, Likpakpaanl and Sɪsaalɩ. The study established ten (10) categories of personal names including proverbial names. They assert that "the experiences of people, which may range from expressions of emotions of joy, sorrow, anger, among others, towards another person(s) or situation, may influence the choice of name parents may give to a newborn who happens to be born around that time of the said experience".

Suuriboma (2014:58) postulates that the majority of Dagaare's personal names are proverbial. Such names are the expression of the philosophy of life and equally of the religious attitude of the parents. It is in such names that deeds like jealousy, love, hatred, hypocrisy, rivalry, anger, enmity, kindness; witchcraft, fighting, and peaceful co-existence among others are expressed.

Though Suuriboma (2014) does a sociocultural study of Dagaare personal names, it is realized that the proverbial names in that structure have a resemblance/structure as the Dagbamba proverbial names. Names such as **Ambataayɛlɛ** 'who has no problem', **Anlaameŋɛ** 'Who is righteous', **Nobalakpeɛo** 'People are strength' etc. have the same structure as names such as **Nniŋdini** 'what have I done', **Tiyumba** 'let's love them' and **Yakadika** 'Where does it not exist'? in Dagbani.

A person's name may reflect the linguistic and phonological characteristics of the language, their place in society, as well as the collective history and experiences of those close to them. She indicated that the introduction of foreign religions and 'modernization' function as the main reasons why the people neglect giving Kusaal names to newborn babies. Touching on the structure of names, she notes that, "the Kusaas usually begin all names with the prefix 'A' be it a native name, a Christian name or a Muslim name as seen below.

(2) Kusaal Names (Abubakari 2020:25)

Source Name	Name prefixed with 'A'	
Mbugur	Ambugur	Local Kusaal names
Ndeog	Andeog	
Moses	Amoses	Christian names
Deborah	Adeborah	
Yakubu (Jacob)	Ayakubu	Muslim names

Saratu (Sarah) Asaratu

She argues that most sources of names do not have the prefix 'A', so, to differentiate persons and things, the prefix 'A' identifies a personal name from names of animals, shrines, objects etc.

Given the above brief review of the literature on the studies of personal names, I am convinced that a paper on the structure of proverbial names and the circumstances that call for it will serve as the beginning of a new era in the studies of names in Dagbani.

1.1 Naming in Dagbani

Personal names are a unique part of every society across the globe. They are given to newly born children purposely for identification in society and they are varied based on the cultures of a particular tribe or a society. According to (Agyekum 2006), they are iconic representations of composite social variables that indexicalise and relate to the name and the person. Among the Dagbamba, names can be given based on; time, day, situation, month, fetish/shrine, proverbs, death prevention, reincarnation etc. A newborn baby is named on the 7th day after birth according to the Dagbamba traditions. If a male is born, he is circumcised by a barber locally referred to as 'wanzam' (Mahama 2004). The circumcision is done depending on the health status of the newborn baby. If healthy, the circumcision is done on the third day after birth. However, if the baby is unwell, the circumcision is delayed until after the seventh day. The child is shaved and is given the right facial marks on the same day of the naming. The name to be given is determined through soothsaying before the 7th day and is kept secret until the day of the naming ceremony termed **suuna** in the language. Apart from circumcision, the rest of the processes are the same for a female baby as well. It is stated in Dakubu (2000) that Dagbamba names are given with the aid of a soothsayer, or based on names of ancestors or shrines etc. She opines that there are also names given based on 'time' **Tisua**, festival (**Damba** and **Chimsi)**, as well as day and month names.

1.2 The Morphology and Syntax of Dagbani

By virtue of their morphology, Dagbani nouns and adjectives have a stem and a suffix marking number. The suffix is either a singular or a plural suffix. The two suffixes do not co-occur on one stem. To mark plurality, the singular suffix is deleted to make way for the plural suffix to be attached to the noun as can be seen below.

(3) Singular versus plural forms of nouns and adjectives

Noun-SG	Noun-Pl	Gloss	Adjective-SG	Adjective-Pl	Gloss
a) sim-li	sim-a	'groundnut'	piɛl-li	piɛl-a	'white'
b) yil-li	yil-a	'song'	viɛl-li	viɛl-a	'nice'
c) ju-ɣu	ju-ri	'volture'	mɔ-ɣu	mɔ-ri	'square'
d) lɛ-ɣu	lɛ-ri	'dimunitive	biɛ-ɣu	biɛ-ri	'be ugly'

Morphologically, Dagbani verbs take on suffixes such as **Ø** or **-ya** to mark past and **-da** to mark habitual. The habitual marker can also surface as **-ta**, **-ra**, **-na**, and **-da**. So, depending on the

environment, the habitual marker has four allomorphs. The verb stem can take two suffixes at a time, when there is the need for a third suffix, it is written separately as a word.

Just like English and many other languages, Dagbani operates a subject (S) verb (V) object (O) structure of a simple sentence. The subject and the object could be optional, but there is always a verb in a Dagbani sentence. The subject and object positions could also be phrases, basically simple noun phrases. According to Issah (2013:202-03) "the Simple Noun Phrase (SNP) of Dagbani is made up of the head noun (HN), which could be a bare noun, a pronoun, or a proper noun and several other elements within the syntactic configuration of the SNP, which serve as modifiers". The figure below shows the structure of the simple noun phrase in Dagbani.

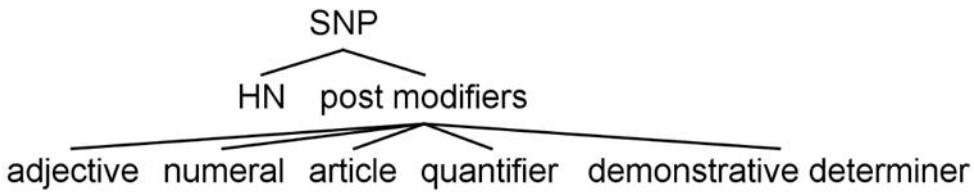

Fig.1 The structure of a simple noun phrase in Dagbani (Issah 2013)

1.3 Methodology

The data in this paper are based on the Tomo dialect, which the researcher speaks. The data consists of primarily unstructured data of different types. 1) The researcher picked different varieties of proverbial names as used by the people in the society. 2) Some of the data were also obtained from written texts in the language, (Dawuni 2013, Kofi 2006). 3) I also interviewed 3 parents whose children have proverbial names. These parents were selected purposefully because of their interest in personal proverbial names. Among the parents, IS had 2 children named **Mbo** 'Good' and **Neesim** 'Light'. He is in his late 40s and a lecturer from a public university in the southern part of Ghana. The second respondent, SMA is also a lecturer at a public university in the north with two children named **Dingariyurilim** 'what is better than love' and **Mbo** 'good'. The final respondent SN is an agronomist and named two of his children **Kasi** 'cleanliness' and **Malititi** 'Make it for us'.

2. The morphology and syntax of Dagbani proverbial names

In this section, I will be doing an analysis of some Dagbamba proverbial names based on their morphology and syntax. The analysis is done in connection with the discussion in section 1.2 which discussed the morphology and syntax of Dagbani. The first sub-section deals with the morphology while the second part deals with the syntax.

2.1 Single morpheme names

A morpheme, according to (La Mantia 2020:335) "is an irreducible (or indecomposable) unit of meaning in a given language. By this definition, a proverbial name that is said to be a single morpheme cannot be reduced in any form without the name losing its meaning. Such names,

even though morphemes, have extended meanings associated with them. The data below shows some of such names in Dagbani.

(4) single morpheme names

a) Jílímá ‘respect’

b) Kàtárí ‘luck’

c) Mbó ‘good’

d) Kásí ‘spotless’

e) Sáhá ‘luck’

According to one of my respondents who named his son **Saha** ‘luck’, he chose the name to proverbially send a message to his colleague who completed the university before him but is still jobless after 12 years, while he (the respondent) is employed. He mentioned that he had had a number of encounters with a colleague where he ridiculed him for the course he was pursuing in the university. All that made him name his son Saha which means ‘Luck is always better than being the first to seek for something’.

An attempt on single proverbial morpheme names in the Mabia languages was done by (Amidu 2020:207) where he indicated that some of these names are free single morphemes that cannot be split. However, he presented data with two morphemes as seen below; the plural forms are modifications I added based on consultations with Mampruli speakers including Amidu.

(4) Personal proverbial names in Mampruli (Amidu 2020:207)

Name	**morpheme-SG**	**morpheme-PL**	**Gloss**
a) títábì	titabi (N)	titabi	a weed with thorns
b) nápɔŋŋù	napɔŋ-ŋu (N)	napɔn-a	foot/leg
c) bɔhìgù	bɔhig-u (N)	bɔs-a	a short poisonous snake

2.2 Compounding in Dagbani proverbial names

Another productive form through which proverbial names are given in Dagbani is through compounding. “Compounding is the process by which a word is formed by concatenating two or more bases each of which potentially occurs alone elsewhere in the grammar as a syntactic atom” (Appah 2013:73).

(5) Verb-Noun compounds in proverbial names

Name	**Vbase**		**Nbase**		**Gloss**
a) Baŋsua	baŋ	‘know’	sua	‘knife’	‘to know an enemy’
b) Doliba	doli	‘follow’	ba	‘3PL’	‘follow them’
c) Fayam	fa	‘take’	yam	‘sense’	‘take away sense’

d) Kpaturi kpa ‘bring upon’ turi ‘insult’ ‘bring insults over oneself’

Through my interviews, I was informed that the name in (5a) is a note that the giver of the name has taken against his/her enemies. The giver/bearer of the name is saying that he has identified his ‘enemy’ who he refers to as a ‘knife’, therefore the enemy cannot hurt him/her anymore. In (5b), the name is given as a form of encouragement to a person who is being treated badly by his people, but he is still following them with patience to see how their lives will end. It is usually said by the people that patience is always victorious, therefore the giver/bearer is being encouraged to be patient. In all these names given in (5), there are two free morphemes that have been compounded to give the names in (5a-d). In these forms, the names are all V-N compounds. Other forms of compounding in this paper are discussed as part of phrasal names in the coming sub-section.

2.2 Phrasal Names

In 2.1, we discussed proverbial names that are single morphemes and V-N compound names. We also saw the category of words that are compounded to make these names. In this section, we are going to discuss proverbial names that have two morphemes in them in the form of phrases. In these names, there are only two words, which are put together as one to form these proverbial names.

(6) Phrasal proverbial names

a)	Suhuyini	suhu + yini	
	Proverbial name	heart one	‘one heart’
b)	suhudoo	suhu + doo	
	Proverbial name	‘heart act of lying’	‘peace’
c)	Yumzaa	Yumi + zaa	
	Proverbial name	‘love QUANT’	‘show love to all’
d)	Baŋgahim	bana + n-gahim	
	Proverbial name	3PL + FOC-choose	‘they made their choice/selection’
e)	Bɛmaŋa	bɛ + maŋa	‘onto them’
	Proverbial name	3PL + self	

The names in the above data are phrases in structure. Apart from (6c) which is a verb phrase, (6a, 6b, 6d) and (6e) are noun phrases that are lexicalized, which is a reflection of the syntax of the language where nouns and verbs can be heads of phrases. However, in (6d), the head morpheme of the name is **bana** ‘those’ which had /a/ deleted and the /n/ assimilates to the place of articulation with the /g/ in **gahim** ‘select/unique’. In these names, they are basically truncated proverbs that have been used as names. A native Dagbani speaker can associate as

many interpretations as possible to it. For instance, Kofi (2006) captures several proverbs that the name in (6a) can be derived from as seen in (7).

(7) Proverbs related to the proverbial name Suhuyini (Kofi 2006:371)

a) Suhuyini baɣa ni andunia garibu (garigu)

'A single-hearted person is not concerned about the worries of the world'.

b) Suhuyini gari suhu bɔbigu

'One heart (single-mindedness) is greater than many hearts (ideas)'

c) Suhuyini n-ŋoori naanigoo

'A single-minded person is patient concerning his/her disappointed trust'.

It is obvious now that even though the names are just two words/morphemes, they are proverbs that have been truncated to serve the purpose of identification. These forms of proverbs are seen as a way of indirect communication to people around the persons who are using them as names for their newborn children.

Katamba (1993) observes that "sometimes it is bear roots that are combined in compounding and sometimes an input base contains an affixed form". This form of compounding where an input base contains an affix is testified with the data in (8) below.

(8) Proverbial names with suffixes

a) Baŋya	baŋ-ya (Dawuni 2013:3)
Proverbial name	1SG know-PERF 'I have learned'
b) Tabira	tabi-ra
Proverbial name	support -IMPERF 'supporter'
c) Sɔŋda	sɔŋ-da
Proverbial name	help-agent 'helper'

In the above names, all the verbs have suffixes that are joined with the verb to form them. In (8a) **baŋ** 'know' takes the suffix **-ya** which marks past on verbs. This **-ya** marks perfective in the language and is suffixed only to verbs. On the other hand, the names in (8b) and (8c) are bases that have **–da** and its variant **–ra** suffixed to them. This **-da** together with its allomorphs marks a habitual aspect in Dagbani. The habitual marker **-da** has four allomorphs **-ta/ti, -na/ni, -ra/ri -da/di.** Their distribution is based on the final sound/syllable of the morpheme they are suffixed to. For instance, in (8b) the morpheme ends with the syllable **/bi/,** and therefore the morpheme **-ra** is suffixed to it. While in (8c) the morpheme ends in the velar nasal /ŋ/ and therefore picks the suffix **-da**.

2.3 Sentential proverbial names

Among the Dagbamba ethnic group, proverbial names can be in the form of a whole sentence. In this case, the words that are combined to form those names are morphologically compounded

together as a word. Though they are compounds, the sentence structure of the language is taken into consideration in their formation. This subsection of the work looks at proverbial names that have the structure of sentences. Sentences are grouped into two major types, sentences described by function and those that are defined according to their structure. This paper only looks at proverbial names of sentence forms according to their functions. According to Jindayu (2013), sentences are grouped into four by their function, i.e., declarative, commands, and question or interrogatives and exclamatory. Many of the Dagbamba proverbial names are sentential just as observed by Jindayu (2013). Therefore, this section studies sentential proverbial names in Dagbani.

As noted earlier, sentential proverbial names are structured according to the sentence structure of Dagbani which is (S)V(O). The (S) and (O) may be optional, but the verb is obligatory. The names presented below are all in the SVO structure.

(9) proverbial names with SVO

Name	subject	verb	object	Gloss
a) **Mbaŋba ←**	**n**	**baŋ**	**ba**	
	1SG	know	them	'I have known them'
b) **Nniŋdini ←**	**n**	**niŋ**	**dini**	
	1SG	do	what	'What have I done'?
c) **Bɛneeti ←**	**bɛ**	**neei**	**ti**	
	3PL	wake	us	'They have woken us (from sleep).'
d) **Tiwumtiɣi ←**	**ti**	**wum**	**tiɣi**	
	1PL	hear	satisfy	'We have heard enough.'

The data in (9) above shows that the proverbial names given are nothing but sentences based on the sentence structure of Dagbani. The words are compounded to form the names. Fabb (2001) defines a compound as a word that consists of two or more words. He indicates that compounds are subject to phonological and morphological processes, which may be specific to compounds or may be shared with other structures. It is clear, then, that the data in (9) are sentential compounds in Dagbani. The initial morphemes in (9a & 9b) i.e **(*m & n*)** which are the first-person singular pronouns have ***/n/*** as the underlying representation in Dagbani but will have to undergo a homorganic nasal assimilation process to become ***/m/*** in the name ***Mbaŋba*** due to the place of articulation of the initial sound of the second word in the compound. The coda of the verb however maintained its place of articulation feature because assimilation is blocked at word boundaries. In (9b) the ***/n/*** maintains its place of articulation because the initial consonant of the following word **niŋ** has the same place of articulation as the morpheme **/n/**. In (9c) there is a deletion of the final /**i**/ of the verb **neei**. Before the morphemic pronoun ***ti*** is compounded with the verb, the elision of the vowel /i/ occurs before it is attached to the verb. This highlights the fact that there is an interface between morphology, syntax and phonology.

Based on their functions, sentences are declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamative. Some of these types manifest in the proverbial names. The names that are represented in (10) are based on declarative functions.

(10) Sentential proverbial names with declarative functions

Name

a) Tiyuuniba (Kofi, 2006:394)
ti yuuni-Ø ba
1PL watch-IMPF 3PL.OBJ
'We are watching them.'

b) Bɛtambɛpiligu (Kofi, 2006:80)
Bɛ tam bɛ piligu
3PL forgot 3PL begin
'They have forgotten their' beginning/origin'

c) Shinikadoliba
shina ka doli ba
Quiet CON follow 3PL.OBJ.
'Keep quiet, follow them'

d) diŋmaniya
di ŋmani ya
3SG.INAN resembles 2PL.OBJ
'It resembles you'

All the sentences in (10) are declarative sentences containing subjects, verbs, and objects. It is shown in (10c) that the **a** in **shina** is weakened to **i** before it is compounded to form the name **Shinikadoliba** which also contains the conjunction **ka**. The full proverb as it is used by the speakers is, **shini ka doli ba n-nya di bahigu** 'just keep quiet and follow them to see how it ends'. However, when used as a proverbial name, the last part of the proverb **n-nya di bahigu** is truncated.The names in (10a, 10b) are sayings that are referenced to people who are either closely related to those giving the names to their children or it could be at a workplace where there is a rivalry between two people. But the names are such that the people who are close to those giving the names are those who will read the meaning to it, either positively or negatively.

In another form, there are proverbial names that function as questions. These types of names are a form of lamentation by the fathers of the children who are giving them those names. They are born out of rivalry, hatred, or witchcraft. So, the nature of these questions is rhetoric as seen in (11) below.

(11) Sentential proverbial names with question functions

a) Nniŋdini
n niŋ dini
1SG do what
'what have I done?'

b) Nniŋmibawula
n niŋmi ba wula
1SG do 3PL.OBJ what
'what should I do to them?'

c) Bɔritinyuriya
bɔri-ta nyu-ri ya
'stir-HAB drink-IMPF where'
'where does the one who stirs water drink from?'

d) Diniŋbo
di niŋ bɔ
3SG. do what

'what has it done?'

e) Bɔnsuduŋ
bɔ n-su duŋ
what FOC-cause enmity
'what causes enmity?'

In the above data from (11a-e), it is observed that each of the names begins with a question word i.e. **dini, wula, ya,** and **bɔ**.

Issah (2015) observed that Dagbani interrogative words might occur either in clause-initial or clause-final (base) position. This, he claims, indicates that Dagbani is an optional fronting language. Issah's observation, therefore, confirms the fact that **bɔ** appeared in the final base slot in (11d) and at the initial slot of (11e). This change in position, however, does not change the function of **bɔ** as a question word.

Also, in (11c) the vowel /a/ is weakened to /i/ in /**ta**/ which is the derivational morpheme that changed the verb **bɔri** (to stir) into a noun. This weakening of a vowel once again confirms that there is also a morpho-phonological interface when dealing with the linguistic analysis of Dagbamba proverbial names. This form of vowel reduction is prevalent in Dagbani between /o/→/ɔ/ and /e/→/ɛ/. When the vowel /o/ ends a verb and takes a suffix, the /o/ will surface as /ɔ/, and when the vowel /e/ ends a verb and takes a suffix the /e/ surfaces as /ɛ/. See the data in (12) for a better illustration of these occurrences.

(12) The realization of /e/→/ɛ/ and /o/ →/ɔ/

a) ko + ra → kɔra "farm"

b) bo + ra → bɔra "want"

c) kpe + ra → kpɛra "enter"

d) le + ra → lɛra "feed"

As indicated in the discussions earlier, other grammatical particles such as negation and perfective markers. These particles are used in the names following the sentence structure of the language. Preverbal particles are used before the verbs and question words can be at both the initial and final of a sentence. Some of these names are presented in the data below.

(13) Proverbial names containing negatives and perfectives

	Name	**structure**	**Gloss**
a)	**Wumbiyɛli**	**Wuni + bi + yɛli**	'If God does not ordain something…'
		God not say	
b)	**Zaansuma**	**Zaa + n-su + ma**	'I am owned by everybody'
		All own me	
c)	**Salipawuni**	**Sala + pa+ wuni**	'Man is not God'

Human NEG God

In the data above, it is shown in (13a) that the name **Wumbiyɛli** is made up of three categories of words. **Wuni** 'God', a noun, has its **i** deleted and the last consonant assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant that starts the second-word **bi** 'NEG' which negates continuous and past events in Dagbani (Nindow 2014) before the final word (verb) is attached to complete the name. There is the presence of preverbal negative marker **bi** and negative copular verb **pa** in (13a, 13c) whereas the **bi** negate verbs the **pa** negates nominals, see (Adam 2010, Nindow 2014).

Pulleyblank and Akinlabi (1988) observe that there are instances where morphology will be the input for syntax and in other instances, the syntax will be provided as the input for morphology within the Modular Theory of grammar. The model they use is shown below:

(14) The Modular Theory of Grammar (Pullyblank & Akinlabi 1988)

(14a) MORPHOLOGY ⟶ SYNTAX
(14b) MORPHOLOGY$_i$ ⟶ SYNTAX ⟶ MORPHOLOGY$_i$

If we look at the name **bɔritinyuriya,** the underlying representation is **bɔri +ta+nyu-ra+ya.** The first verb **bɔri** is nominalised by the morpheme **-ta.** The next verb, in order to form the verbal compound, **nyu,** has to take the habitual marker **-ra** to form the transitive verb **nyura** before it can be compounded with the initial nominalized verb plus the question word **ya** to form **bɔritanyuraya.** After forming the new word, phonological processes such as vowel reduction will take place to ensure the word complies with the phonotactics of Dagbani. Therefore, (14a) of Pulleyblank and Akinlabi (1988) best explain how Dagbani morphology and syntax interface work within the language. That is, it is morphology that provides the input/template for syntax to apply.

2.4 Some Phonological processes in Dagbamba proverbial names

Throughout the discussion, we have seen the forms and structure of the Dagbamba proverbial names. In this section, we are focusing on some phonological processes that exist in the proverb-based names. As indicated earlier, the morphology feeds the syntax in the formation of the names, but within that, the phonology plays a role as captured in the data below.

(15) Nasal assimilation

Name	**Structure**	**Gloss**
a) Wumpini	wuni pini	'God's gift'
b) Mbaŋba	n baŋ ba	'I have known them'
c) Mburidiba	n buri di ba	'I have defeated them'

From the above names, we can see that two phonological processes took place in (15a). It is seen that before **wuni** and **pini** compound to form the name there is vowel /i/-deletion. Then after the deletion, the alveolar nasal assimilates to the place of articulation of the bilabial plosive. The same form of assimilation is seen in (15b and 15c) where the **/n/** assimilates to the place of articulation of the **/b/.**

The underlying form of the first person singular pronominal is /n/ in Dagbani. This /n/ assimilates to **/m/** before **/m, p**, and **b**/ but no assimilation takes place in other environments as can be seen in the names below.

(16) No assimilation

Name	**Structure**	**Gloss**
a) **Nniŋdini**	**n niŋ dini**	'what have I done?'
b) **Wunintira**	**wuni n tira**	'it is God who gives'
c) **Wuntia**	**wuni -tia**	'faith in God'

Another phonological process that is evident in the formation of proverbial names among the Dagbamba is segment deletion. Final segments of the initial noun's vowels are usually deleted before the words are compounded to form the proverbial name. Vowels are usually the targets for this form of deletion. The data in (17) below shows this form of deletion.

(17) Segment deletion in proverbial names

Name	**Structure**	**Gloss**
a) **Tuŋteeya**	**tuŋa teei -ya**	'our family has grown'
b) **Tuusimli**	**tuui simli**	'met friendship'
c) **Wumbiyɛli**	**wuni bi yɛli**	'if God has not ordained something'

In the data in (17a), two vowels are deleted before the formation of the name. The number suffix of **tuŋa** 'vine' which is **-a** was deleted and the final vowel of **teei** 'spread' is also deleted before the two words are compounded to form the name. In (17b) the /i/ in **tuui** is deleted before the second word is joined to the first word, and the same process took place in (17c) where the /i/ in **wuni** is deleted to create an environment for assimilation to take place.

This process discussed also exists in Yoruba where final vowels are deleted in compound formation as indicated by (Taiwo 2008), and is shown below in (18).

(18) Compound words in Yoruba (Taiwo, 2008: 346)

a. **sọ̀rọ̀**	⟵	**sọ + ọ̀rọ̀**			
'to speak'		say word			
b. **kíyèsára**	⟵	**kó**	**iyè**	**sí**	**ara**
'to be observant'		put	mind	to	body

c. **Babaláwo** ← **Baba ní awo**

'Herbalist' old man/father has cult 'The old man has a cult'.

d. **Adéwálé** ← **Adé wá sí ilé**

personal name Ade come prep. House

'Ade came to the house'/'Ade came home'.

Taiwo (2008) observes that in derivations, some phonological processes such as vowel elision, contraction, tonal displacement/replacement, etc., are employed. For example, in the derivation of ***sọ̀rọ̀*** 'to speak', the vowel of **sọ** 'to throw' is elided with its mid-tone, and in **kíyèsára**, 'to be observant', the vowels of **kó** 'to put' and that of **sí** (prep) are elided, but their high tones remain, and these high tones displace the adjacent mid tone of **iyè** 'mind' and **ara** 'body'.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of the current study was to determine the structure of Dagbani proverbial names. The study has shown that there is a relationship between morphology, syntax and phonology of proverbial names among the Dagbamba. It is observed that the structure of those names follows the sentential arrangement of the language. The paper further showed that linguistic elements that can be found in a proverbial name in Dagbani vary depending on the purpose of the said name. It showed that linguistic units such as nouns, verbs, pronouns, negative markers etc. can co-occur in a proverbial name. They can occur in the form of single morphemes **saha** 'luck', two morphemes **Baŋya** 'learned' or phrases and can be in the form of a whole sentence **Nniŋdini** 'What did I do?'. Both men and women can bear proverb base names in Dagbani. In all these analyses, it was observed that there is an interface between morphology, syntax, and phonology when it comes to the morphosyntactic analysis of the Dagbamba proverbial names. It is realized that the input will usually have to undergo some morpho-phonological process to produce the output form. This study has been one of the first attempts to thoroughly examine the structure of proverbial names within formal linguistics in the language. The results from the findings therefore show a new dimension to the study of names. Further research is needed to study the reasons for the types of names parents give to their children.

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PLACE-NAME LEXICALIZATION IN AKAN: ON THE SEGMENTAL AND PROSODIC PROCESSES AND CONSTRAINTS

Seth Antwi Ofori

This paper examines the formation of three classes of partative-based place names in Akan within linear and non-linear phonology. Principally, the study aims to identify impermissible vowel-sequence cases in place-name lexicalization and the segmental and prosodic remedies available in Akan grammar for resolving them. Examples of categories of partative-based place-names under investigation are: (i) **kubaasi** consisting of **kube** 'coconut tree' and **asɪ** 'under'; (ii) **duasʊ** consisting of **dua** 'tree' and **(ɛ)sʊ** 'on top of (it)'; (iii) and **æsuom** made up of **æsuo** 'waters/rivers' and **(e)mu** 'within or among it'. The study reveals deletion, compensatory vowel lengthening, vowel and consonant assimilation, glide-onset formation as some of the processes deployed towards the resolution of ill-formed vowel-sequence cases in place-name lexicalization in Akan. It is observed that these processes are deployed towards preserving marked sonorous units over their least marked sonorous counterparts, contrastive units over predictable units.

Keywords: Akan, segment, prosody, vowel, sequence, lexicalization

1. Introduction

This paper provides a phonological analysis of three classes of partative-based place-name formation in Akan. Of great interest here are the segmental and prosodic processes, and the constraints for vowel-sequence resolution at the stem-stem boundary in this lexicalization process. The beauty of the current study lies in how Akan grammar regulates very intricate competing segmental/featural and prosodic demands in the formation of partative-based place-names. The demands of the phonotactics, the prosody and the need to sustain semantic salience are all crucial such that place-name lexicalization is a compromising endeavor from these quarters rather than any of them having it their way fully. The analysis is couched within rule-based (linear and non-linear) and constraint-based phonology.[1] Akan is a Niger-Congo (Kwa) language spoken in Ghana. In the traditional Akan socio-cultural setting, place-names are landmarks and symbols of community value, which community members must strive to sustain

[1] A reviewer questioned the need to employ all these theories in the current study and following are my reasons why they are necessary. A linear phonological account is meant to focus on (and therefore establish) strictly segmental/featural issues or processes involved in these categories of place-name lexicalization. The non-linear representation allows for syllable processes in the data to be discussed and defined. Constraints are the requirements for which reason output forms must be realized somehow. They are the reason linear and non-linear processes must apply. That is, there is the need to extend the analysis to these conditions for which reason observed linear and non-linear rules apply.

and enhance. That is, place-names are not arbitrary labels. The rest of the paper has been subdivided as follows: Section (2) provides the grammatical background of partative nouns, their distribution(s) and uses. Section (3) provides the phonological background for the analysis. Section (4) provides some of the relevant theoretical information for the present analysis, namely sonority, markedness and prosodic morphology theory. Section (5) is devoted to vowel sequences at the stem-stem boundary involving the low vowel /a/ as it relates to ***asɪ***-based place-names. Section (6) focuses on vowel sequences and other stem-stem boundary phenomena in the case of ***emu*** and ***ɛsʊ*** place names together. Section (7) offers a linear summary of the rules. Section (8) situates matters of constraint interaction within Optimality Theory to understand the nature of resolution of the competing demands on output forms from the phonotactics, prosody and the semantics. Section (9) provides a very brief conclusion.

2. On the grammar (i.e., morphology, syntax and semantics) of partative nouns in Akan

The focus here is to outline the structure of partative-based place-names. The following formal characteristics are noted of the place-name data under discussion. They are underlyingly possessive constructions with the basic phrase structure: /$NP1_{possessor}$ Ø $NP2_{possessum}$/, as it is basically the structure for possessive constructions in Akan as in: **Kofi-***NP1* **anim-***NP2* "Kofi's face", or "in front of Kofi". The overall head of the phrase above is (within) NP2 (i.e., **anim**) which is also the head (i.e., **anim**) in this case. The two NPs (i.e., NP1 and NP2) are held together in the possessive construction by a null-possessor (i.e., Ø). In other words, **Kofi** and **anim** do not need an overt possessive unit to join them into a possessive construction in Akan. In possessive constructions in Akan, the content or referent of NP2 is vague or indefinite for which reason NP1 is augmented before it (NP2) to make it definite. The possessive constructions in the present study that are lexicalized into place-names uniquely are headed by partative nouns (Ofori 2006a) (or relational nouns, according to Boadi 2010). I follow Ofori (2006a) in referring to these heads as partative nouns after the fact that these heads denote some part of, or some part in relation to, the NP that modifies them (i.e., NP1). That is, the referent of NP1 provides some (perceived) context (i.e., the physical, temporal, non-temporal, spatial context, etc.), and the partative noun, a point, some space or unit in relation to (i.e., possessive of, or definable by) the (perceived) context.

On the basis of syntactic distribution, Boadi (2010: 228) treats partative (i.e., relational) nouns as postpositional words. Note that these postpositional phrases are being treated in the present study as possessive constructions. Boadi cites the words in (1) below as the commonest postpositions (i.e., partative nouns) in Akan:

(1) Some postpositions (i.e., partative nouns) in Akan
"(a) **emu** 'inside, the interior'; (b) **ɛso** 'the top, surface'; (c) **aseɛ** 'the bottom part'; (d) **ɛho** 'the exterior'; (e) **ɛtoɔ** 'the rear'; (f) **ano** 'the mouth, nearer side'; (g) **akyire** 'the back, the rear, the farther side'; (h) **anim** 'the front, the facial, the face'; (i) **benkum** 'left(part)'; (j) **nifa** 'right(part)'; and also (k) **anaafoɔ** 'direction towards which a river flows, legs' end' and (l) **atifi** 'direction from which a river flows'." He observes that "[l]ike all other nouns postpositions have a prefix, which is phonologically a vowel, a nasal consonant or zero. The vowel is deleted in given contexts, possibly by a phonological rule."

Positions in the last two sentences – such as partative nouns bearing prefixes and these affixes being often deleted phonologically – are important in our formal account of place-name lexicalization in the current study.

While the following may not be relevant to the current study, it is necessary to provide

Boadi's complete account of the behavior of these unique nouns in Akan grammar. Boadi (2010: 217) identifies two functional uses of partative (i.e., relational) nouns as in possessive constructions as: alienable and inalienable. He observes that partative nouns in their alienable uses usually take a suffix whereas their inalienable uses are without such. For example, the Akan word for 'buttock' is **ɛto-ɔ** (alienable), but **ɛto** (inalienable); i.e., alienable (**ɛtoɔ**, as in: **Kofi toɔ** 'Kofi's buttock'-some buttock which Kofi owns*) when the word i*s not an integral and permanent part of the associative phrase (i.e., the NP1 and null-possessor combined); inalienable (**ɛto**, as in: **Kofi to** 'Kofi's buttock') when the entity is an inseparable part of the referent. To explain this further, I will say that in the first usage, the 'buttock' is owned, non-inherently by Kofi (**Kofi toɔ,** i.e., alienable), as opposed to it being owned, inherently, by Kofi (**Kofi to**, i.e., inalienable**).**

A common semantic feature of the two uses is that the unit denoted by the partative noun in both uses must be among the (perceived) scope of things associated with the referent of the associative phrase (in the above example, Kofi) and all that could possibly be attributed to – or associated with - him, either inherently (i.e., inalienably) or non-inherently (i.e., alienably). In other words, the associative phrase and partative noun relation is inalienable when the partative noun denotes a non-detachable constituent of the referent of the associative phrase, but alienable whereby the referent of the partative noun is mainly definable by, but not inherently associated with, the (perceived) scope of the referent of the associative phrase. That is, in the two uses, a referent of the partative noun only becomes definite or specifiable on the basis of the referent of the associative phrase and of the associative/possessive relation the two nouns are put into, either implicitly or explicitly.

While Boadi (2010) focuses on the syntactic uses of partative nouns with their semantic functions, the current study is concerned about the compounding (i.e., lexicalization) of partative nouns (PN) with their associative phrase modifiers (AsP) in Akan as the structures in Table (1) below illustrate:

Table 1. ***Distributions of partative nouns in the syntax and the morphology***

Input		Output (compounded/lexicalized)
X	Y	Z = [XY]
AsP (→ NP+As)	Partative Noun (PN)	[AsP+PN]
kwaeɛ + Null "forest"	emu "interior"	kwaeɛm [kʷaɪjem] "the setting of the forest"

In Table (1), the noun phrase, **kwaeɛ mu** "literally: forest's interior" (or the sight of the forest) consisting of an associative phrase *(i.e., AsP →* ***kwaeɛ (NP)*** *+ a zero possessive morpheme (Null))* and an NP headed by **(e)mu** (i.e., a partative noun) combine into the place-name **kwaeɛm** [kʷáí!jém] (Tone: HH**!H**H) "forest-sight". That is, the phonological component plays a vital role in what this input finally becomes lexically. Therefore, there is the need for some phonological background as pursued in section (3).[2] Note that the current study is only devoted to the formation of partative-based place-names involving the partative nouns, **ase(ɛ) /asɪ/** "bottom", **emu /ɛmu/** "inside, the interior", and **ɛso /ɛsʊ/** "top-part, surface-part".

[2] In a stem noun with the morpheme-sequence, Prefix-Root, the prefix carries a low tone and the root a high tone. Compounding creates a high-tone downstep where the low-tone bearing prefix is V_2 and deletes without its low tone. This floating low-tone is what is responsible for high-tone downstepping (i.e., !H) – a slight lowering of the high-tone immediately after the floating low-tone of the deleted-V_2.

3. A brief phonological background on Akan

The discussion that follows focuses on sounds (vowels and some consonants), vowel sequences and some consonants of Akan. The tables below Table (2) – i.e., Table (3) and (5) – showcase vowels and consonants of Akan respectively.

Table 2. ***Akan vowel sounds***

	Levels of representation	**±HIGH /±LOW**	**±ROUND**				
			-round (front)		*-round (central)*	*+round (back)*	
					±ATR		
			-atr	*-atr*	*-atr*	*+atr*	*-atr*
		(i)	*(ii)*	*(iii)*	*(iv)*	*(v)*	*(vi)*
a.	Orth.	+high(-low)	**<i>**	**<e>**		**<u>**	**<o>**
	Phonology	+high(-low)	**/i/**	**/ɪ/** *(→[i])*		**/u/**	**/ʊ/** *(→[u])*
	Phonetic	+high(-low)	**[i]**	**[ɪ]** *(~[i])*		**[u]**	**[ʊ]** *(~[u])*
b.	Orth.	-high -low	**<e>**	**<ɛ>**		**<o>**	**<ɔ>**
	Phonology	-high -low	**/e/**	**/ɛ/** *(→[e])*		**/o/**	**/ɔ/** *(→[o])*
	Phonetic	-high -low	**[e]**	**[ɛ]** *(~[e])*		**[o]**	**[ɔ]** *(~[o])*
c.	Orth.	+low(-high)			**<a>**		
	Phonology	+low(-high)			**/a/** *(→ [æ] ~ [e])*		
	Phonetic	+low(-high)			**[a]** *(~ [æ] ~ [e])*		

Orthographic forms of vowels appear in "<>" with their phonological/phonemic and phonetic representations beneath them in the same column – with phonemic equivalents in "//" (oblique strokes or slashes), and phonetic realization(s) in "[]" (square bracket). A feature in a bracket "()" may not be used with a feature before it, which is outside the bracket, to describe a vowel simultaneously. For example, a vowel will never be specified with the features +high and -low simultaneously. [-high] and [-low] can be used simultaneously to describe a vowel and explains why none of the two features is in a bracket. The feature mid (i.e., [+mid]) may sometimes be used to stand for the features, [-high] and [-low], together. The phonemic vowels /ɪ, ʊ, ɛ, ɔ, a/ are phonologically/underlyingly [-ATR] vowels; that is, associated with their production is the retraction (i.e., non-advancement) of the tongue root. These vowels often undergo [+ATR] harmony to [i, u, e, o, æ] respectively. It needs to be noted that the feature [+ATR] is underlying for four vowels for which reason those vowels appear in slashes in the table, namely /i, u, e, o/ and phonetically are realized as [i, u, e, o] – i.e., as "exact" copies of their underlying forms respectively. So, it is not every advanced non-low vowel which occurs in some Akan speech (i.e., [i, u, e, o]) that might have been derived through [+ATR] harmony. Advanced tongue root ([+ATR]) harmony in Akan demands that a retracted (or an unadvanced) vowel (i.e., /ɪ, ʊ, ɛ, ɔ,

a/, [-ATR]) harmonizes with an abutting vowel in its underlying [+ATR] feature. Changes from [-ATR] to [+ATR] due to the [+ATR] rule have been indicated in the table with the representations: "(→ […])" and (~ […]) placed immediately after the [-ATR] vowels concerned. The resultant advanced vowel ([+ATR]) is what occupies the square bracket. The [-low]/[+low] feature distinction will be invoked when the rest of the vowels ([-low], /i, ɪ, u, ʊ, e, ɛ, o, ɔ/) are found to pattern against the low vowel, /a/. In situations where the low vowel patterns with the mid vowels in their phonological behavior, the feature [-high] becomes a class label so to differentiate them (i.e., the low and mid vowels put together: /a, e, ɛ, o, ɔ/) from sounds belonging to the high-category which may not behave similarly. Where a three-term label will suffice in a vowel's description and identification, the following feature-sequence order will be observed, namely the vowel's height (i.e., [+high], or [-high -low], or [+low]), its lip posture (i.e., [-round] or [+round]), to be ended by its specification of tongue-root advancement or non-advancement (i.e., either [-ATR] or [+ATR]).

Table 3. ***Feature matrix for vowel in Akan***

Phonemes	/i/	/u/	/ɪ/	/ʊ/	/e/	/o/	/ɛ/	/ɔ/	/a/
High	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
Low	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Rd/Bk/Lab	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
ATR	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-

The table of vowel sequences below was taken from Dolphyne (1988) to provide us with some relevant background information on vowel sequence constraints in Akan. This is her account of the permissible vowel sequences within words in Akan and will give us some hint on the rationale for certain vowel sequence resolutions between morphemes in place-names.

Table 4. ***Vowel sequence in Akan*** *(Dolphyne 1988:9)*

	i	ɪ	e	ɛ	a	ɔ	o	ʊ	u
i	ii		ie	iɛ /ia/	ia		io		
ɪ		ɪɪ		ɪɛ	ɪa				
e	ei		ee						
ɛ		ɛɪ		ɛɛ					
a		aɪ			aa				
ɔ		ɔɪ				ɔɔ			
o	oi						oo		
ʊ		ʊɪ		ʊɛ	ʊa	ʊɔ		ʊʊ	
u	ui		ue		ua		uo		uu

In the table below are some Akan consonants. I have restricted the list to the ones needed for the present study.

Table 5. ***Aspects of Akan (Twi) consonants***

	r	n	m	N	w	f	s	ɛ	h	p	b	t	d	k	g	tɕ	dʑ	tɕɥ	dʑɥ	j
SON	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ANT	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
LAB	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
COR	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
DOR	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
NAS	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The feature labels, labial and coronal can be extended to back/round and front/non-round vowels in Akan respectively.

4. Theory and positions

Two of the essential claims of the theory of prosodic morphology are very relevant in the account of the formation of partative-based place-names in Akan. The two salient principles are: (a) Prosodic Morphology Hypothesis and (b) Template Satisfaction Condition (but not the third, Prosodic Circumscription).

(2) *Some principles of prosodic morphology*

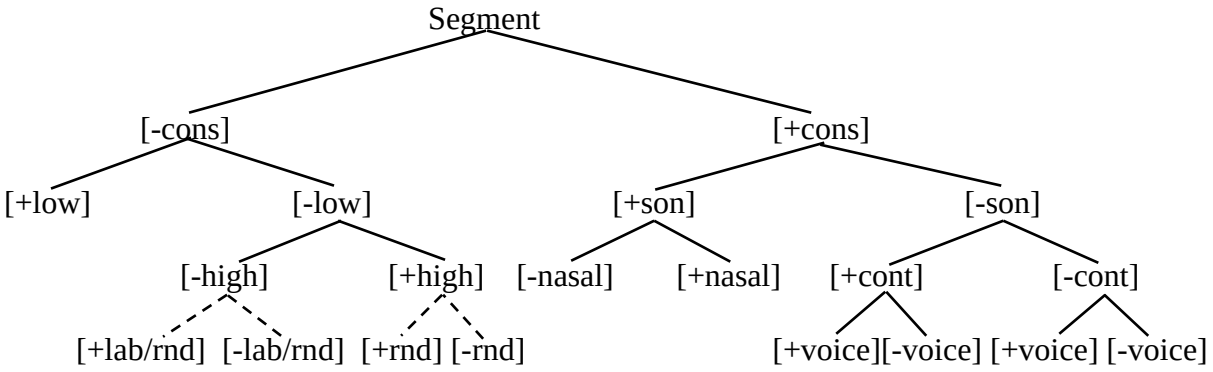
(a) Templates are defined in terms of the authentic units of prosody: mora syllable, foot (F), prosodic word (PrWd).

(b) Satisfaction of templatic constraints is obligatory and is determined by the principles of prosody, both universal and language-specific.

An examination of output forms of partative-based place-names reveals a minimum syllable requirement of four on place-names. For this reason, the assignment of segments to syllable slots is carefully pursued, to avoid anything less than the four-syllable requirement on partative-based place-names, guided by principles (i.e., constraints) that basically work to achieve segmental contrast and phonotactic well-formedness simultaneously.

The forms that serve as inputs in the formation of partative-based place-names are independent stem words. The partative noun subpart of the two forms that join in place-name formation always comes with a nominal prefix. As a result, a vowel sequence always emerges at the stem-stem boundary of which there is often the need to respect certain phonotactic requirements (i.e., constraints) on vowel sequence/hiatus – i.e., the need for hiatus resolution. Claims of the sonority scale and of the markedness theory are significant in such hiatus resolutions. Sonority and markedness principles interact with constraints that act to preserve lexical contrast in deriving more lexically/contrastively- and structurally/phonotactically-optimal place-name outputs. Sonority is "[t]he overall loudness of a sound, relative to others of the same pitch, stress, and duration" (Crystal 1992). It is believed in phonological theory that "… in each utterance, there are as many syllables as there are clear peaks of sonority" (Blevins 1995). Blevins posits what she calls a working universal sonority scale, as given below, on which the segmental contents of syllables of languages are said to be based.

(3) ***Blevins' working universal sonority scale***



The sonority scale aids both in the conceptualization and concretization of the syllable and syllabification – i.e., in understanding which group of segments may co-occur within the syllable of a language. Such segment combinatorial possibilities are captured through the sonority sequencing principle (SSP) which denotes segments at the syllable margins or peripheries (i.e., onset and coda) as falling in sonority from the nucleus. The scale is equally significant in the construction of syllable sequence – that is, here, the sonority scale motivates sound sequencing between abutting syllables (i.e., as in the syllable contact law). It is in the above means that sonority as a phonological concept is significant in the current study. The part of the sonority scale, namely: [+low] >> [-high] >> [+high] equally depicts vowel markedness, from marked (i.e., high in sonority) to unmarked (i.e., less sonorous). Below is a summarized proposal of vowel sonority and markedness preference order for Akan:

Table 6. ***Segments in column (I) with their sonority and markedness information in column (II) and (III) respectively***

Column (I): Segment/Feature	Column (II): Sonority designation	Column (III): Markedness designation
+low	High >>	High >>
-high (-low)	Middle >>	Middle >>
+high	Less	Less (i.e., unmarked)

In the formation of place-names, an impermissible vowel sequence is always resolved in favor of an item higher on the hierarchy – i.e., hiatus resolution is preservation of the more sonorous and marked of abutting vowels. This entails that the less sonorous and marked of a vowel sequence is always the target for any formal alteration in situations of vowel-sequence ill-formedness. Abundant in grammar are the phonotactic constraints that a language may implement to obviate perceived vowel-sequence ill-formedness, for which reason, sometimes, even a deviant output may be more preferred (i.e., becomes optimal). The pro-phonotactic well-formedness constraints that are crucial to vowel-sequence ill-formedness resolution in the current study have been outlined and explained in section (8).

Three classes of partative-based place-names have been selected for description and rule-based analysis in sections five and six, with section seven being the summary of linear rules in sections five and six. The three classes are, namely ***asɪ***-based place names (in section five), ***emu***-based place-names and ***ɛsʊ***-based place names (in section six).

5. Phonological processes associated with the formation of asɪ-based place-names

In the data below is a sequence of two low vowels, namely a stem's final low-vowel and the following stem's initial low-vowel. There are basically four output possibilities here, one of which is preferred – which is (ii) in each case.

(4) *Data with /aa/ sequence at the stem-stem boundary*

	Place-name input	Place-name Output	Orthography	
a.	**oɲ(ɪ)ankɔma-asɪ** "the onyankoma plant's-underpart"	(i) ***ɲankɔmØ-Øsɪ** (ii) **ɲankɔma-Øsɪ** (iii) ***ɲankɔmØ-asɪ** (iv) ***ɲankɔma-asɪ**	**Nyankomase**	"the underneath/underpart of the onyankoma plant"
b.	**ɔdɔmɪna-asɪ** "the ɔdɔmɪna plant's-underpart"	(i) ***dɔmɪnØ-Øsɪ** (ii) **dɔmɪna-Øsɪ** (iii) ***dɔmɪnØ-asɪ** (iv) ***dɔmɪna-asɪ**	**Dɔmenase**	"the underneath/underpart of the ɔdɔmena plant"
c.	**ankaa-asɪ** "the ankaa/citrus plant's-underpart"	(i) ***ankaØ-Øsɪ** (ii) **ankaa-Øsɪ** (iii) ***ankaØ-asɪ** (iv) ***ankaa-asɪ**	**Ankaase**	"the underneath/ underpart of the ankaa/citrus.plant"

Following is how output possibilities, from (i) to (iv), of each input are different: output forms in (i) have their low-low vowel sequence deleted completely; in (ii), it is the second of the two low vowels that is deleted (the first low vowel is retained) and these are the preferred output forms; in (iii) is the reverse of (ii), the first low vowel rather deletes; in (iv), both low vowels are retained and these outputs are ungrammatical, just as (i) and (iii) are, in the language. Below are linear and non-linear generative representations on low-low vowel sequence resolution at the stem-stem boundary in place-name formation. Superscript "$^{+}$", as used below, demarcates meaningful units, namely morphemes, stems, etc.

(5) *Linear representation*

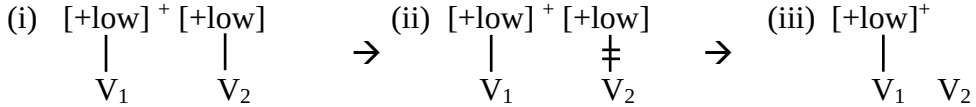
(a) Abstract templatic representation: **V → Ø /V^{+}__**

(b) A more concrete, segmental representation: **/a/ → Ø / a^{+}__**

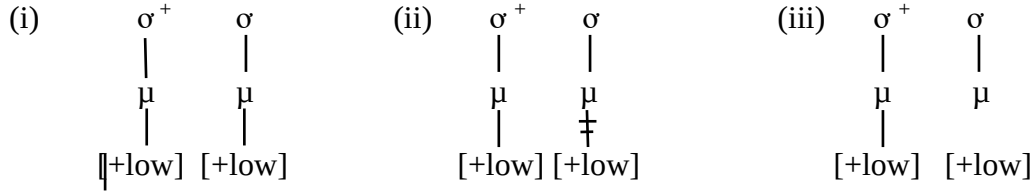
(c) A more concrete, featural representation: **[+low] → Ø / [+low]$^{+}$__**

(6) *Non-linear representation*

(a) *With a V-template*:



(b) With a prosodic template (σ "syllable"; μ "mora", used to indicate the weight of a syllable): (b-i) represents the input sequence; (b-ii) could be interpreted as either feature or prosodic delinking (i.e., termination of association) hence the lack of association (line) in (b-iii). Prosodic and featural properties exist, but are unpronounced due to lack of association.



Note that, in a preferred output, an initial vowel of the first stem-word is deleted when it is either [o] or [ɔ] (i.e., a non-low vowel as in (4a-ii) and (4b-ii)), but is retained when it is /a/, the low vowel (as in (4c-ii)). Below in (7) is a linear representation of stem initial [ɔ] and [o] deletion.[3]

(7) *Linear representations of initial-stem vowel deletion*
Abstract V-template representation: **V → Ø / #__+**
Concrete, segmental representation: **/ɔ, o/ → Ø / #__+**
Concrete, Featural representation: **[-low] → Ø / #__+**

It is not yet clear what the main motivations are for vowel deletion cases as illustrated above. Below in (8) is another /aa/ stem-boundary scenario with a slightly different outcome.

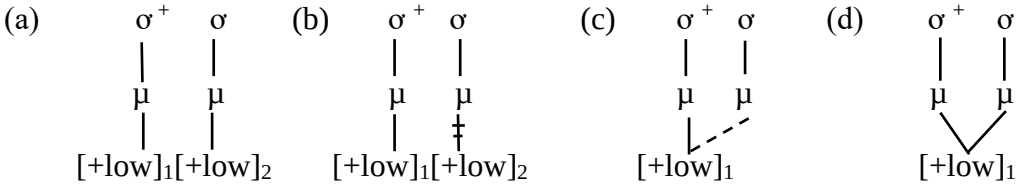
(8) $a^{+}a$ sequence

Place-name input	**Place-name Output**	**Orthography**	
odʑama-asɪ "the ogyama plant's underneath"	(i) ***dʑamØ-Øsɪ** (ii) ***dʑama-Øsɪ** (iii) ***dʑamØ-asɪ** (iv) ***dʑama-asɪ** (v) **dʑama:sɪ**	**Gyamaase**	"the underneath of the ogyama plant"

Here, the preferred output is (8-v) **dʑama:sɪ** with a doubly-associated low vowel (i.e., represented here as a long vowel). The rule in (7) applies here also in deleting the initial [-low] (i.e., [o]) of the initial stem. The rule representations in (5/6), partly repeated in (9a/b), hold here also in deleting the second of the two low vowels. What is different in the preferred output this time is that the first low vowel lengthens to make up for the deletion of the second low vowel. In other words, the first low vowel becomes associated with – i.e., becomes the nucleus of – two contiguous syllables as opposed to just one of them in the preferred output (as in 9d) for this particular input. The non-linear representation in (9c) illustrates vowel lengthening, and (9d) is the resultant surface/phonetic realization.[4]
(9) [+low] lengthening

[3] The [o] and [ɔ] are different for allophonic reasons – [+ATR] harmony accounts for their surface difference. The prefix is underlyingly {ɔ-} (and phonologically /ɔ/, a phoneme, [-ATR]) which gets realized as [o] (i.e., [+ATR] due to the need for a [-ATR] vowel to change to [+ATR] in harmony with a succeeding vowel (i.e., the [+ATR] harmony rule in Akan applies here). The rule as in (7) is a cover for non-low vowel deletion as it is often the case in Akan.

[4] An anonymous reviewer drew my attention to the need to mention tone here and I think that is a good idea. Here, both V_1 and V_2 are filled by a low vowel and tone serves as the evidence of V_2 deletion. V_2 bearing a low tone deletes for which reason a HLH tone-sequence comes to be realized as HH (i.e., the first high tone belonging to V_1 and the following high tone belonging to the initial syllable of the root morpheme that V_2 (with a low tone) is its prefix)).



At the moment, it is not clear why a_2 deletion in (8) must be compensated for through a_1 lengthening, but the same a_2-deletion must occur in (4) without the lengthening of a_1 to compensate for it. This quest borders on motivation and it will be addressed aptly with the unfolding of facts about the place-name data in consideration here.

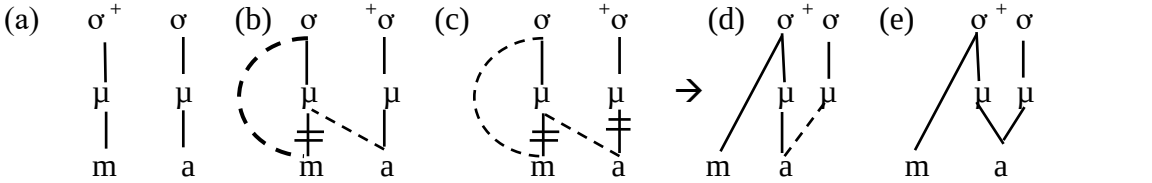
It has become necessary to indicate syllable boundary (here, with a dot) in (10). Following are interpretations of output forms as given in column two of (10).

(10)

Place-name Input	**Place-name Output**	**Orthography**	
kum-asɪ "the kum plant's underneath"	(a) ***ku.m.sɪ** (b) ***ku.ma.sɪ** (c) ***ku.m.<u>a</u>.sɪ** (d) **ku.ma.<u>a</u>.sɪ**	**Kumase (*Kumasi)**	"the underneath of the kum plant"

In (10a), **asɪ** "underneath" loses **/a/** to derive the intermediate output as in (10a). In (10b), **/a/** of **asɪ** is retained but resyllabified into the preceding syllable as its nucleus. This means that **/m/** loses its nuclear status to **/a/** possibly for the reason that, in Akan grammar, vowels are more preferred as nuclei over consonants. Consonants are more preferred as onsets, hence /m/ relinquishing its nuclear role, as plotted in (11b/c). In the end, **/m/** becomes an onset with its own syllable with the low vowel as its nucleus as plotted in (11d).

(11)



(b) Regressive Vowel doubling & Consonant resyllabified

(c) Vowel delinking; consonant resyllabified

(d) Vowel resyllabification & progressive Vowel doubling

= ku**<u>maa</u>**sɪ

(10a) does not emerge as the preferred output just because of the impermissible consonant sequence ms, even though the two belong to different, adjacent syllables. The form as in (10c) fails as the preferred output on count of the impermissible syllable-sequence C.V. In (10b), **/a/** of **asɪ** gets resyllabified into /m/ – that is, avoiding the impermissible C.V syllable-sequence, and yet it is dispreferred. (10d) **ku.ma.a.sɪ** has a syllable more than (10b) and it is considered more grammatical. (11b) and (11c) are alternative explanations of how /m/ becomes an onset with /a/ as its nucleus. It is either /a/ doubling regressively to delink /m/ (as in 11b), or /a/ becoming delinked first from its syllable after which it becomes reassociated regressively to the same nuclear-slot as /m/ and by so doing causing /m/ to be reassociated as onset of its own syllable as in (11c). Vowel doubling with the analysis in (11c) is progressive rather than

regressive as illustrated in (11d) – i.e., with /a/ lengthening to save its underlying syllable after it has been resyllabified into /m/. In (11e) is the final output for both (11b) and (11c/11d), with /a/ having become doubly-associated in adjacent syllables to derive **ku.ma.a.sɪ**. I would prefer the latter account to the former for reasons given in footnote 6.[5] Now, on the preference of (10d) over (10b), if we resort to syllable counting, (10d) has four syllables as opposed to three in (10b). If syllable quantity has a role to play in this, it is not yet clear how the condition must be formulated. Therefore, we would focus on examining more of the data to see the kind of prosodic conclusion(s) to which, if any, the facts will rightly lead us.

In (12), (12b) /a/ becomes resyllabified into the preceding syllable without it becoming doubled as observed in (10d) and illustrated in (11). That is, the outcome that is preferred here totally contradicts our choice of the preferred candidate in (10), which is (10d). That is, here, (12d) with the /a/ doubling does not emerge as the preferred output.

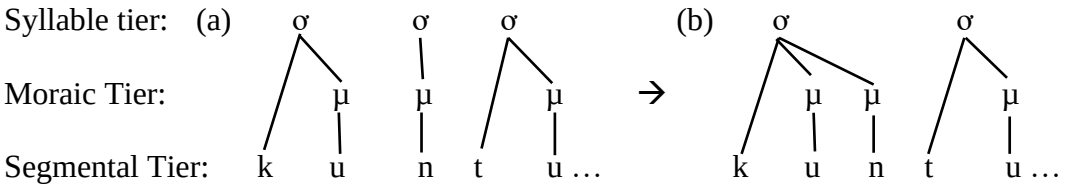
(12)

Place-name input	**Place-name Output**	**Orthography**	
kun.tu.n-asɪ "the kuntun plant's underneath"	(a) ***kun.tu.n.sɪ** (b) (i) **kun.tu.na.sɪ** (or ? (ii) **ku.n.tu.na.sɪ)** (c) ***kun.tu.n.a.sɪ** (d) ***kun.tu.na.a.sɪ**	**Kuntunase**	"the underneath of the kuntun plant"

The challenge here is whether there is the need to posit a bimoraic monosyllable in the current study (i.e., following Ofori 2006b: 66) and on that basis consider (12b-i) as consisting of four syllables as opposed to five, as in (12b-ii). There is not a clear break between **[ku]** and **[n]** in the pronunciation of this place name such that a bimoraic monosyllable analysis of **[kun]** is in order; [n] basically exists to provide nasality to /u/. If we choose this heavy-monosyllable account (i.e., 12b-i) over (12b-ii) which suggests a light-syllable, then a prosodic pattern of four syllables is gradually emerging as the requirement for the formation of partative-based place names; possibly, a minimum requirement of four syllables on the place-names in consideration in the current study. In (13) below is a non-linear representation of bimoraicity in monosyllables. We limit its application here to the $(C)_1VC_2$ structure in which C_2 is a homorganic nasal and for that reason is followed by a consonant (in the above instance by /t/). My position is that bimoraicity in monosyllables in the current study are derived (i.e., an instance of formal reduction strictly on the syllable-tier, but not on the moraic and segmental tiers). /n/ (i.e., nasal) retention with syllable reduction is necessary to preserve contrast, as kutunasɪ (without the homorganic n) is also grammatical in Akan and would change the meaning from "beneath the kuntun plant" to "beneath the pot", that is, should homorganic /n/ be deleted.

[5] A reviewer raised the question on why the tone is H-LH but emerges as HHH. It is possible that /a/ loses it low tone as it becomes delinked and resyllabified into the preceding syllable which has a high tone. The fact that it becomes resyllabified with /m/ which bears a high is possibly responsible for its low tone loss, but its syllable is restored with progressive doubling of both /a/ and the preceding high tone to restore what has become a floating syllable.

(13) Syllable reduction: formation of a bimoraic monosyllable



= kun.tu.na.sɪ

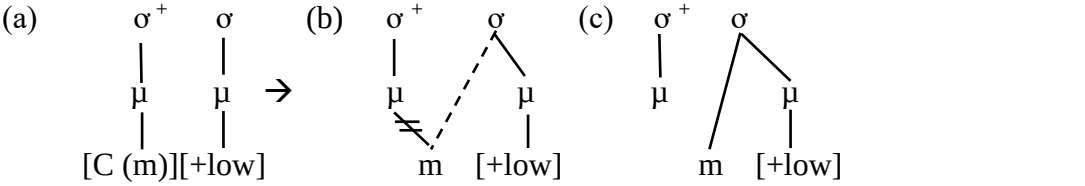
The preferred output in (14) is (14b) **o.du.ma.sɪ**. Here, even though the prefix is [-low] (i.e., **[o-]**), it is never deleted as rules in (7) would predict. The non-deletion is due to the fact that **[o]** is contrastive in the word **odum** "name of plant" Therefore, its deletion comes at a cost for which reason the grammar disallows it. That is, **odum** is a plant; the loss of **[o]** creates the word, **dum** "to put off; turn off, fire", and **dumasɪ** or **dumaasɪ** would mean "the putting out of a fire beneath something".

(14)

Place-name input	**Place-name Output**	**Orthography**	
o.du.m-asɪ "the odum plant's underneath"	(a) ***o.du.m.sɪ** (b) **o.du.ma.sɪ** (c) ***o.du.m.a.sɪ** (d) ***o.du.ma.a.sɪ**	**Odumase**	"the underneath of the odum plant"

The fact that **[o-]** is lexically-significant underlies its resistance to deletion. For this reason, there are five underlying syllables (i.e., **o$_1$.du$_2$.m$_3$.a$_4$.sɪ$_5$**) as opposed to the four-syllables required in production. Regressive /a/ lengthening, therefore, cannot become the mechanism by which the impermissible C.V syllable sequence must be disallowed since that process will not in any way cut down on the number of syllables. What we need is a mechanism that would help to achieve two prosodic requirements simultaneously – namely, the avoidance of the impermissible C.V syllable sequence and the requirement for four syllables on the surface (i.e., in production). These two prosodic requirements are achieved, in this context, by a process that merge the syllabic-C and the syllabic-V into a single syllable, thus, reducing the total number of syllables by one. The deletion of either /m/ or /a/ is not an option here. Deleting /m/ will affect the basic meaning of the root-word it belongs in; and an /a/ deletion will derive the consonant cluster, *ms, which must be avoided at all cost. In Akan grammar, /m/ as a consonant is better of as an onset than as a nucleus (especially word-medially), and this requirement is what underlies the merger that resolves the two prosodic requirements simultaneously. Consequently, /m/ relinquishes its nuclear association/role at the root-level, which is marked, for an onset association/role at the stem-level, unmarked. That is, it is delinked as a nucleus in one domain and becomes reassociated as an onset of the following syllable of an emergent domain by reason of this preference condition, as illustrated in (15) below.

(15) *Resyllabification*



o.du.m.a.sɪ → */m/-delinking as nucleus* *[m] reassociation as onset*

o.du.σ.ma.sɪ → = **o.du.ma.sɪ** *(empty σ erasure)*

The retention of /a/ (an affixal vowel) here is necessitated by prosodic and phonotactic/segmental well-formedness requirements as expressed immediately above. The delinking and reassociation of /m/ render its canonical syllable phonetically defective and, in this instance, defunct, as shown in (15c); and the minimum-syllable requirement of four is met (i.e., **o$_1$.du$_2$.ma$_3$.sɪ$_4$**).

The data in (16) is similar to those in (4) in possessing the /aa/ vowel sequence at the stem-stem boundary. In both data, the second /a/ is what deletes in a preferred output. Therefore, the output in (16) is (16b). There are two forms in consideration in (16b), namely (16b-i) and (16b-ii). (16b-i) has more segments and therefore more syllables than (16b-ii) – five syllables as against four syllables respectively. The initial /ɪa/ vowel sequence in (16b-i) has been reduced to [a] – with [a] emerging as the new nucleus of the first syllable of the word in (16b-ii) as opposed to [ɪ] in (16b-i) and, then followed by [a] in a separate syllable.

(16)

Place-name input	**Place-name Output**	**Orthography**	
tɕɥɪapɪa-asɪ "the tweapea plant's underneath/shade"	(a) ***tɕɥɪ.a.pɪ.Ø-Ø.sɪ** (b) (i) ***tɕɥɪ.a.pɪ.a-Ø.sɪ** (ii) **tɕɥa.pɪ.a-Øsɪ** (c) ***tɕɥɪ.a.pɪ.Ø-a.sɪ** (d) **tɕɥɪ.a.pɪ.a-a.sɪ**	Tweapease	"the underneath or at the shade of the tweapea plant"

(16b-ii) is the preferred output of (16). At issue is why it is the initial /ɪ/ after [tɕɥ] (the labio-palatalized affricate), but not the second /ɪ/ after /p/ that must delete in order to derive the four-syllable output; or even why it is /ɪ/ (a high vowel), but not one of the remaining low vowels that must delete in this case. My initial understanding of the /ɪ/ after tɕɥ being deleted is the fact of it being predictable between tɕɥ and /a/ over the second /ɪ/ which occurs between /p/ and /a/ (i.e., V_{COR} → Ø / $C_{[DEL,\ CORONALIZED]}$ / [__]$_σ$.[+LOW]$_σ$…); the term "delayed" is used in reference to affricates in Akan which are generally back consonants which have undergone coronalization/palatalization.

Following are the contextual facts that make the /ɪ/ which occurs between [tɕɥ] and [a] highly predictable and ideal for deletion. tɕɥ is underlyingly a back consonant (i.e., k^w) that has been palatalized/coronalized before a front vowel. With /a/ as the nucleus of the preferred output form, the deleted front vowel is predictably a high front one (i.e., as either [i] or [ɪ]), because the remaining front vowels which are [-low] (i.e., e, ɛ) do not appear in a vowel sequence with /a/ (i.e., the *ea and *ɛa vowel sequences are not allowed in Akan grammar). That is, non-contrastive/predictable units are targeted for deletion to derive the minimum-required syllable-size over contrastive/non-predictable units. Markedness, sonority and the fact

that a segment is non-contrastive/predictable all point to the high vowel as the unit that can be deleted over either a low vowel, or a mid-vowel. In terms of markedness, the high vowel is the most unmarked. In terms of sonority, the high vowel is the least sonorous; and in terms of contrastive usage and predictability in the current data, it is the non-contrastive and predictable segment. The observation that, in Akan grammar, non-contrastive (and predictable) units are often what are targeted for deletion can successfully be extended to explain why, in a sequence of /a_1+a_2/ at the stem-stem boundary, it is always /a_2/ which is targeted for deletion. The /a_1/ forms part of the root whereas /a_2/ functions as the affix. In Akan grammar, a vocalic affix is often deleted over a root vowel for the fact that it is the root-vowel which is lexically significant, the vocalic affix is not. The need to sustain lexical contrast is what causes /a_2/ to delete over /a_1/ at the stem-stem boundary.

In (17 and 18), at the stem-stem boundary, is the vowel sequence type, /e+a/, both of which are non-high (i.e., [-high][-high]) just like the /a+a/ vowel sequence as discussed above. More specifically, /e/ is mid, unrounded and advanced and a root-vowel; /a/ is an affixal-vowel as in (17 and 18). From the previous analysis, a root-vowel is known to be lexically significant for which reason it must be retained over an affixal-vowel (i.e., the one which is not lexically significant). Here, it is rather /e/, a root-vowel which is omitted, /a/, the affixal-vowel, is rather retained, and not only retained. It is also lengthened, as we can see from the licit forms in (17f) and (18f). [6]

(17) **Kubease** "beneath the coconut tree"
Input: (a) **/kube-asɪ/**
Output: (b) ***kubeasɪ**, (c) ***kubesɪ**, (d) ***kubasɪ**, (e) ***kubeesɪ**, (f) **kubaasɪ**

(18) **Topease** "sight of snails"
Input: (a) **/tope-asɪ/**
Output: (b) ***topeasɪ**, (c) ***topesɪ**, (d) ***topasɪ**, (e) ***topeesɪ**, (f) **topaasɪ**

(19) *Avoidance of [-low] lengthening/doubling; [+low] lengthening is preferable*
(a) ***kubeesɪ ~ kubaasɪ**
(b) ***topeesɪ ~ topaasɪ**

This is a clear case of competing demands – it seems like /e/ must be omitted for some reason, but there is also the need to preserve its syllable through regressive [+low] lengthening for some other reason. From the preferred output forms, there are two well-formedness requirements that possibly underline vowel processes here, namely (i) phonotactic well-formedness and prosodic well-formedness. Prosodically, the input forms in (17) and (18) are a clear case of an input having met all relevant prosodic requirement such that there is no need to delete a syllable – for which reason the omission of /e/ for any other reason(s) must be compensated for through [+low] lengthening. That is, the fact of the matter is that there is technically a four-syllable minimum requirement on place-names (i.e., a prosodic wellformedness constraint) which these input forms have met for which reason they cannot lose a syllable. At the same time, the language does not allow [-high][-high] vowel sequence (i.e., a phonotactic constraint) for which reason the /e+a/ vowel sequence must not be allowed

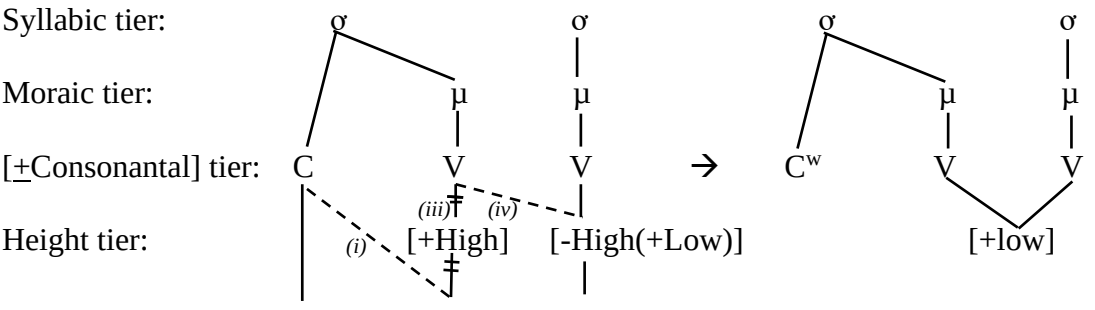
[6] An anonymous reviewer suggested height assimilation as the process involved here rather than deletion. They were of the view that the analysis would be simpler in that regard than my deletion and compensatory lengthening stance which involves two processes. The fact of the matter is that the height assimilation solution is not simple. The height assimilation account also involves the deletion of a feature, which is the feature [-Low] of /e/. I settled on /e/ deletion and vowel doubling because [-Low] is not the only feature that gets deleted here; /e/ is also [+ATR] and this feature also gets lost in the realization of /e/ as [a]. Additionally, avoidance of the feature sequence $V_{1[-High]}V_{2[-High]}$ (i.e., OCP[-High]) is the primary segmental motivation for vowel processes in this lexicalization process, which Akan resolves by deleting one of the adjacent vowels.

in output forms. Another observation is the fact that in the bid to avoid the [-high][-high] feature-sequence, it is the feature [+mid] of /e/ that is deleted, the feature [+low] of /a/ is preserved and is what is lengthened to compensate for the loss of [+mid]. That the feature [+low] is preserved over [+mid] is significant to the theory of markedness and of sonority. The impermissible [-high][-high] feature-sequence is resolved in favor of the vowel with the feature that is more sonorous and/or is more marked. The low vowel, while not being the lexically significant vowel, is the more sonorous or marked of the two vowels, to be preserved to avoid the [-high][-high] feature sequence (i.e., so to respect phonotactic wellformedness). Regressive [+low] lengthening applies to achieve prosodic wellformedness (i.e., to counter the effect of the phonotactic which could reduce the number of syllables from four to three). That is, in the current context, Akan grammar opts for the /e/ deletion to be followed (i.e., compensated for) by regressive /a/ lengthening – merely on the count of the relative strength of vowels in the sequence – that is, their comparative strengths in terms of either markedness or sonority. The deletion of /e/ over /a/ (with /a/'s subsequent regressive compensatory-lengthening) is an indication of a preference, in Akan grammar, for the deletion of the less-marked, less-sonorous vowel in the sequence over the relatively more marked, more sonorous vowel (i.e., the low vowel, /a/). What the analysis above presents to us is the fact that there comes a time when the condition(s) prevailing in a lexical context is/are such that certain significant functional information that must be enforced would rather have to be overlooked just because phonotactic well-formedness, which principles of sonority and markedness help to deploy relevantly, is an equally important consideration which must be pursued in tandem with the genuine quest for prosodic well-formedness. The fact of the matter is that, in Akan, domains of linguistic (i.e., segmental or featural) change or alternation without accompanying changes in meaning or functions (such as the above) usually are domains of non-contrast of the units in alternation or alteration. This is what pertains in the case of /e/ and /a/ in the present context. Therefore, a purely segmental factor – phonotactic well-formedness defined in terms of markedness and/or sonority – is what dictates impermissible [-high][-high] vowel-sequence resolution.

The vowel sequence at the stem-stem boundary in (20) is /o^{+}a/; here also, it is V1 (i.e., the root vowel), which is /o/, which is affected in the course to prevent the impermissible [-high][-high] vowel sequence. First, the preceding consonant gets labialized before /oa/ (i.e., C^{w}oa) before /o/ is finally deleted. /a/, the affixal vowel, remains and lengthens regressively to compensate for the loss of /o/. It can be said that consonant labialization occurs in the context: __oa; /o/ (a round non-high vowel) deletion occurs in the context: C^{w}__a; regressive /a/ lengthening applies in order to provide the information relevant to avoid prosodic ill-formedness.

(20) **Dompoasɪ** "beneath dompo tree"
(a) Input: **/dompo-asɪ/** → (b) (i) **[dompo-asɪ]** ~ (ii) **[dom.p^{w}a.a.sɪ]**

(21) *[+high] derounding and deletion, and regressive [+low] spreading*



Place tier: [PLACE] [LAB]$_{(ii)}$ [DOR] = **[dom.p^{w}a.a.sɪ]**

(i) consonant labialization, (ii) [+high] derounding,
(iii) deletion of [+high], (iv) spread of [+low]

In (22), vowels in sequence at the stem-stem boundary possess the height features, [+high][-high]. Here, [+high] (a root vowel) deletes and the low (i.e., an affixal) vowel lengthens to compensate for the loss. Consonant labialization as described for (20) applies here as well. The [+high] deletion rule in this case interrupts the rules on consonant labialization and /a/ compensatory lengthening just as described for (20) in a sequence of feeding relations.

(22) **Mangoase** "beneath the mango tree"

(a) Input: **mangʊ-asɪ** → Output: **maŋ.ŋ^{w}a.a.sɪ**

Consonant labialization as described in (20) and (22) is motivated by the need to preserve a (more) contrastive – or non-predictable – feature in the phonological context before a vowel could be subjected to deletion. It is this contrastive feature transfer, or fronting, (which, as it applies, leaves the affected vowel with less contextually-significant features) which renders V_1 amenable to deletion. That the grammar goes to the extent of transferring salient features so that the impermissible vowel-sequence: ***[-high][-high]** (as in 20 and above) and ***[+high][-high]** (as in 22), can be avoided reveals the extent of dispreference of these sequences and, for that matter, the importance of the need to really prevent them somehow when they could occur. Consonant labialization also helps to create the predictable context in which a vowel can be deleted; this is necessary for ease of recoverability of the affected for the avoidance of any possible meaning change or ambiguity. In the case of the *[+high][-high] vowel sequence, /ʊ/ becomes amenable for deletion by virtue of the fact that it is possessive of the features [+high] and [-ATR], both of which are the default/unmarked height and ATR values respectively in Akan grammar; and also the fact that its sole lexically contrastive [+round]/[labial] feature exists in the neighborhood (i.e., in the form of a secondary articulated feature ^{w} on the preceding consonant). It (i.e., /ʊ/) becomes easily recoverable (or predictable) then in this context for which reason its high feature can be omitted over the [-high] of /a/, the less predictable of the two vowels in the sequence. There are domains in which the remaining featural properties of a high vowel are not (easily) fully recoverable for which reason a high vowel cannot be deleted, even though it is still a requirement that the [+high][-high] vowel sequence must not be tolerated.

It is always a requirement to keep a root vowel over say an affixal vowel such that in the absence of predictability (as non-predictability could result in meaning difference), it cannot be deleted. In other words, a root high vowel resists deletion just because the context is not ripe for deletion (i.e., does not allow for its deletion). Such is the case in (23) in Twi; /ɪ/ deletion cannot become the means by which the impermissible *[+high][-high] vowel sequence is avoided in the Twi dialects of Akan. The Twi dialects, therefore, resort to glide formation which is triggered by /ɪ/ to onset the following non-high vowel as illustrated in (23b-i); and this is how the Twi dialects avert the impermissible *[+high][-high] vowel sequence superficially.

(23) **Besease** "beneath the cola tree"

(a) Input: **bɪsɪ-asɪ** → (b) (i) **bɪsɪjasɪ** (Twi), (ii) **bɪs^{j}aadzɪ** (Mfantse/Fante)

This onset glide, per the current data, is realized as [j] with the contrastive/non-predictable V_1 as high and unrounded, and occurs to preserve [+high] and [-high] simultaneously. More significantly, j-glide formation applies to prevent the [+high][-high] vowel sequence and equally works to insulate V_1 ([+high]), a lexically significant vocalic/root unit, from /a/'s (i.e., [-high]) encroachment and, therefore, its (i.e., V_1's) consequent deletion.

/ɪ/ deletion is allowed in the [+high][-high] vowel sequence when its onset has been coronalized/palatalized. The consonant undergoing coronalization/palatalization must not be a liquid. The context of consonant coronalization/palatalization, therefore, is as follows: $C_{[-LIG]} \rightarrow C^{j}$ /__$V_{[+high]}V_{[-high]}$). The derivation of this context then makes /ɪ/ amenable to deletion, after which there must be a regressive /a/ lengthening to compensate for it. These series of feeding rules are what derive the output form in (b-ii) as in the Fante dialect of Akan. Here, the two major dialects (i.e., Twi and Fante) can be said to differ merely in their direction of spread of coronality/palatality in their bid to prevent the impermissible *[+high][-high] vowel sequence – which in the Twi dialects is to the right to an onset-slot (i.e., to provide an onset for the succeeding onsetless vocalic syllable), but to the left in Fante (i.e., also to an onset-slot, this time, as a secondary articulated feature on the consonant there).

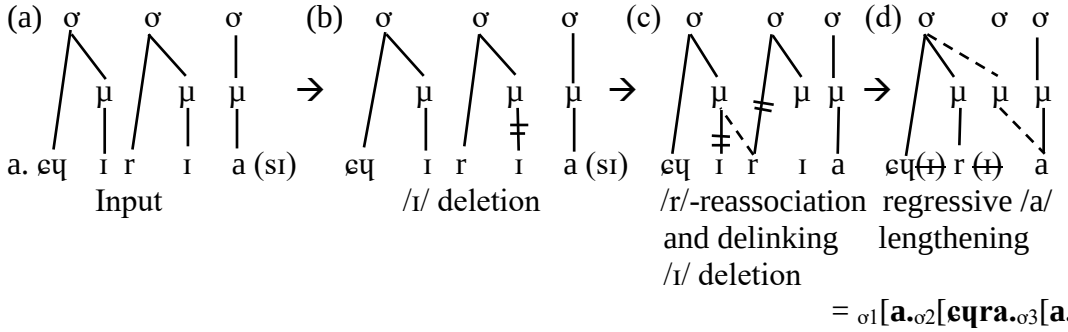
/ɪ/ deletion cannot be completely ruled out in the Twi dialects. There are domains whereby this can be permitted. The following two contexts and rules come to mind: (i) $V_{[+high/\gamma round/\beta ATR]} \rightarrow Ø/V_{[\pm high/\gamma round/\beta ATR]}r$ __ $V_{[-high]}$; or (ii) $V_{[+high/\gamma round/\beta ATR]} \rightarrow Ø$ / $C_{[-LIG]}$ __ $rV_{[\pm high/\gamma round/\beta ATR]}$, that is, in a domain where a deleting high vowel shares a boundary with [r] and there is another vowel which also shares a boundary with [r] with which the deleting high vowel harmonizes in rounding and in tongue root advancement.

(24) Input: **/aɛqɪrɪ-asɪ/**; Ouput: **[a.ɛqra.a.sɪ]**; Orthography: **Ahwerease**

(a) **/aɛqɪrɪ-asɪ/** → (b) **aɛqɪrØ-asɪ** → (c) **aɛqØrØ-asɪ** → (d) **aɛqØra-asɪ** → (e) **a.ɛqra.a.sɪ**

The first of the two rules above (i.e., i) applies to delete /ɪ/ at the stem-stem boundary (as illustrated non-linearly in (25b)). The second rule (ii), deletes the initial /ɪ/ (before /r/) as in (25c), caused by /r/ nuclear-association with the preceding syllable (also represented in 25c). That is, regressive /a/ lengthening compensates for the loss of the stem-boundary /ɪ/, and /r/ nuclear-reassociation for the loss of the non-boundary/initial /ɪ/. These processes work together to reduce what are three syllables into a bimoraic monosyllable, i.e., ɛqɪ.rɪ.a → [ɛqra]. That is, the resultant output form as in (24e), a.ɛqra.a.sɪ, is perceived to be consisting of four syllables, namely: [a], [ɛqra], [a] and [sɪ]; that is, with [ɛqra] conceived as a bimoraic monosyllable. Represented below in (25) is the derivation of the [Cra] (i.e., [ɛqra]) bimoraic monosyllable.

(25) Reduction of three syllables into a bimoraic monosyllable



= $_{σ1}$[**a.**$_{σ2}$[**ɛqra.**$_{σ3}$[**a.**$_{σ4}$[**sɪ**

That is, with a liquid onset before [+high], the impermissible *[+high][-high] vowel sequence is prevented through [+high] deletion and the other segmental processes discussed above (and captured in (25)) follow accordingly just in promotion of prosodic well-formedness. In (26), the stem boundary vowel /ʊ/ deletes on account of the (non-boundary/initial) /ʊ/ before /r/. Therefore, this deletion becomes more predictable.

(26) /takʊrʊ-asɪ/ Orthography: Takrowase ~ Takorase

(a) Input: **takʊrʊ-asɪ** → (b) Output: **takʊrasɪ**

The non-boundary/initial /ʊ/, however, cannot be deleted for lack of predictability; the vowel is labial/[+round] and the fact that there is no labial/[+round] in the environment annuls any attempt at deleting this initial /ʊ/. Also, regressive /a/ lengthening which must apply to compensate for the loss of the preceding/boundary vowel (and more importantly to preserve prosody) is blocked here by the fact that this effort will create more than the four-syllable-minimum required in this case. That is, the grammar obviates the prosodic anomaly that could result by joining /r/ and /a/ in a single syllable and thus, by so doing, reducing the five underlying syllables into four syllables superficially. We cannot skip an alternative pronunciation of the place-name in (26a), as in (27b).

(27) (a) **takʊrasɪ** → (b) **ta.k^{w}ra.a.sɪ**

With this output form, there is consonant labialization making the initial /ʊ/ very predictable to be deleted. The outcome of this rule feeds /ʊ/ derounding/delabialization and with /ʊ/ delabialized to [ɪ], [ɪ] is deleted to derive the sequence C^{w}r… The rules therefore are:

(28)
(a) Consonant labialization: C → C^{w} / __ V$_{[+round]}$r…
(b) /ʊ/ derounding: /ʊ/ → [ɪ] /C^{w}__r…
(c) [ɪ] deletion: [ɪ] → Ø /C^{w}__r

Here, also, the syllable sequence, kʊ.rʊ.a (three syllables) gets mashed into a single bimoraic monosyllable, [k^{w}ra] (see 25d). Here, regressive /a/ lengthening is required to provide a nuclear-segment for [k^{w}r_] and to satisfy the minimum syllable required. Another pronunciation of this place-name is as in (29c).

(29) (a) **ta.kʊ.rʊ-a.sɪ** → (b) **ta.kʊ.rʊ.wa.sɪ** → (c) **ta.krʊ.wa.sɪ**

Here, the boundary /ʊ/ supplies onset for /a/ (i.e., w-onset/glide formation as in (29b)) and this is how the impermissible *[+high][-high] vowel sequence is avoided; then the grammar resorts to /r/ delinking as onset and its reassociation to a preceding nuclear-slot resulting in the initial /ʊ/ being deleted just in the manner represented in (25c) above. Here, the derived bimoraic monosyllable is [krʊ] from just two underlying syllables, /kʊ.rʊ/.

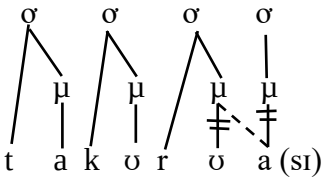
Below in (31) are non-linear derivations of the tri-alternants of /takʊrʊ-asɪ/ as discussed above – the representations have more information than I have been able to discuss above since my intention has been to limit the discussion to the creation of bimoracity and to stem-stem boundary processes.

(30) *Alternation in **takʊrʊ-asɪ***
Input: **takʊrʊ-asɪ** → (b) **ta$_{1}$.kʊ$_{2}$.ra$_{3}$.sɪ$_{4}$ ~ (**c) **ta$_{1}$.k^{w}ra$_{2}$.a$_{3}$.sɪ$_{4}$ ~** (d) **ta$_{1}$.krʊ$_{2}$.wa$_{3}$.sɪ$_{4}$**

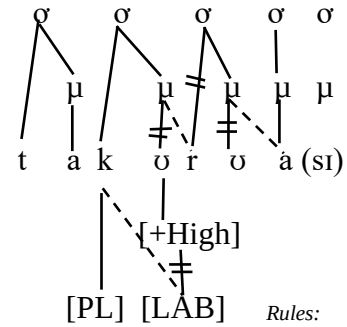
(31) Non-linear representations of the three forms of: (a) Input: /**takɔrɔ-asɪ/**

(30b/31b) ***[ta.kɔ.ra.sɪ]*** *(30c/31c)* ***[ta.k^{w}ra.a.sɪ]*** *(30d/31d)* ***[ta.krɔ.wa.sɪ]***

(b-i)



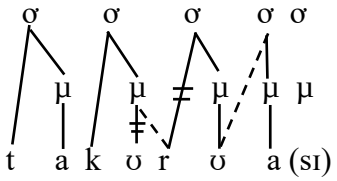
(c-i)



Rules:

Consonant labialization; [+high] delabialization; [+high] deletion; [r] de-onseting and nuclearization; Regressive /a/ doubling

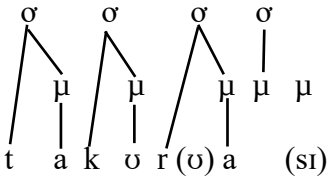
(d-i)



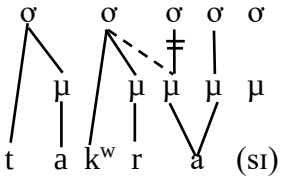
Rules:

[+high] (i.e., /ɔ/) deletion; [r] de-onseting and nuclearization; /ɔ/ gliding (i.e., w-onset formation)

(b-ii)



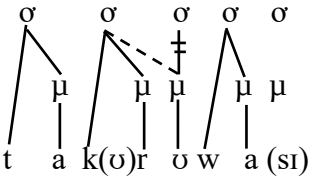
(c-ii)



Rules:

Mora delinking and reassociation

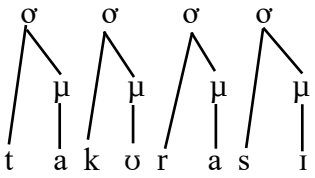
(d-ii)



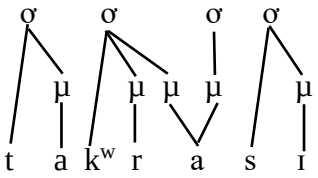
Rules:

Mora delinking and reassociation

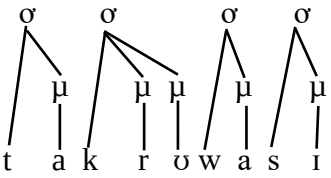
(b-iii)



(c-iii)



(d-iii)



6. Phonological processes associated with emu-based and ɛsɔ-based place names

This section is devoted to phonological processes associated with **emu**- and **ɛsɔ**-based place names.

6.1 Phonological processes associated with **emu**-based place-names

Below in (32) are place-names with **emu** "within, interior" as the partative noun.

(32) *Emu-based place names data*

Input	Output	Orthography	Meaning

a.	**a-ɲina-emu**	**æɲinæ-m**	**Anyinam**	"area of silk-cotton plants"
b.	**a-wisa-emu**	**æɥisæ-m**	**Awisam**	"area of ground.pepper plant"
c.	**a-waha-emu**	**awahæ-m**	**Awaham**	"area of awaha leaves"
d.	**aɲɥɪa-emu**	**aɲɥɪjæ-m**	**Anweam**	"area of sand" (non-count noun)
e.	**a-baa-emu**	**abææ-m**	**Abaam**	"area of abaa trees"
f.	**a-bʊɔ-emu**	**abʊo-m**	**Aboɔm**	"area of rocks"
g.	**N-bɪpɔ-emu**	**mmɪpo-m**	**Mmepom**	"area of mountains"
h.	**a-mako-emu → amæko-emu**	**amæko-m**	**Amakom**	"area of pepper plants"
i.	**a-suo-emu**	**æsʷuo-m**	**Asuom**	"area of rivers"
j.	**a-kwadu-emu**	**akwædu-m**	**Akwadum**	"area of banana plants"

Here, **emu** is reduced in form drastically becoming an enclitic, [-m]. In sentences where emu is an independent word, it is realized fully as **emu** at the sentence initial position (e.g. **emu ayɛ fi** "(The) interior has-become dirty"), but as **mu** after another word – and here, the final sound of the preceding word does not matter. Generally, any noun that begins with any mid-vowel (i.e., [e], [ɛ], [ɔ] [o]) submits to this deletion process. Therefore, this rule will be expressed generally to account for all cases of mid-vowel deletion in nouns. The rule outside of the phonology is as given in (33) below. An initial mid-vowel of a noun deletes after a morpheme. The interpretation of the rule as in (27) is in the spirit of the rule in (5c): [+low] → Ø / [+low]$^{+}$__, with non-linear representations in (6a-ii/6b-ii/9b) above. Both rules demand that an affixal unit deletes over a root unit. In other words, the preference condition is that, where there is the need for deletion, an affixal unit (i.e., vowel) deletes over a root final segment. Here, the affixal unit is a mid-vowel (not a low vowel as in 5c), and therefore is the unit that deletes.

(33) (a) [-high/-low] → Ø / X]$_{\text{MORPHEME}}$ __C…]$_{\text{NOUN}}$

(33b) [-high/-low]$_{\sigma}$ → Ø /σ __σ

The rule that applies to delete the affixal mid-vowel as in (33a) can be expressed prosodically/syllabically as in (33b). As illustrated in (33b), a mid-vowel syllable deletes inter-syllabically. There is no need to be specific about the segmental content of the surrounding syllables because the rule applies irrespective of the shape/size and/or quality of the surrounding syllables. The shift in focus to the syllable in the present circumstance, therefore, is quite significant. The application of the rule in (33b) is motivated by the fact that, in Akan, a mid-vowel syllable is weak, and therefore is amenable to deletion, inter-syllabically. The same has been identified about syllabic high vowels in the language (Ofori 2012; 2019). So, in terms of the strength of intersyllabic onsetless syllables, the ranking in Akan is: syllabic:[+low] >> syllabic:[-high/-low] >> syllabic:[+high]. This underlies the syllabic [-high -low] vowel deletion over the syllabic:[+low] as obtained in (32d) and (32e). This equally has relevance to the markedness and sonority scales with the [+low] vowel being the most marked or sonorous, followed by mid-vowels and followed by high vowels, and underlies [e] deletion before [a] from (32a) to (32e). Among vowels of the same height (i.e., either high or mid), the round ones outrank the non-round ones in markedness and in sonority – i.e., [-high/-low]: (ɔ >> o >> ɛ >> e) >> [+High]: (ʊ >> u >> ɪ >> i). This accounts for the syllabic-[e] deletion before either [o] or [ɔ] from (32f) to (32i). The fact that [e] is more sonorous, more marked than /u/, but, in (32j), it is [e] that deletes suggests other considerations here. /u/ is preserved over [e] in (32j) on account of it (i.e., /u/) being a more lexically-significant unit than [e]; /u/ and [e] are not within the same height range: /u/ is a high vowel and [e], a mid-vowel; any attempt at replacing a root-

vowel of one height region (e.g., high) by another vowel of another height region (e.g. non-high) would often lead to a meaning change – and this explains why even though /u/ is the less marked and the less sonorous unit compared to [e], it is [e] that must be deleted. This is the idea or reasoning which guides the vowel harmonies in Akan such that both [+ATR] harmony and [+round] harmony applications stay within the same height zone as any drastic change in height is likely to cause some difference in meaning. That is, technically, non-lexically significant alternation or alteration processes (i.e., phonotactic well-formedness processes) turn to stay within definable articulatory zones of non-contrast for given domains so to preserve meaning.

[+ATR] harmony in Akan can be considered a lenition process by which underlyingly [+ATR] vowels impose or transmit their [+ATR] feature on underlyingly [-ATR] vowels which in terms of sonority are stronger – i.e., a kind of sonority lowering/minimizing mechanism. Such surface realizations of the feature [+ATR] – and other [-ATR] to [+ATR] feature changes in the language – are mainly permitted in domains of [±ATR] non-contrast. An [+ATR] bearing unit given its weaker sonority status initiates [+ATR] harmony to insulate itself from modification to preserve lexical contrast. There are very fascinating [+ATR] harmony cases in the current data that warrant attention. I will reference the relevant data to illustrate them. [+ATR] harmony, in the current data, is strictly anticipatory (i.e., regressive), and holds between abutting vowels of adjoining stem-words. Technically, the [+ATR] feature in transmission emanates from a lexically significant vocalic-segment. That is, the [+ATR] unit/trigger must always be a contrastive feature of a contrastive root segment; this suggests that [e] of **emu** deletes before the spread of [+ATR] from /u/, a contrastive root-segment. Note that the root of **emu** (i.e., a stem) underlyingly **{ɛ-mu}** is **{mu}** – that is, the prefix of **emu** is underlyingly {ɛ-}; /ɛ/ underwent [+ATR] harmony to [e] because of /u/ in the citation form of this partative stem hence **[emu]**. The rule in (33) illustrates the deletion of /ɛ/ (before [+ATR] harmony) or [e] (after [+ATR] harmony] (and the deletion of other mid-vowels, ɔ and o). The rule in (34a) illustrates /a/ ([+ATR]) conversion (i.e., lenition) to [æ] ([+ATR]) for output forms from (32a) to (32e); and (34b) illustrates /ɔ/ ([-ATR]) lenition to [o] ([+ATR]) as in (32f) and (32g).

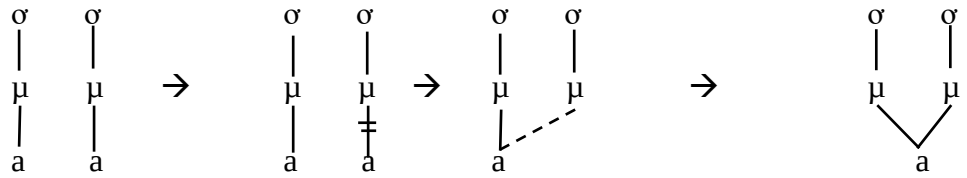
(34) *Linear representations of the regressive [+ATR] harmony rule in Akan*
(a) /a/ ([-ATR]) → [æ] ([+ATR]) / __$^{+}$[mu(+ATR])
(b) /ɔ/ ([-ATR]) → [o] ([+ATR]) / __$^{+}$[mu(+ATR])
(c) [-ATR] → [+ATR] / __$^{+}$[+ATR]

Stem boundary vowels from (32h) to (32j) (o, u) enter into the process as already [+ATR] – but if they had been /ɔ/ and /ʊ/, they definitely would have been converted to [o] and [u] respectively to harmonize with /u/ in its feature [+ATR]. The rule in (34) consists of shared properties of (34a) and (34b), and is a more general [+ATR] harmony rule for the moment (that is, ignoring consonants for their inertness in this process), while in (32a) to (32d) and in (32f) and (32g), the spread of [+ATR] affects a single vowel. In (32e), however, the two low vowels both receive the feature [+ATR]. In (32f), there is an underlyingly /ʊɔ/ vowel-sequence (with a [w] glide-onset between them phonetically). /ʊ/ does not change to [u] in [+ATR] harmony because it is not immediate to the trigger, /ɔ/ rather is. Therefore, it is only /ɔ/ that harmonizes with the trigger (i.e., /u/) in [+ATR]. There is the temptation to invoke vowel quality here by saying that possibly in order for [+ATR] to spread regressively to more than a single [-ATR] vowel, the target vowel must be of a certain quality (in this case, [+low]). The problem with this position is that **[a-waha-mu]** undergoes [+ATR] harmony to (32c) **[a-wahæm]**, but not to

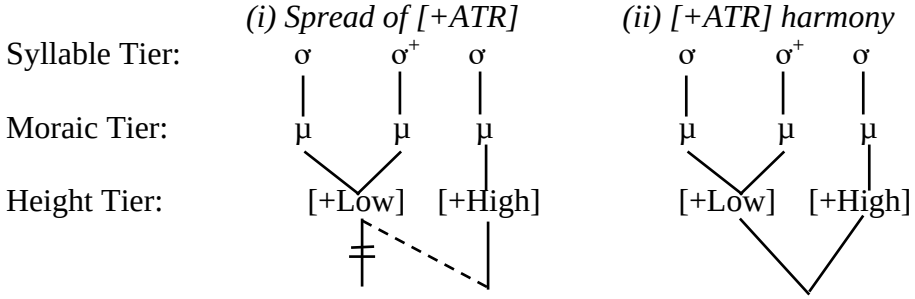
***[a-wæhæm]** or ***[æwæhæm].** The example above suggests that a low vowel which is a vowel away from the [+ATR] trigger does not participate in the harmony process. This position is, however, contradicted by the licit-output form in (32e) [**abæ$_1$æ$_2$-m]** where **æ$_1$** (which seems to be a vowel away from the trigger) joins with **æ$_2$** (i.e., the vowel that is immediately followed by the [+ATR] trigger) to undergo [+ATR] harmony. If we look carefully, we will realize that (32c) **awa$_1$hæ$_2$-m** and (32e) [**abæ$_1$æ$_2$-m]** are structurally not the same. In (32c), the two low vowels in consideration (i.e., **a**$_1$ and **a**$_2$) are discontiguous (i.e., separated by /h/), as opposed to contiguous (i.e., without a consonant to interrupt their sequence) in (32e). My proposal is that there is [+Low] OCP with underlyingly contiguous low-vowels; the OCP[+Low] constraint is avoided with a low vowel becoming doubly-associated. The argument therefore is that seemingly low-low vowel sequence in (32e) [**abæ$_1$æ$_2$-m]** is rather a case of a doubly-associated low vowel – a single low-vowel segment that belongs to two syllables simultaneously. The present stance receives support from Ofori (2008: 91) in his account of numeral compounding in Akan. According to Ofori (ibid), contiguous low vowels submit to the OCP[+Low] constraint prior to the application of the [+ATR] harmony rule; therefore, these independent (but contiguous) vowels come to have a single [+Low] node to which the trigger transmits the feature [+ATR], from where it percolates to the adjoined low-vowels. In other words, the reason low vowels in (32e) participate in [+ATR] harmony (as opposed to their discontiguous counterparts in (32c)) lies in the manner in which the OCP[+Low] condition is resolved in Akan grammar – i.e., a single multiply/doubly-associated [+Low]-node is preferred over independent contiguous [+Low]-nodes. By adopting this multiply/doubly-associated stance on contiguous low vowels, my analytical position is that [+ATR] harmony in stem-stem compounding holds strictly between two vocalic segments, and that it is realized by the regressive transmission of a contrastive [+ATR] feature of a contrastive root-vowel to a preceding vowel (when the [-ATR] feature of the target vowel is or has become non-contrastive). Below in (35a) is a linear representation of low-vowel doubling, with non-linear representations in (35b and 35c).

(35) (a) Avoidance of the low-low vowel sequence: **[+low] → [:] / [+low] ___**
(b) Avoidance of independent contiguous [+low] vowels (i.e., OCP[+low]?)

(i) *Input:* (ii) *Avoid /aa/*: (iii) *Prosodic well-formedness:* (iv) *Output:*



(c) The spread of [+ATR] to the doubly-associated [+low] vowel



→

[ATR] Tier: [-ATR] [+ATR] [+ATR]

The discussion below focuses on rule relations. Given the underlying partative here as /ɛmu/, following are the rules that must interact to derive the enclitic [-m] in place-names here. Three rules are involved here: (36a, 36b and 36c), and are in a feeding relation in the order in which they have been presented. The rule in (36a), as has been discussed previously, is responsible for the loss of /ɛ/ (i.e., the mid-vowel); then there is a regressive spread or assimilation of the contrastive feature, [+ATR], of a root vowel to replace the feature [-ATR] of the immediate vowel as represented in (36b).

(36) (a) Mid-vowel deletion: **[-high/-low]$_{\sigma}$ → Ø / σ__σ**
(b) [+ATR] harmony at the root-root boundary: **[-ATR] → [+ATR] / __$^{+}$[+ATR]**
(c) /u/ deletion: **[+High, αATR, γPLACE] → Ø / CV$_{[\alpha ATR]}$C$_{[\gamma PLACE]}$ __ #**

Once the root feature [+ATR] has been preserved in a [+ATR]-harmony with the preceding vowel then this vowel can be deleted in the manner expressed (36c). The rule in (36c) holds for all high vowels, but for our current purpose it is simply in reference to the loss of /u/. Therefore, the use of the term [PLACE] is in reference to [LABIAL], which both /u/ and /m/ share. /u/ can be deleted when the preceding vowel either inherently or derivationally harmonizes with it in the feature [+ATR] and is also made possible by the fact that /u/ harmonizes with /m/ in labiality. Therefore, the rule in (36c) can be stated more specifically as in (37):

(37) **[+High, αATR, γLABIAL] → Ø / CV$_{[\alpha ATR]}$C$_{[\gamma LABIAL]}$ __ #**

The rule in (37) counterbleeds the rule in ((36c) as it applies to remove the trigger of [+ATR] harmony. Also in a feeding relation is the rule on [+low +low] vowel sequence reduction in (35a/b) and the [+ATR] harmony rule as in (35c/36b). (35a/b) feeds (35c/36b); that is, (35a/b) creates the context for the spread of the feature [+ATR] (i.e., as a result of the need for [+ATR] harmony) to a doubly-associated [+low] vowel.

6.2 Phonological processes associated with ɛsʊ-based place-names

The data in (38) concerns place-names with the partative noun, /ɛsʊ/ "top, vicinity, basin". These place names basically help to locate a place in relation to a known river. That is, the name of the river is qualified by /ɛsʊ/ to depict and name the place concerned – i.e., this place then is a place of the river. The rule as in (36a) becomes more significant here, that is, with /ɛsʊ/ emerging as [sʊ] on the surface.

(38)

	Underlying	Phonetic	Orthography	English gloss
a.	**apaa-ɛsʊ**	**a.pa.a.sʊ**	**Apaaso**	"basin/vicinity of river apaa"
b.	**pɪra-ɛsʊ**	**pra.sʊ**	**Praso**	"basin/vicinity of river Pra"
c.	**akʊkʊa-ɛsʊ**	**a.kʊ.kʊ.a.sʊ ~a.kʊ.kwa.sʊ**	**Akokoaso**	"basin/vicinity river of Akokoa"
d.	**ɔfɪn-ɛsʊ**	**ɔ.fɪn.sʊ, *ɔ.fɪ.nɛ.sʊ**	**ɔfenso**	"basin/vicinity of river ɔfen"
e.	**bɔm-ɛsʊ**	**bɔm.sʊ, *bɔ.mɛ.sʊ**	**Bɔmso**	"basin/vicinity of river Bɔm"

f. **fum-ɛsʊ** **fum.sʊ, *fu.mɛ.sʊ** **Fumso** "basin/vicinity of river Fum"

In (38a, b and c), /a/ is retained and /ɛ/ deletes - /a/ is a root vowel, more sonorous and more marked than /ɛ/ (which is an affixal vowel). That is, all the requirements for retention favor /a/ over /ɛ/. In (38d, e and f), names of rivers end in nasal consonants /m, n/ and, here, /ɛ/ could have remained to provide a nucleus for these consonants and yet that preference condition is overlooked. /m/ and /n/ remain nucleuses, but not as independent syllables; they join with the preceding CV to construct a bimoraic monosyllable. The evidence that these boundary consonants come to belong more to the preceding syllable in the derived output forms is the absence of place harmony between /m/ and /s/ as in (38e) and (38f); these nasal consonants have a feature bond with the preceding vowel, namely: coronal-coronal in (38d) – i.e. between /ɪ/ and /n/; and labial-labial in (38e and f) between /ɔ/ or /u/ and /m/. The loss of /ɛ/ after /m, n/ is due probably to the fact that the sequences: [nɛ] and [mɛ] could affect meaning in that context, therefore, the need to avoid such sequences.

The four-syllable requirement proposal on partative place-names seems to be in disrepute here since of the six-preferred output forms only two (38a) and (38c) satisfy this prosodic requirement; even in (38c), there is a five-syllable alternant of the four-syllable output for older speakers. That fact of the matter is that Akan grammar could have kept /ɛ/ and, by so doing, could have either met the four-syllable requirement or come close to it, and yet here the language does not find it prudent to sacrifice segmental/phonotactic well-formedness for prosodic well-formedness, or vice versa. In the ensuing section, I establish the mechanisms that the language implements to maneuver these competing demands meaningfully (i.e., as its grammar dictates and prescribes).

7. Linear rules and some explanations of them

Key among the rules discussed and formulated in section (5) and (6) are as found in (39) below.

(39) *Some rules from the analysis*

(a) [+low] → Ø / [+low]$^{+}$__
(b) [-high/-low] → Ø / [+low]$^{+}$__
(c) [-high/-low] → Ø / __$^{+}$[+low]
(d) [-low] → Ø / #__$^{+}$
(e) $V_{[+high/\gamma round/\beta ATR]}$ → Ø/$V_{[\pm high/\gamma round/\beta ATR]}$r __ $V_{[-high]}$
(f) $V_{[+high/\gamma round/\beta ATR]}$ → Ø / $C_{[-LIG]}$ __ r$V_{[\pm high/\gamma round/\beta ATR]}$
(g) Consonant labialization: C → [C^{w}] / __ [+high, Lab] [-high]
(h) [+high] derounding/delabalization: V[+high/lab] → [cor] / C^{w} __ [-high]
(i) [+high, cor] → Ø / C^{w}__[-high]
(j) $V_{[+high/Cor]}$ → Ø / $C_{[DEL,\ CORONALIZED]}$ [__]$_{\sigma}$.[+LOW]$_{\sigma}$…
(k) Non-liquid consonant palatalization $C_{[-LIG/-PAL]}$ → C^{j} /__$V_{[+high]}V_{[-high]}$)
(l) $V_{[+high/Cor]}$ → Ø / $C_{[-LIG,\ CORONALIZED]}$ [__]$_{\sigma}$.[+LOW]$_{\sigma}$…
(m) /u/ deletion: **[+High, αATR, γPLACE] → Ø / CV$_{[\alpha ATR]}$C$_{[+SON,\ \gamma PLACE]}$ __ #**
(n) /a/ ([-ATR]) → [æ] ([+ATR]) / __$^{+}$[mu(+ATR])
(o) /ɔ/ ([-ATR]) → [o] ([+ATR]) / __$^{+}$[mu(+ATR])
(p) [+ATR] harmony at the root-root boundary: **[-ATR] → [+ATR] / __$^{+}$[+ATR]**
(q) Mid-vowel deletion: **[-high/-low]$_{\sigma}$ → Ø / σ__σ**
(r) Avoidance of the low-low vowel sequence: **[+low] → [:] / [+low] ___**

As stated in (39a), a low vowel as an affix deletes over a low vowel as a root vowel. In (b) and (c), a mid-vowel (i.e., [-high/-low]) always deletes over a low vowel irrespective of their affixal or root information. In (b), the mid-vowel is an affix and deletes over the root low vowel; in (c), the mid-vowel is a root vowel and still deletes over the low vowel which is an affix. In (d), a non-low vowel (specifically, a mid-vowel) deletes at the compound stem's initial position. This rule is violated by **[oduması]** which cannot drop its initial [o] vowel because the initial [o] is lexically significant.

A high vowel is deletable when it shares a boundary with /r/ and its round and ATR values are predictable from a neighboring vowel as in (e) and in (f). In (e) where the deleting high vowel is followed by a non-high vowel, the retention of the high vowel is a violation of *[+high][-high] – therefore, the high vowel deletes. The rule in (f) works well in non-boundary cases when it becomes necessary to create a bimoraic monosyllable to satisfy the four-syllable requirement. In domains where the round and ATR values of a high vowel are not predictable from context, the environment must be made predictable before a high vowel can be subjected to deletion in a bid not to violate *[+high][-high]; if the high vowel is labial (i.e., rounded) it must store this feature in the preceding consonant. The rule in (g), therefore, is about this; in this context, the high vowel harmonizes with the non-high vowel in being [-ATR]. Consonant labialization then triggers high vowel delabialization as expressed in (h). In (i), the delabialized high vowel can then delete. (j) is another instance of [+high, cor] deletion between a palatalized/coronalized affricative and a non-high vowel (specifically, the low vowel). Also, in a few cases, a non-palatal, non-liquid consonant will undergo palatalization before a high coronal vowel would be deleted to respect the *[+high][-high] (+low) vowel sequence; therefore, the rule in (l) can be said to be triggered once consonant palatalization as in (k) has applied.

In (m) is word final /u/ deletion, this deletion is made possible by the fact that /m/ can function independently as a syllable and /u/ shares with /m/ the feature labial. It harmonizes with the vowel of the preceding CV-syllable in the feature [+ATR] for which reason its omission is not semantically costly. A more specific rewriting of this rule is [+High, αATR, ɣLAB] → Ø / $CV_{[\alpha ATR]}C_{[+NASAL,\ \gamma LABIAL]}$ __ #. As specified in (n) and (o), /u/ triggers [+ATR] in a preceding [-ATR] vowel before the rule as specified in (m) can apply suggesting a feeding relation between the two rules. In (p) is a cover [+ATR] harmony rule for our present purpose – we can remove the morpheme boundary sign (i.e., +) to make this work broadly in regressive [+ATR] harmony cases. The rule in (q) is in the same spirit as (b) in deleting a mid-vowel – (q) is only a prosodic representation of what is a segmental representation in (b).

The rule in (r) is meant to illustrate vowel doubling – I prefer the non-linear representation to this segmental schema. There are other rules which have strictly been represented non-linearly, but which because of space cannot be repeated here – e.g., onset formation, de-onseting, nuclearization, etc. In the next section, where the focus is on constraint analysis, I will limit representations to phonological cases at the stem-stem boundary with emphasis on *[+high][-high] and *[-high][-high] vowel-sequence resolution and to prosodic well-formedness cases.

8. A constraint-based account of partative-based place name formation in Akan

It is clear from section four that prosody (i.e., the syllable) functions both as a unit (i.e., an instantiation) and a level of organization (i.e., regulation) of segmental and/or suprasegmental matters that are significant to speech production and comprehension. This position of it in grammar, therefore, means that it has the responsibility to ensure that there is a neat

compromise between requirements at the two major designated levels of language computation, and that none of the two major projections – i.e., the underlying and surface levels of representation – has its segmental units and requirements so severely affected in ways that violate their core values and primary functioning as mentioned above. In fact, much of (Akan) phonology is on the prosodic plane, and it is quite fascinating to watch, in the current study, how prosody (i.e., the syllable) as a unit and a level of organization functions to obtain a meaningful articulation-comprehension balance in speech production (i.e., in partative-based place-name formations). The concurrent demands from prosody, the phonotactics (as guided by sonority and markedness conditions), and the strive to preserve contrast in the formation of partative-based place-names makes the Optimality Theory a useful theory for the current study. Also, variations between outputs and inputs as well as their correspondences are not unmotivated. This paper aims to establish such motivations; and it is more for this reason that Optimality theory (henceforth OT) (Prince and Smolensky 1993) – i.e., a constraint-based approach – is the theory of choice in this section. OT is the only phonological theory with the endowment for discovering the motivations (i.e., constraints) and the priority ranking of such for which reason output forms would be required to correspond with and/or diverge from their input forms.

OT as a theory of constraints views output forms (i.e., performance units) as not always truthful in their properties to their inputs. Therefore, it is a requirement of the theory that output forms are evaluated in their wellformedness against a language-specific ranking of violable, universal constraints. That is, constraints are the requirements of language processing – that is, the (grammatical) events that must be avoided and/or permitted in language processing in general. There are two sets of constraints which interact –i.e., are ranked – language-specifically, namely faithfulness constraints, and markedness constraints. Faithfulness constraints promote input-output correspondence on some phonological situation, and markedness constraints are the requirements that act to the contrary. So, in effect, constraints on wellformedness are in conflict. Therefore, while all human languages employ constraints (hence the notion of constraints being universal), each language resolves this persistent universal-constraints conflict in a manner convenient to that language by ranking them – that is, by prioritizing/ranking them from the most-preferred constraint or grammatical requirement, down to the least-preferred constraint or grammatical requirement. In other words, grammatically, each constraint or grammatical requirement must be ranked against each other, but in a language-specific manner. Constraints which output forms respect with some semantic cost incurred are markedness constraints. Constraints which output forms respect without semantic cost incurred are faithfulness constraints. The formation of partative-based place-names in Akan reveals a conflict between faithfulness and markedness constraints. The question is, what is the priority ranking of these constraints in Akan grammar. What (or how much of) formal variation of an output form from its input form is semantically less costly in the formation of partative-based place-names?

Modelling the constraints for vowel sequence resolution and other vowel processes in the formation of place names

A series of markedness-based constraints (i.e., in a non-OT usage of the term ‘markedness’) interact to resolve impermissible vowel sequences at the stem-stem boundary in place-name formation in Akan. Three interacting markedness requirements/constraints are identifiable from the place-name data. They are functional markedness, phonetic markedness and phonological markedness. Below are their definitions.

(40)

(a) Functional markedness: Root vowels and affixal vowels are treated differently by Akan grammar for which reason it has become necessary to specify a vowel for its functional (i.e., morphological/distributive) information as either a root-vowel or an affixal-vowel. The term [±ROOT] is used here as cover for these two functions; a root-vowel will be specified as [+ROOT] (henceforth, [+RT]) with an affixal-vowel being specified as [-ROOT] (henceforth [-RT]). Functional markedness treats a root-vowel as more marked than an affixal-vowel, and therefore more likely to be preserved over the latter. The ranking, **[+RT] >> [-RT]**, therefore, holds in this case, such that an impermissible vowel sequence will be resolved accordingly.

(b) Phonetic markedness: This markedness is sonority-based. A more sonorous vowel unit is considered more marked than a less sonorous vowel unit, and the sonority scale [+lo(w)] >> [-hi(gh), -lo(w)] >> [+hi(gh)], therefore, is a very significant condition for phonetic markedness. Akan grammar works to preserve a more sonorous unit over a less sonorous unit in a vowel sequence scenario. We can merge information from the sonority-scale (i.e., showing vowel sequence preference) with the ranking outlined under functional markedness to derive more specific vowels as follows:

(**[+low]**/+RT >> **[+low]**/-RT	(example 4)	>>
(**[-hi/-lo]**/+RT >> **[-high/-low]**/-RT])	(example 32f-j)	>>
(**[+high]**/+RT >> **[+high]**/-RT])	(e.g., **dzi** ‘eat’ + **ɪnam** ‘meat’ = **edzinam** ‘fork (cutlery)’, Fante)	

On the one front (i.e., phonetic/sonority plane) a low-vowel is favored over a mid-vowel, and a mid-vowel over a high vowel in a vowel sequence. As shown above, the functions of vowels are only considered when the vowels in sequence are equal in terms of their sonority; Akan grammar works to preserve a root-vowel over an affixal-vowel in this instance.

(c) Phonological markedness: Here, I make a distinction between a contrastive vowel (i.e., a lexically-significant vowel) and a non-contrastive vowel (i.e., a non-lexically significant vowel). In an impermissible vowel-sequence resolution which requires that a vowel be deleted, a contrastive vowel for the fact that it is not predictable cannot be deleted, but a non-contrastive vowel by virtue of its predictability can. There is evidence in the place-name data for contrastive (i.e., lexically-significant) and non-contrastive root and affixal vowels. We observed the following cases with respect to contrast or the absence of it: an affixal vowel which is lexically-significant is retained: [o] is retained in **oduma**sɪ. An affixal-vowel which is not lexically-significant is deleted: [o] deletes in **odʑama-asɪ → [dʑamaasɪ]**. A root-vowel which is not lexically-significant (i.e., predictable) is deleted: the first [ɪ] deletes in **tɕɥ̱apɪasɪ → [tɕɥapɪasɪ]**; /ɪ/ deletes in **aɕɥɪrɪ-asɪ → aɕɥrɪ-asɪ → [a.ɕɥra.a.sɪ]**; /u/ deletes from **mu** “inside” in partative-based place-names it is associated with. A root vowel which is lexically-significant is highly retained. The above cases suggest that both root and affixal vowels must be specified for their lexical significance. The term [±LEXICAL] (henceforth, [+LEX]) will be used for this purpose. We can incorporate the lexical information of a vowel into the representations in (40b) above to derive what is in (41) below:

(41)
([+low]/+RT/**+LEX** > *[+low]/+RT/**-LEX**) >> (*[+low]/-RT/**+LEX** > [+low]/-RT/**-LEX**)
>>
([-hi/-lo]/+RT/**+LEX** >*[-hi/-lo]/+RT/**-LEX**) >> (*[-hi/-lo]/-RT]/**+LEX** > [-hi/-lo]/-RT]/**-LEX**)

>>

([+high]/+RT/**+LEX** > *[+high]/+RT/**-LEX**) >> (*[+high]/-RT]/**+LEX** > *[+high]/-RT]/**-LEX**)

Representations with the asterisk do not feature in vowel sequences at the stem-stem boundary in the place-name data under consideration; some of them appear in other domains by themselves (and not even in a sequence). Therefore, the representations can be reduced relevantly for vowel-sequences at the stem-stem boundary as in (42). That is, these are the vowel types known to occur in a sequence at the stem-stem boundary in the place-name data under consideration.

(42)
[+low]/+RT/**+LEX**; [+low]/-RT/**-LEX**; [-hi/-lo]/+RT/**+LEX**; [-hi/-lo]/-RT]/**-LEX**; [+high]/+RT/**+LEX**

In Table (7) are their possible combinations; root-vowels are V_1 with affixal-vowels as V_2 in the present study. There is no evidence of the combination in (f) (hence the asterisk) in the current study, but if there were I would suppose that they would behave just like (e). The argument is that Akan grammar is very sensitive to these inherent and functional properties of vowels, and that the impermissible, *[+high][-high] and *[-high][-high] vowel-sequences are resolved partly guided by these conditions.

Table 7. *Conditions for a vowel's deletion in a VV sequence*

	V_1		V_2	Comments
a.	[+low] /+RT **/+LEX**	>>	[+low] /-RT **/-LEX**	Here, V_1 and V_2 are on the same rank in terms of their sonority, [+low]; V_1 is preserved over V_2 because V_1 is a root-vowel and lexically-significant. Therefore, V_2 deletes, V_1 is retained.
b.	[+low] /+RT **/+LEX**	>>	[-hi/-lo] /-RT] **/-LEX**	Here, V_1 is a low-vowel and V_2, a mid-vowel; V_1 ([+low]) has both the functional and sonority advantage over V1 ([-high/-low]). Therefore, V_1 is retained, V_2 deletes.
c.	[-hi/-lo]/ +RT/ **+LEX**	<<	[+low] /-RT **/-LEX**	Here, V_1 is a mid-vowel followed by a low vowel as V_2. V_1 has the functional advantage over V_2 for being a root vowel. The low vowel also has the sonority advantage over the mid vowel. Now, the two have to be weighed to determine whether interchanging them will result in meaning difference – i.e., whether the mid is significantly lexical such that it cannot be displaced by the low vowel. It happens that here the mid vowel can be substituted with the low vowel without affecting meaning. This combines with sonority to make the low vowel the more preferable vocalic segment to preserve in this case. This accounts for the reversive ranking of the two vowels (i.e., << as opposed to >> for the first two vowel sequences).

d.	[-hi/-lo] /+RT /**+LEX**	>>	[-hi/-lo] /-RT] /**-LEX**	Here is a sequence of mid vowels. They are the same in terms of their sonority. V_1 is the root and lexically-significant one. All the conditions are in favor of V_1 over V_2. Therefore, V_2 is the target for deletion with V_1 being retained.
e.	[+high] /+RT /**+LEX**	*< <	[+low] /-RT /**-LEX**	Here, the vowel sequence is a high vowel as V_1, followed by a low vowel as V_2. The retention of the affixal-contrastive low is much more preferred over the retention of the root-contrastive high. The occurrence here with that in (c) suggests that the sonority scale has a more basic role in what must delete; and that possibly function becomes an important factor when the vowels in the sequences rank the same in sonority (as pertained in (a) and in (d)). However, the root high vowel in domains where it is lexically-significant does not simply give in to the low vowel; it undergoes glide/onset formation to insulate itself from deletion by the low vowel. Therefore, **[+low]/-RT/-LEX** does not outrank **[+high]/+RT/+LEX** in this scenario; the two requirements need not be crucially ranked as both must be retained in an output.
*f.	[+high] /+RT /**+LEX**	<< ??	[-hi/-lo] /-RT] /**-LEX**	No evidence of this in this study.

Now from the table these are the possible faithfulness constraints and the hierarchy they must assume in the resolution of the impermissible *[+high][-high] and *[-high][-high] vowel sequence. Impermissible: *[+high][-high] and *[-high][-high] are therefore our markedness constraints among others as shown in (44).

(43) **Faithfulness constraints**

(a) **IDENT-IO-[+low]/+RT/+LEX**: A lexically-significant, root low-vowel of an input must be preserved in an output. (Henceforth: **[+low/+RT/+LEX]**)

(b) **IDENT-IO-[+low]/-RT/-LEX**: A low-vowel of an (affixal) input must be preserved in an output. (Henceforth: **[+low/-RT/-LEX]**)

(c) **IDENT-IO-[-hi/-lo]/+RT/+LEX**: A lexically-significant, root mid-vowel of an input must be preserved in an output. (Henceforth: **[-hi/-lo/+RT/+LEX]**)

(d) **IDENT-IO-[-hi/-lo]/-RT]/-LEX:** A mid-vowel of an (affixal) input must be preserved in an output. (Henceforth: **[-hi/-lo/-RT/-LEX]**)

(e) **IDENT-IO-[+high]/+RT/+LEX:** A lexically-significant, root high-vowel of an input must be preserved in an output. (Henceforth: **[+high/+RT/+LEX]**)

(44) **Markedness constraints**

***[-hi][-hi]:** A non-high and non-high vowel sequence must be avoided.

***[+hi][-hi]:** A high and non-high vowel sequence must be avoided. Where both high and

non-high (either a low or mid vowel) are to be retained, the high vowel instigates glide/onset formation to insulate itself – i.e., to counter the impact of the strength of the non-high vowel's sonority.

***x≤3ơ:** A partative-based place-name output (i.e., x) must not be less than or equal to three syllables.

Ranking of faithfulness constraints on vowels:
Below is a reading of the ranking argument:

(45) **[+low/+RT/+LEX] >> [+low/-RT/-LEX], [+high/+RT/+LEX] >> [-hi/-lo/+RT/+LEX] >> [-hi/-lo/-RT/-LEX]**

In avoiding the vowel sequences, *[+high][-high] and *[-high][-high] through deletion, a root lexical low will be preserved over an affix low vowel; an affix low vowel and a root lexical high will both be retained (and will avoid violation of the impermissible *[+high][-high] sequence through glide/onset formation); an affix low vowel and root lexical high will be preserved over a mid-vowel; in a sequence of mid-vowels, a root lexical mid-vowel will be preserved over an affix mid-vowel.

Interaction of faithfulness and markedness constraints
A careful study of the data shows that the ***[+hi][-hi]** constraint does not interact with the constraints, namely [**+low/-RT/-LEX], [+high/+RT/+LEX]** and ***x≤3ơ** as displayed in (46) in the same manner as the constraint ***[-hi][-hi]** does as shown in (47). This need for two different ranking-arguments, one for when the vowel-sequence is [+hi][-hi] and the other for when it is [-hi][-hi] is supported by the constraint evaluations from (Tabeau 1) to (Tabeau 6).

(46) ***[+hi][-hi]**, [**+low/-RT/-LEX], [+high/+RT/+LEX], *x≤3ơ >> DEP**

(47) ***[-hi][-hi], [+low/+RT/+LEX] >> [+low/-RT/-LEX], [+high/+RT/+LEX] >> *x≤3ơ >> [-hi/-lo/+RT/+LEX] >> [-hi/-lo/-RT/-LEX]**

In (Tabeau 1), I illustrate constraint-ranking in (46) with the place-name pronounced as (Tabeau 1-ii) **bısıjasɪ**. That is, the candidate with a glide-onset (i.e., [j]) inserted between /ɪ/ and /a/ becomes optimal; glide-onset formation allows this candidate to respect every undominated constraint (i.e., ***[+hi][-hi]**, [**+low/-RT/-LEX], [+high/+RT/+LEX], *x≤3ơ**) whiles violating **DEP**, a least-ranked constraint.

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Tableau 1. (55) ***[+hi][-hi], [+low/-RT/-LEX], [+high/+RT/+LEX], *x≤3ơ >> DEP**

Input: / bısı-asɪ / "beneath the cola tree"	***[+hi][-hi]**	**[+low/-RT/-LEX]**	**[+high/+RT/+LEX]**	***x≤3ơ**	**DEP**
(i) **bɪ.sɪ-a.sɪ**	*				
☞ (ii) **bɪ.sɪ.ja.sɪ**					*
(iii) **bɪ.sɪ.-Øsɪ**		*		*	
(iv) **bɪ.sØ-a.sɪ**			*	*	

From (Tabeau 2) to (Tabeau 6) are the Tableaux in support of the ranking argument in (47).

Tableau 2. (56) ***[-hi][-hi], [+low/+RT/+LEX] >> [+low/-RT/-LEX]**

Input: ŋankɔma-asɪ	***[-hi][-hi]**	**[+low/+RT/+LEX]**	**x≤3ơ**	**[+low/-RT/-LEX]**
☞(i) **ŋaŋ.kɔ.ma-Øsɪ**				*
(ii) **ŋaŋ.kɔ.mØ-a.sɪ**		*!		
(iii) **ŋaŋ.kɔ.ma-asɪ**	*!			
(iv) **ŋaŋ.kɔ.mØ-Øsɪ**		*!		*
(v) **ŋaŋ.kɔ.sɪ**			*!	

Tableau 3. (57) ***[-hi][-hi], [+low/-RT/-LEX] >> [-hi/-lo/+RT/+LEX]**

/tope-asɪ/		***[-hi][-hi]**	**[+low/-RT/-LEX]**	**x≤3ơ**	**[-hi/-lo/+RT/+LEX]**
Segmental representation	Prosodic representation				
a. **to.pe.a.sɪ**	CV.CV.V.CV	*!			
b. **to.pa.a.sɪ**	CV.CV.V.CV	*!			*
☞c. **to.pa:.sɪ**	$CV.CV_1.V_1.CV$				*
d. **to.pO.Osɪ**	CV.C.CV		*	*	*

Tableau 4. (58) ***[-hi][-hi], [-hi/-lo/+RT/+LEX] >> [-hi/-lo/-RT/-LEX]**

Input: /asuo-em(u)/ 'within/surrounded by water'	***[-hi][-hi]**	**[-hi/-lo/+RT/+LEX]**	**x≤3ơ**	**[-hi/-lo/-RT/-LEX]**
(i) **æ.su.o-e.m**	*!			
☞ (ii) **æ.su.o-Øm**				*
(iii) **æ.su.Ø-e.m**		*!		
(iv) **æ.su.Ø-Øm**		*	*	*

Tableau 5. (59) ***[-hi][-hi], [+low/+RT/+LEX] >> [-hi/-lo/-RT/-LEX]**

Input:/aɲina-em(u)/ 'within the anyina tree'	***[-hi][-hi]**	**[+low/+RT/+LEX]**	**x≤3ơ**	**[-hi/-lo/-RT/-LEX]**
(i) **æ.ɲi.na.-e.m**	*!			
☞ (ii) **æ.ɲi.na.-Øm**				*
(iii) **æ.ɲi.nØ-e.m**		*!		
(iv) **æ.ɲi.n.Ø-Øm**		*!		*
(v) **æ.ɲɪ.m**			*!	

Tableau 6. (60) ***[-hi][-hi], [+low/-RT/-LEX], *x≤3ơ >> [-hi/-lo/+RT/+LEX]**

Input: /dompo-asɪ/ "beneath dompo tree"	***[-hi][-hi]**	**[+low/-RT/-LEX]**	***x≤3ơ**	**[-hi/-lo/+RT/+LEX]**
(i) **dom.po.-a.sɪ**	*!			
☞ (ii) **dom.p^{w}a.:.sɪ** **CVC.CV.V.CV**				*
(iii) **dom.pØ-a.sɪ**			*!	*
(iv) **dom.po.-Øsɪ**		*	*	

In (Tabeau 2), **[+low/+RT/+LEX]** outranks **[+low/-RT/-LEX]** and does so with ***[-hi][-hi]** and **x≤3ơ.** In (Tabeau 3), **[+low/-RT/-LEX]** (with ***[-hi][-hi]** and **x≤3ơ**) outranks **[-hi/-**

lo/+RT/+LEX] – with the preferred candidate being **to.pa.:.sɪ** (CV.CV$_1$.V$_1$.CV) with [a]-doubling to escape violation of the undominated ***[-hi][-hi]** constraint. In (Tabeau 4) there is evidence of **[-hi/-lo/+RT/+LEX]** domination of **[-hi/-lo/-RT/-LEX]** with (ii) **æsuo-Øm [æsuom]** as the optimal candidate. (Tabeau 5) displays the constraint, **[+low/+RT/+LEX]** and **x≤3ơ** domination of **[-hi/-lo/-RT/-LEX] –** a root low-vowel is preferred over an affixal mid-vowel in the bid to prevent the non-high-non-high vowel-sequence necessary to respect the undominated *[-hi][-hi] constraint; and (ii) **aŋina-Øm** is the preferred candidate in this case. In (Tabeau 6), the constraints, ***[-hi][-hi], [+low/-RT/-LEX], *x≤3ơ** and **[-hi/-lo/+RT/+LEX]** and in evaluation and the prosodic constraint, ***x≤3ơ,** is so vital in selecting the winning candidate. That is, with both (ii) **dom.p^{w}a.:.sɪ** and (iii) **dom.pØ-a.sɪ** violating the lowest-ranked **[-hi/-lo/+RT/+LEX]** constraint, it is on the basis of ***x≤3ơ** that the optimal candidate is selected. The ***[+hi][-hi]** constraint as we observed in (Tabeau 1) is devoid of these crucial rankings that characterize ***[-hi][-hi]** and the rest of the constraints.

9. Conclusion

This paper has focused on establishing the segmental and prosodic processes and constraints on the formation of partative-based place-names in Akan. A very prominent segmental structure that the current study has largely been devoted to is vowel-sequence at the stem-stem boundary in the formation of partative-based place-names, a V1 belonging to the root of the first stem and a V2 which is an affix (i.e., prefix) of the second stem of the compounding. The factors identified as responsible for observed segmental and prosodic alterations in partative-based place-name formations are prosodic well-formedness which has been defined as the requirement for four syllables in partative-based place-name outputs, and a requirement for the preservation of marked units over unmarked units in place-name outputs. It was argued that conditions from three types of markedness interact significantly to join stems into place-names. The three were identified as functional, phonetic and phonological markedness. Well-formedness requirements in these three areas significantly dictate how impermissible vowel sequences must be resolved in order to derive a partative-based place-name. Functionally, it was observed that while affixes are at a disadvantage over roots in terms of what to preserve just for contrastive purposes, it is not always so. There are occasions where this preference condition is in violation, when the need to preserve an affix vowel over a root vowel is very crucial for which reason phonotactic ill-formedness is resolved in favor of the affix vowel, such that the root vowel is what deletes. An affix is favored in this manner when its taking over from the root vowel has no semantic and production cost implications. That is, when, semantically, their feature difference is not as would change the basic meaning of the root word in the domain of activity and consequently the meaning of an output; and, structurally, when the substituting affix vowel is higher on the sonority scale (and therefore more marked) than the deleting root vowel. On the prosodic plane also, it is not always that the derivation could keep inputs to the four required syllables on the surface. There are occasions where the segmental properties available at the input level can simply not be manipulated to satisfy this well-formedness requirement in this domain of Akan phonology.

Segmentally, non-low vowels and consonants cannot be doubled for prosodic purposes, only a low vowel can – and the low vowel is more sonorous, and more marked, than non-low vowels. That is, Akan grammar in the current data works to preserve marked items over their unmarked counterparts such that, for example, a predictable root or affix vowel (unmarked) will be deleted over non-predictable/contrastive ones. Also, significant root nucleuses and

syllables will be preserved over non-contrastive prosodic points of either root words or of affixes. The low vowel (which is more marked and also more sonorous) is preserved over non-low vowels (which is not as the low vowel). for which reason a unit belong in the latter category will be deleted over a unit that belongs in the former category. For mid-vowels, this pressure has come unresisted, and they have always been deleted except when for prosodic purposes their syllables and nucleuses must be preserved. For root high vowels, this threat from the most sonorous (i.e., marked) has not gone unresisted. By employing either their coronality (palatality) and labiality they have always insulated themselves (i.e., as root high vowels) from the low vowel's encroachment and, consequently, their eventual deletion, by erecting either the j-glide or the w-glide to onset the low vowel. By so doing, the root high vowel, followed by the low vowel, is able to successfully escape deletion and respect the impermissible *[+high][-high] constraint simultaneously.

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THE PERCEPTIONS OF SELECTED GHANAIAN LANGUAGE TEACHERS ABOUT VIRTUAL TEACHING AND LEARNING DURING CRISES

Edward Owusu

In March 2020, when the World Health Organisation (WHO) declared COVID-19 as a pandemic, Ghana placed restrictions on face-to-face teaching and learning activities at all levels. Subsequently, almost all tertiary educational institutions in the country approved the complete use of Virtual Teaching and Learning (VTL) for students and teaching staff. While most of the institutions accepted VTL as a substitute for face-to-face teaching and learning, others used it as a stopgap in anticipation of the lift of the government's ban on face-to-face teaching and learning. This paper, therefore, assesses the perceptions of language teachers about Virtual Teaching and Learning (VTL) during the ban on face-to-face teaching and learning activities in Ghana. The purposive sampling method was used to select 10 participants (language teachers) from a single case (i.e., the Communication Studies Department of Sunyani Technical University). The paper employed a mixed method research design approach. What this means is that both qualitative and quantitative data were collected from selected human subjects. Content analysis was used in analysing the qualitative data collected, and figures generated with Excel were used in analysing the quantitative data. The results of the study showed that 80 % of the participants had positive perceptions about VTL. The remaining 20%, who had negative perceptions about VTL, indicated that for VTL to be wholly embraced in any jurisdiction, challenges of policy guidelines, staff and students' motivation, internet connectivity, data allocation, and other technical issues should be well-addressed.

Keywords: Virtual teaching and learning, Online learning, Language teaching, Teachers' perceptions

Introduction and Background

Disasters usually bring about all kinds of consequences. In education, crises may lead to abrupt incoherence in academic calendars, curricula, and forms of activities including teaching and learning. Therefore, crises, sometimes, lead to all kinds of interferences in education which may

be positive or negative. A positive educational interference may emerge out of a transformation in educational systems, policies, procedures, programmes, syllabi, and modes of teaching and learning whenever there is a change in government or a change in educational policy from regulators of education or other stakeholders. At other times, a positive interference may lead to innovation in educational systems. However, sometimes, this positive interference is met with a series of protests from some stakeholders of education.

The negative educational disruptions, in contrast, may start from disastrous situations such as persistent industrial actions, epidemics, pandemics, and endemics. This may also happen any time there is any form of natural or unnatural disaster. Natural disasters are catastrophic events with atmospheric, geologic, and hydrologic origins which usually lead to earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, landslides, tsunamis, floods, and drought (Watson et al. 2007). Other forms of natural disasters are fire and intense heat. On the other hand, forms of unnatural crises include wars, civil unrest, military takeovers, or coup d'états. According to Watson et al. (2007), natural disasters can have fast or slow onset, with severe health, social, and economic consequences. Thus, any of these calamitous occurrences could result in crises that have serious negative consequences on educational activities.

In January 2020, the World Health Organisation (WHO) established that a new coronavirus was the reason for a breathing illness found in a group of people in Wuhan City, Hubei Province, China. This sickness was named COVID-19, and the pathogen (an RNA virus) recognised as SARS-Coronavirus-2 (SARS-CoV-2) (Kenu et al. 2020). By March 2020, COVID-19 had practically spread across the globe. Therefore, the World Health Organisation (WHO) declared it as a pandemic. Directly or indirectly, this situation affected the frequent provision of goods and services in most of the countries in the world. Subsequently, most countries placed forms of restriction on activities that involved human contact. By April 2020, there were total or partial lockdowns in several countries in the world, including Ghana. This situation affected face-to-face teaching and learning.

Ghana recorded its first two cases of COVID-19 disease on March 12, 2020. So, on March 28, 2020, the President of Ghana, Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo announced a partial lockdown from 01:00 (local time) commencing from March 30, 2020, for 14 days in Greater Accra and Greater Kumasi Metropolitan areas. On the day of the announcement, about 3 regions (i.e., the Greater Accra, Ashanti, and Upper West Regions) of Ghana had all reported cases of the virus, a total of 141 COVID-19 cases had been confirmed nationwide, and 5 of the cases were fatal (Ghana News Agency, 2020).

Ghanaian citizens in the areas mentioned were only permitted to leave their homes for vital items such as food, medicine, water, payment of utility bills, as well as visiting hospitals, pharmacies, or financial institutions. The government gave five key objectives to address the potential effects of the COVID-19 pandemic in Ghana. These were (1) limit and halt the

importation of the virus, (2) contain its spread, (3) deliver suitable care for the sick, (4) reduce the impact of the virus on social and economic life and (5) increase local production ability to reinforce self-reliance (Ghana News Agency 2020). On April 13, 2020, the partial lockdown in some major cities in Ghana was further extended for an additional 7 days. As of April 2020, there were about 641 COVID-19 cases confirmed in Ghana out of the 50,719 tested samples (World Health Organisation 2020). On April 20, 2020, the 3-week partial lockdown in some major cities in Ghana was lifted. However, restrictions on religious and social meetings were to continue, and the closure of schools (at all levels) was still in force. Ghana's borders were also to remain closed.

The government's closure of schools hindered face-to-face teaching and learning activities at all levels. Because of this, almost all tertiary educational institutions in the country approved of the complete utilisation of Virtual Teaching and Learning (VTL) for students and teaching staff. While some institutions accepted VTL as a substitute for face-to-face teaching and learning, others used it as a stopgap, in anticipation of the lift of the government's ban on face-to-face teaching and learning. This brought about a lot of adjustments in the academic calendars and programmes of almost all universities in Ghana. Also, authorities in various universities had to make decisions on issues of timetable, data allocation for staff and students, duration, and the modus operandi of the selected VTL platforms. Therefore, the objectives of this paper are to:

1. examine the perceptions of language teachers about Virtual Teaching and Learning (VTL).
2. evaluate the prospects and challenges of VTL at the technical university level.
3. establish the platforms used for VTL at Sunyani Technical University
4. recommend best practices for effective virtual teaching during crises.

Definition, Merits, and Demerits of Virtual Teaching and Learning

In this 21st century, most associations, businesses, and nations have given digitisation, (which is the use of the computer or technological know-how) a lot of attention (Owusu et al. 2023). This attention has been extended to virtual teaching and learning (VTL). Virtual learning is the kind of learning that can functionally and effectively occur in the absence of traditional classroom environments (Simonson and Schlosser 2006). Thus, this kind of teaching and learning, unlike the traditional face-to-face teaching and learning mode, is usually aided by ICT gadgets and social media platforms. ICT gadgets such as projectors, smart boards, PC/laptops, and laser pointers are usually essential in VTL modes. Some of the social media platforms that are also imperative when it comes to VTL are Voov, Zoom, Skype, Google Mate, Microsoft Teams, Google Classroom, Free Conference Call, and other relevant platforms. To Popovic et al. (2005), e-learning is the use of the Internet and other related technologies to deliver, support, and enhance teaching, learning, and assessment.

Some distinctions have been drawn among e-learning, m-learning, and d-learning. According to Hoppe et al. (2003:255), e-learning is the kind of learning reinforced by digital electronic devices and media, and m-learning is the kind of e-learning that uses movable devices and wireless broadcast. D-learning, on the other hand, is any kind of learning that is assisted by technology or by instructional practice that makes effective use of technology in all learning areas and domains (Victoria State Government 2017).

Van Beek (2011) believes that virtual learning comes in different forms including:

- *Computer-Based:* where instructions are not given by a facilitator; rather, teaching is done via software installed on an indigenous computer or server.
- *Internet-Based:* where the software that delivers the instruction is done via the Web and stored on a remote server.
- *Remote Teacher Online:* where a teacher delivers virtual lessons to students through online video, forums, e-mail, and instant messaging.
- *Blended Learning:* which combines both face-to-face and computer-based instructions.
- *Facilitated Virtual Learning:* where computer-based instruction is supported by a human facilitator who assists students' learning process in the form of providing tutorials. This facilitator may be present with the student or may engage them from a remote place through virtual means.

According to Wang et al. (2021), e-learning strategies have a direct positive impact on e-learning effectiveness. So about two decades ago, Floyd (2003) reported that most universities are planning to invest in internet-based classes and in recruiting and training faculty to teach online because of its merits (Floyd 2003). E-teaching enables individualised instruction and gives opportunities for individual students to learn at their pace and according to their learning styles. For this reason, even traditional classroom teaching is commonly supplemented by e-teaching and learning. Some universities have also used the blended method where both face-to-face and e-teaching and learning modes are utilised.

While face-to-face teaching is highly dependent on only synchronous mode, VTL offers synchronous and asynchronous teaching and learning approaches to both teachers and learners. According to Hrastinski (2008:54), synchronous online teaching has a lot of benefits, including personal participation, increased arousal, motivation, and convergence on meaning. Again, this kind of online teaching and learning helps the facilitator monitor the reaction of the learners to the message. Asynchronous online teaching, on the other hand, has the benefits of cognitive participation, increased reflection, and the ability to process information (Hrastinski 2008:54). However, in the case of asynchronous online teaching, the facilitator cannot easily monitor the reaction of the learners to the message.

Various research findings have shown the imperativeness of both synchronous and asynchronous online teaching and learning approaches. Moorhouse and Beaumont (2020) reported

how an elementary language teacher planned and taught real-time live lessons in a metropolitan school. The findings of the study indicated that with adequate preparation, synchronous teaching of classes can always be successful. Also, Yi and Jang (2020) explored the video-based asynchronous teaching of two elementary teachers in a small rural school. Their findings suggested that distant teaching activities produce opportunities for translingual practices and pedagogy, as well as for cooperative teaching.

Again, Ji, Park, and Shin (2022) investigated the satisfaction of L2 learners in a synchronous online learning setting, which was seen to be associated with diverse factors at the onset and end of the semester. Based on two waves of data collection, the study revealed that the initial higher readiness of learners led to their greater satisfaction with synchronous online teaching and learning. However, the L2 learners were seen using different learning strategies, including note-taking, recording of lessons, and looking for extra learning materials. All these activities led to their full engagement and satisfaction.

However, VTL, like any other technology has its challenges. Online language teaching is challenging for all teachers, including pre-service teachers and experienced teachers, and one challenge that was prevalent in most contexts, during the COVID-19 era was technical issues. (Tao and Gao 2022; Mahyoob 2020). For example, in Beaven et al. (2010), it was realised that it was complex for language teachers to use ICT in their classes; as they needed to acquire and continually modernise their ICT skills, while also ensuring that the online teaching activities they use are entirely integrated into their pedagogical outline, and are helpful for both their students and for themselves. Thus, language teachers need to develop interest and motivation in ICT, and this can facilitate their pedagogical framework. Regarding language teachers' interest and motivation in using ICTs in their classes, three major factors (i.e. the type of institution(s) where they work, their social status, and their self-perception as a teacher) need to be considered (Beaven et al. 2010:7-8). Other challenges confronting VTL in the African context are internet access, data allocation; and staff and students' computer literacy or illiteracy rate.

Empirical Studies on VTL and Perception

Generally, perception is how something is viewed, assumed, or interpreted. The way we perceive entities, processes, events, or products determines the way we act toward these entities. The post-COVID-19 period has produced several studies on teachers' perceptions and online classes. Some of them have been reviewed in this section of the current paper:

Auma and Achieng (2020:22-25) studied the perception of teachers on the effectiveness of online learning in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic in Kenya. The study used a descriptive survey design. That is, quantitative and qualitative methods were employed to assess the diverse

perspectives on online learning. The participants for the study were drawn from Private Primary Schools in Athi River Sub-County, Kenya. Out of the over 300 schools, the investigator deliberately selected 15 schools that used online teaching and learning. Specifically, 150 teachers were randomly sampled to answer some questionnaire items on the perception of teachers on the effectiveness of online learning. The study revealed that the majority (80%) of the respondents agreed that ICT-based teaching makes learning more operational. However, 80.7% indicated that insufficient training and empowerment of teachers impeded online learning. The study recommended that teachers should be given technical support so that they could effectively utilise online teaching and learning tools.

Kulal and Nayak (2020) investigated the perception of teachers and students toward online classes in Dakshina Kannada and Udupi districts of Karnataka, India. The study adopted a descriptive quantitative design to solicit data from the participants who were drawn from all the postgraduate and graduate students and teachers from diverse colleges in the two districts. A simple random sampling technique was used to select the sample size of 68 teachers and 203 students from the population. A five-point Likert scale was used in collecting data from respondents in online classes. Questionnaires were distributed to participants through Google Forms. The data collected were analysed using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 20. The results of the study indicated that the participants had mixed opinions on online classes. Though teachers' general perception of online classes was encouraging, others disliked online classes for various reasons. Some teachers indicated that they do not conduct online classes due to technical reasons. Some teachers and students believed that the face-to-face traditional method of teaching was effective since they did not feel secure in private online tools like the Zoom application. Also, they cited the absence of emotional attachment with students and teachers as one key challenge of online classes.

Bordoloi et al. (2021) investigated the perception of Indian teachers and learners about the use of online/blended learning modes in teaching and learning during the Covid-19 pandemic. The work, also, aimed at finding out the prospects and difficulties of providing online/blended learning in India, during and after the Covid-19 era. The participants were drawn from teachers and learners of both conventional and Open Distance Learning (ODL) institutions across different parts of India. Since explorative and descriptive research methods were used for the study, both primary and secondary data were deployed. Specifically, academic analytics, an approach that guides the researchers to explore academic problems empirically, was used for the study. A link containing Google form questionnaires was randomly sent to 100 teachers and 100 students. However, only 79 teachers and 41 students responded to the questionnaire. Therefore, the sample size for the study was 120 participants.

The findings of Bordoloi et al. (2021) revealed that blended learning is the panacea for providing education in this 21st century. Again, the study revealed that both ODL and conventional teachers and students have positive perceptions about online/blended learning modes; and teachers

used platforms such as Facebook Live, Google Classroom, Skype tutorial, WhatsApp, Zoom, and Google Meet for teaching and learning during the COVID-19 pandemic era. One challenge of the study is the issue of a digital divide between the rich and the poor in India. This challenge hampered the poor from accessing some ICT gadgets that aid online teaching and learning.

Methods

The paper employed the mixed-method research design approach. This design was deployed since the research process suggested that only qualitative or quantitative data would not be adequate in addressing the research objectives. What this means is that both qualitative and quantitative data were collected from selected human subjects. A case study was the specific approach used, so all the sampled respondents were from the Department of Communication Studies, Sunyani Technical University. Out of a population of about 20 teaching staff in the Department (who teach various language and non-language-based courses), 10 English and French language teachers were purposively sampled for the study. The electronic instrument used for the data collection was a Google form questionnaire sent to the respondents via email or WhatsApp chat sessions. The design of the questionnaire items was based on Likert Scales's variables. The qualitative data (i.e., 10 face-to-face or telephonic chat session data) collected were analysed using a content analysis approach, while the quantitative data (i.e., 10 email-based interviews) were analysed using figures and chats developed from MS Excel version 2010. The telephonic chat session enabled me to solicit the data I needed from the respondents who were physically not present for a face-to-face session.

Results and Discussion

The results and discussion of the study are based on the objectives of language teachers' perception of VTL, prospects and challenges of VTL, and platforms used for VTL at Sunyani Technical University. In each of the four issues in this section, the results of the field data are first projected, and this is followed by the interpretation of the data; and the academic discussion of the data.

Perceptions of Language Teachers about VTL

This section analyses the perception of language teachers about virtual teaching and learning.

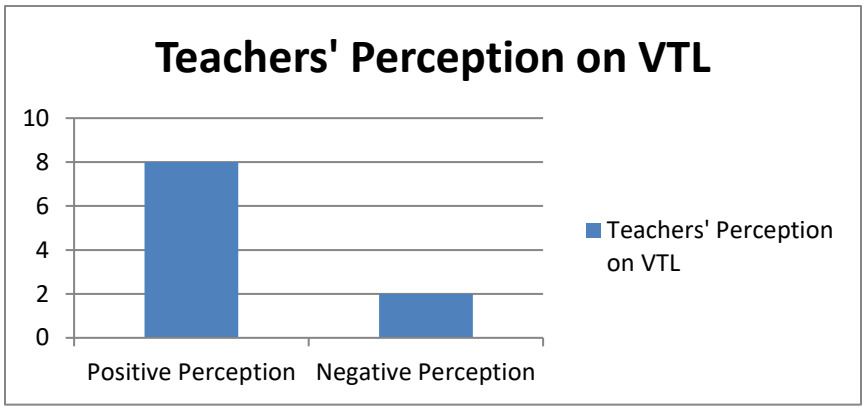

Figure 1: Teachers' perception about VTL

On a six-point Likert scale of *Totally Unacceptable, Unacceptable, Slightly Unacceptable, Neutral, Slightly Acceptable,* and *Perfectly Acceptable,* the respondents were asked to indicate their preference for VTL (i.e. how they accepted VTL). The results from Figure 1 indicate that the perception of teachers towards VTL is a positive one. Out of the 10 participants, 80 % (8) selected *perfectly acceptable* when they were asked about their perception or acceptability rate for VTL. The remaining 20% (2) who selected *slightly unacceptable,* said that before VTL can be adopted holistically in the STU context, policymakers and the university authorities should streamline challenging issues of data allocation, internet connectivity, computer literacy or illiteracy rate of both staff and students and motivation. For example, one respondent cited that 'during the COVID-19 era, most of his/her students could not actively join his/her virtual teaching and learning sessions because of challenges of computer illiteracy and lack of internet and computer accessibility.' For those who had a positive perception towards VTL, some cited that in education, the world is gradually drifting towards VTL, and both staff and students need to re-orientate their minds and perceptions towards this phenomenon.

The telephone interview also brought out some revelations on the perception of teachers about VTL. When the participants were asked about their general view about VTL, the majority of them indicated that it was time for all language teachers and learners to realise that VTL had come to stay and that measures should be taken to ensure that its full operationalisation in the technical university context is faced with fewer challenges, in terms of training, data allocation, internet connectivity, and motivation. About 7 of the interview responses corroborated the questionnaire responses on possible challenges of VTL. The interview responses confirmed Auma and Achieng's (2020:22-25) findings, which cited insufficient training and empowerment of teachers as some of the challenges of online teaching and learning. In sum, though the majority of the respondents (80%) had a positive perception of VTL, they want policymakers and university authorities to address some challenging issues before VTL is fully utilised.

Prospects of Virtual Teaching and Learning

This section analyses the prospects of virtual teaching and learning.

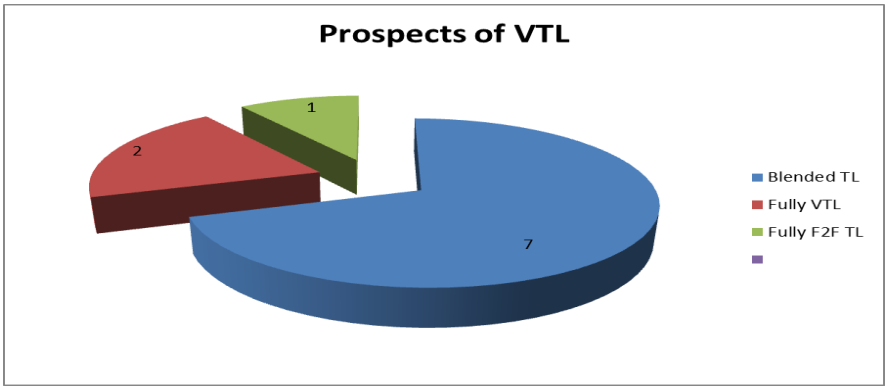

Figure 2: Preferred teaching mode

On prospects of VTL, the participants were asked to select their preferred teaching mode. The modes were blended teaching and learning (blended TL), fully VTL, and fully face-to-face teaching and learning (fully F2F TL) modes. Out of the 10 participants, 7 of them opted for blended TL mode, 2 opted for fully VTL, and 1 selected fully F2F TL. This is seen in Figure 2. In the telephone interview session, the 7 participants who opted for the blended TL, said that 'although, globally, VTL has become a popular mode of lesson delivery and learning for most higher institutions, accepting it as the sole teaching and learning mode in the context of the technical university, will be problematic.' According to them, for VTL to be fully accepted, numerous challenges have to be addressed. The blended mode, according to them (the 70% majority of respondents), must be encouraged in most jurisdictions, including the technical universities in Ghana. By this, both teaching staff and students would be gradually oriented for a fully VTL mode, should there be any educational disruption like a pandemic.

This finding agrees with Bordoloi et al. (2021) that brought to light that blended learning was the solution for providing education in this 21st century. According to Asiri et al. (2012), blended learning plays a major role in enhancing foreign language skills. Though the implication of blended learning has been proven to be effective in improving foreign language skills, there is a lack of willingness on the part of teachers to use this technology in their teaching mode. So, Rivera (2009) noted that although the use of blended learning is imperative in teaching and learning practices, there is a need to provide methodologies and computer training sessions to foreign language teachers for the effective deployment of blended learning in foreign language

classes. This assertion on computer training confirmed what 6 (60%) of the respondents, generally, said.

Challenges of Virtual Teaching and Learning

The use of every technological process or device has challenges. This section analyses the difficulties of virtual teaching and learning

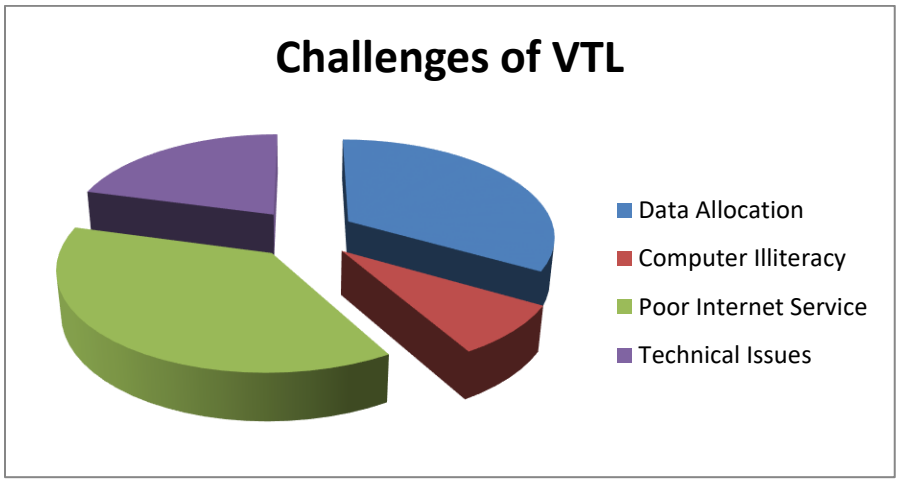

Figure 3: VTL Challenges teachers face
***KEY**: Tech. Issues – 5; Comp. illiteracy – 2; Poor Internet Service – 9; Data Allocation given - 8*

From the questionnaires, the participants were asked to tick the challenges they encountered in using VTL during the COVID-19 lockdown in Ghana, where VTL mode was fully activated in all educational institutions. From Figure 3, nine (9) of the participants ticked poor internet service, eight (8) selected insufficient data allocation, five (5) selected technical issues, and two (2) ticked computer literary challenges. The result of the interview session corroborated the questionnaire data. When the participants were asked to state the VTL challenges they faced during the COVID-19 era when VTL mode was fully activated, they cited various problems of internet connectivity, insufficient data allocation provided by management, low motivation, and patronage on the part of students, computer illiteracy, online insecurity, and technical issues from the selected virtual platform.

On the part of the teacher respondents, the study revealed that lack of capacity affected the online teaching of language teachers. Similarly, in Tabiri et al. (2022), it was revealed that the majority of the student respondents who studied English and French online had lots of challenges with technology availability, accessibility, and affordability. This assertion aligns with the results of Mahyoob (2020) that showed that most EFL students are not pleased with persistent online

learning, as they could not achieve the anticipated development in language learning performance. Again, the study revealed that out of a total of 184 participants, 48% cited that they had internet speed problems, 14% cited problems of online access and material downloading, 13% cited online exam problems, 8% indicated that they had problems of lack of laboratory for online classes, and 18% said they didn't have problems at all. What this means is that, generally, both language teachers and students face some challenges associated with the VTL of language across the globe, especially in most developing countries in Africa. So, for VTL to be fully accepted, policymakers, and all stakeholders, especially authorities of institutions should pay attention to the challenges that have emanated from various research studies.

Preferred Platforms used for VTL

In this section, I have analysed the respondent's preferred platforms used for virtual teaching and learning.

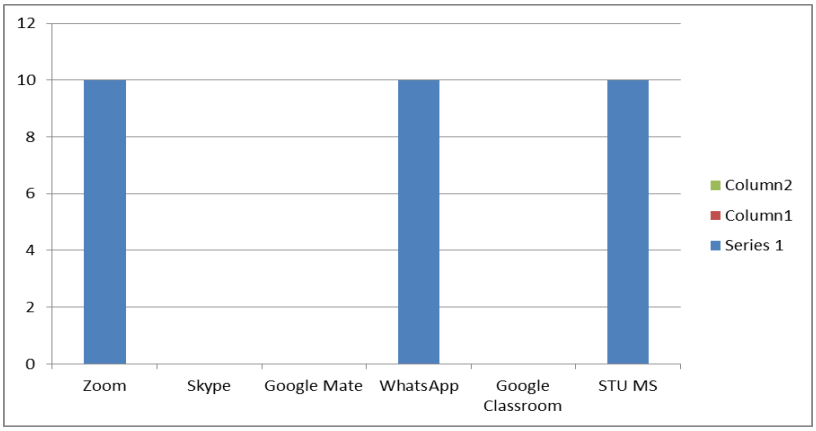

Figure 4: Preferred platforms used for VTL

Usually, without certain gadgets or platforms that serve as interfaces that connect the teacher and the learner, it becomes difficult to use the online mode for teaching and learning. Several such platforms have been in existence for a long time. However, COVID-19 saw the introduction and development of additional platforms that provide better and higher quality services to users. Some tools and applications used for VTL are ProofHub, SurveyMonkey, Skype, Zoom, Moodle, Google Classroom, Canvas, computers, and smartphones. All these tools and applications require the use of constant internet connectivity.

From a list of 6 VTL platforms, the participants were asked to select their preferred and most used platforms for VTL. These platforms were Zoom, Skype, Google Mate, WhatsApp,

Google Classroom, and Sunyani Technical University Management System (STU MS). Prior investigation conducted at the onset of this current study revealed that these were the platforms that the participants were exposed to, hence my decision to ask the participants about their preferences. From Figure 4, all ten (10) participants selected Zoom, WhatsApp, and STU MS as their preferred platforms used for VTL. None of the participants selected Skype, Google Mate, or Google Classroom. In the interview session, the respondents stated that it was comfortable and easy using the platforms they selected, aside from its popularity. According to them, while Zoom provided them with the opportunity to conduct synchronous audio and video lessons, WhatsApp helped them to share asynchronous content with all their students. Again, they specified that the Sunyani Technical University Management System (STU MS) provided them with the opportunity to provide both synchronous and asynchronous assessments for their students. On why they did not select the other platforms, – Skype, Google Mate, and Google Classroom – they said they were not familiar with these platforms. Some of the respondents, who were familiar with these platforms, indicated that most of his students were familiar with Zoom, WhatsApp, and the STU MS instead.

Conclusion, Pedagogical Implications, Future Directions, and Recommendations

During the COVID-19 lockdown in Ghana, where a ban was placed on face-to-face teaching and learning, language teachers at Sunyani Technical University (STU) used various forms of platforms for their online teaching and learning activities. This study, therefore, investigated the perception of these teachers about the virtual teaching and learning (VTL) process they embarked on during this period. Studies on VTL aid a lot in streamlining policy statements, and the entire process of operationalization of VTL. The participants who were drawn from the Communication Studies Department of STU concluded that the platforms they used for VTL were Zoom, WhatsApp, and the STU MS. Again, they identified poor internet service, insufficient data allocation, and technical issues are key challenges of VTL. Though the results of the study showed that teachers' perception of VTL was positive, the respondents said that for a context like STU, the blended mode of teaching and learning would fit appropriately.

The study has some pedagogical implications: 1) both teachers and students should be well-oriented before the VTL exercise is deployed, 2) the motivation of both teachers and students in VTL is imperative, and 3) all stakeholders of language teaching and learning should embrace that VTL has come to stay, and this calls for attitudinal change.

Future research could focus on the perception of language students about online teaching and learning in crises, a comparative study of synchronous and asynchronous online teaching and its effect on student's performance, and the perception of staff and students about blended teaching and learning mode. The study recommends that:

1. in crises, VTL mode should be fully activated for teaching and learning,
2. however, in normal situations, blended teaching and learning should be activated,
3. language teachers should be well-resourced in terms of logistics for VTL,
4. technical training on VTL should be given to teachers on periodic basis,
5. language teachers should explore other free virtual platforms for VTL such as Voov, Google Mate, Google Classroom, Microsoft Teams, Free Conference Call, and Skype,
6. smart classrooms should be piloted at STU, and
7. data allocated to teachers for VTL should be looked at again.

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LANGUAGE DEBATE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN WRITTEN LITERATURE

Maxwell Mpotsiah

This study seeks to examine the debate on the language used in the development of African written literature. Such a need has resulted in the emergence of two different schools of thought, i.e., 'Relativists' and 'Universalists'. The study further presents an assessment on the historical review of the debate, examines the two different forms of ideological orientations and the basis of their arguments towards the development of African written literature. However, the researcher's standpoint is also explored in order to critique the nature of the arguments that are raised in support of these ideological orientations. The study also concludes that the type and the source of language to be used to discuss Africa's lone experience is not an important agenda that should be considered at all in African written literature. Rather, enough attention must be given to the presentation of the Africa's rich values, traditions, philosophy and colonial experience; and this will go a long way to help Africa regain its ever-soiling stuck image in the outside world.

Keywords: *language debate, African literature, written literature, Relativists, Universalists*

1 Introduction

The debate on which language (either indigenous or foreign) to be used to write African literature dates back to several years ago (see Ukam, 2018; Ndede, 2016; Eme & Mbagwu, 2011; Wiwa, 1992; wa Thiong'o; 1986). This is because the African literary writers were caught in the act of linguistic dilemma (Nwabunze, 2016, p.76) as to who qualifies to be an African writer and

who does not qualify to be so based on the medium of expression used to carry out Africa's message or story to the rest of the world. By this development, an African writer is obliged to choose a particular language or medium of expression which can help to contextualise an African way of life and its identity.

In this regard, the call for foreign and/or indigenous language to be the mode of transporting Africa's message and to create awareness through the exposure of its hidden or an open truth about Africans and their culture has received a great harvest of scholarly attentions. Some of the scholarly works in the area of language debate were carried out by researchers who dwelled so much on how culture, language and evolution can contribute to the development of African literature (Anaso & Eziafa, 2014; Boyejo, 2011), the use of language and theme as a form of writing African literature (Yakubu, 2014; Obiechina, 1990), African literature and the use of English language (Amase et al, 2013; Eyisi & Ezeuko, 2008; Achebe, 1975a), the language of African literature (Adeseke, 2016; wa Thiong'o, 2007; Wiwa, 1992), the anamnesis in the language of African literature writing (Djebar, 2007), the language and the identity of African literature (Adejunmobi, 1999; Owomoyela, 1992), African literature in second language (Irele, 2000; Emenyonu, 1995) among others are all part of research areas that have been explored over the years.

However, there appears to be lack of attention on the nature of the debate that was carried out from the varied perspectives (i.e., 'Relativists' and 'Universalists') in order to influence a discussion on the development of African written literature. Such a need represents the gap that the present study tries to explore in order to indicate whether or not the views expressed by 'Relativists' and 'Universalists' have a great influence in a traditional African literary work as a whole. As a result, the core aim of the study is to seek to (a) assess various viewpoints expressed in terms of the language that is to be used in developing African written literature and (b) to critique the appropriateness or otherwise of the debate within the context African written literature.

1.1 The Concept of Literature

Literature has been identified as a work of art that concerns human society (see Nwabunze, 2016; Agyekum, 2013; Amouzou, 2007). This is because it involves the actions and inactions of human behaviour in a manner that reflects a particular instance of social activities. Again, literature is characteristically nurtured to serve as a source that premiers everyday life reality of the people

as well as seeking to serve "as a satellite on the society" (Agyekum, 2013: 14) so that "untainted picture and true image of human behaviour" (ibid.) could be revealed.

According to Nnolim (1988: 6), literature represents that writing which primarily deals with a make-believe world, and whose language is highly connotative rather than denotative, symbolic rather than literal; figurative rather than plain; and whose ultimate aim is to produce an aesthetic effect to reflect the lives of the people and their society. Okune (2011: 127) also maintains that literature has always dealt with the core values of the life of the people and their living experiences in the society as a whole. Since those experiences often reflect the needs of the people, literature only seeks to practicalise itself as a therapeutic weapon of the society with a view to correct the imbalance that has been occasioned by flaws and human errors (ibid.). This development is determined by the fact that literature provides a certain form of model that champions the course of societal needs, values and visions so that the ills in the society can be corrected to reflect the acceptable practices of life.

1.2 The Development of African Written Literature

African written literature emerged out of its oral traditional story-telling form (i.e. oral literature) (see Nwabunze, 2016; Agyekum, 2013; Angmor, 2001; Amouzou, 2007). This form of art (i.e. oral literature) was derived out of an indigenous fireside narrative which contained stylistic traces of the verbal arts and people's traditional values (Angmor, 2001: 39). The main aim of this art was to seek to educate and orient its members about the values of African society (Nwabunze, 2016; Boyejo, 2011), to conserve the ideals of the people and forestall or correct abuses in African society (Angmor, 2001: 44).

However, the influx of the European community into the world of African society, the introduction of formal education and African's continuous engagement with European culture and language over a period provided a platform for a change in the way Africa's story is being told and presented from its oral traditional story-telling to a written form. Through this process, Africa's story has often been represented to encounter itself with the highly regimented and stereotyped language of its colonisers (Gikandi, 2003: 11) in order to communicate to its people that Africa has had, since time immemorial, traditions that should be respected and a culture to be

proud of (Okpewho, 1992: 293) within the remit of European language to serve as its form of presentation.

Since then, African written literature emerged to champion the collective mark of the people as well as a canon for Africa's traditional heritage and practice (Agyekum, 2013). According to Amouzou (2007: 330), African written literature is a separate entity and therefore, departs from all other forms of literature. This is because it has its own unique traditions, models and norms which make it solely different from European and other literatures (ibid.). In this sense, Africa's central values are often maintained by the writer through the literary description of ideas in words that reveals the much more growing concerns of Africa's social problems and its unpardonable colonial experience. This development has made African written literature to be described as a product of lived experiences for its people as well as the raw material for its writers to set up an African agenda.

1.3 What is a language?

Language has been the only means through which people can communicate and share ideas about their experiences in life. Such a means only occurs in the form of speech, writing and/or gesture that is usually developed or acquired within a system of arbitrarily structured symbols. According to Sapir (1921: 8 as cited in Lyons, 2002: 3), language is purely human and non-instinctive method used in communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols. These symbols are seen, in the first instance, as auditory which are often produced by various organs of speech. Such a fathom of reality makes it reflective of the fact that language is a sole human activity; and as a result, it is used to influence the thoughts and also shape the way human beings see things around their respective domains (ibid.).

The interesting nature of a language is centred on the culture of the people within a society. By this, language reflects what the people do, their perception, their system of values and how their social and economic lifestyles are formed to influence their culture. Such a development makes it possible for language to be seen as the only medium of expression of the people and the human society is the provider of beliefs and manners in the society which are expressed and lived by the people (Eme & Mbagwu, 2011: 116). This argument seeks to suggest that every society has a knowledge of a language that defines its socio-cultural worldview and practices. Therefore,

language and society are characteristically co-dependent and represent a critical domain in human life and development.

1.3 The Role of Language in the Development of Written Literature

Language has been an important element in human life. As such, Essien (1990 as cited in Eme & Mbagwu, 2011: 115) describes it as the "quintessence of humanity". This is because it is a universal product that allows people to communicate and talk to others. wa Thiong'o (1986: 16) admonishes the fact that language remains obviously inseparable from a community of human being which has a specific form and character, a specific history, and a specific relationship to the world of the people. Sapir (1963: 162) emphasizes that every human being is at the mercy of a particular language which has become the medium of expression for the society in which one lives. The crust of the matter in this regard is to point to the fact that the real world does not exist alone for the social activity to be ordinarily understood and striven, but as a society well-grounded with a language from its people who always want to foster some form of relationship through communication and interaction.

Even though language grows and evolves over time, it becomes the surest way for the written literature to provide a distinctive means of realities and ideas to the people. This is because the life of the people in any given society is believed to be embedded in the language used and its written literature in order to response to their needs (Nwabunze, 2016). According to Ndede (2016: 3), language exists within a written literature; and that both written literature and language are eclectically interwoven in one simple form in order to speak to the people. This sense of seeing literature as defined and described by the existence of a language in which literature is written is quite limiting since human experience forms the basis of written literature and language is used as just a vehicle to carry out such an experience home (ibid.). Nwabunze (2016: 72) has also maintained that there is no written literature that can exist without language since language is used as the pre-requisite tool for any literary work to strive. To him, without language there can never be any written literature where a writer can exercise his or her artistic impulse. This, therefore, points to the fact that language is the critical instrument for the creation of literature (ibid.).

By this development, one can argue that language and written literature have a very common cooperative value. As such, they have become a social product as well as a fulcrum to carry out the experiences of human activities in the world. This is so because written literature is

commonly transmitted through language in its universality and in its particularity as a language of a specific community with specific history and value system (wa Thiong'o, 1986: 15). With this relationship, the use of language as a source of written literature forms a combined force in visualising the reality of people's identity from different cultural perspectives and diversities.

2 Language Debate: A Historical Perspective

After independence from the imperialists' rule, Africa community was found to be in a tattered force. A situation that took African continent away from a state of nationhood and further kept it into the struggle for the search of its self-identity. It is because Africans believe that the influx of foreigners has derailed their rich cultural legacy, thereby making them addictive to the pastiness of colonial authorities (see Onwumere & Egbulonu, 2014; Palmer, 1981). Such a force affected the way they speak and write, and the type of language that could be used and made easily applicable in communicating their own socio-economic needs as a continent to the entire world.

This development became a social reality in the literary world where writers and critics of Africa literature have had a problem with the sort of language to be used to address the core issues in the Africa continent. Such an exercise became much more profound after series of international engagements by members of creative writings from Africa (see Ukam, 2018; Nwabunze, 2016; Adeseke, 2016; Ndede, 2016; Wali, 2007). Some of these engagements included 1962 Makerere Conference of African Writers of English Expression in Makerere University College, Kampala (ibid.) and The Great Literature Debate of 1968–1969 at the University of Nairobi which unfortunately led to the abolition of English Department in that institution (i.e., University of Nairobi) and the Teaching of Africa Literature in Kenyan Schools as a whole (Lillis, 1986). The core item discussed was to look at the best way that writers from Africa could use language to deal with issues that affect Africans. Those present in all of these conferences agreed to the fact that language constitutes the only means through which an individual can develop his/her thinking and also determine cultural thought, perception, worldview and the reality of the people in the society (Sherzer, 1987: 295). With this common ground of recognising on the use of language as an important social act in human development, the problem then, however, has to do with the type of language to be used to express the sense of Africa's values and realities, since Africa continent is

well endowed with different languages and dialectal differences (see Nwabunze, 2016; Adeseke, 2016).

Interestingly, a discussion that started as a fruitful deliberation, later, ended up in a very tendentious and 'fistful' discourse amongst its members because of a strong disagreement on a particular language type (thus, foreign or local) that has to be used as the core instrument to engage African audience. After the abrupt endings of these conferences, the debate on the type of language used in Africa's written literature became so remnant all over Africa. As a result of this development, two different stratified schools of thought emerged, with each group trying to propagate a varied hegemonic standpoint on this subject matter. These views are grouped into 'Relativist' and 'Universalist' (Mazrui, 1992: 65) or what Udofia (2011: 90) describes as the 'Radical/Revolutionary' and the 'Liberal' respectively. Even though the fundamental output of these views is to accept that written literature can be achieved through "language" from 'different tongues" (Whorf, 2012: 307) in order to form a certain pattern of thought with personal and socio-cultural systems of classification, influence, and memory and the aesthetic judgement of the people (Lucy, 1997: 294); yet, there seems to be no way out to find a solution to this fracas. Up till date, this debate has attracted much needed attention and currency in the African literary arena; and has therefore arisen to become a regular continental curzon in current literary studies.

2.1 Examining Various Views: Relativists versus Universalists

2.1.1 Relativists' Approach

The Relativists' view to the language debate is sometimes described as a radical approach (Udofia, 2011). According to those who hold this view, they believe that the use of African language in the writing of its literary text is the best and obviously indispensable in the quest for an authentic African written literature. They further "consider non-Africa languages less than adequate in conveying an Africa cultural-cognitive essence" (Mazrui, 1992: 68). To them, literature is about the life experiences of the people and that the only way to reach out to the people is through the use of their language as a medium of communicating those experiences back to them.

Mazrui (1993, p.352) has argued that the core value of Relativists' approach was premised out of the fact that the mental liberation of Africans is to be seen in terms of reducing the

imperialists' linguistic holds on the continent by elevating the indigenous African languages to a more central position in an African society. This is to say that the effort by African writers to write in their indigenous languages is not only an exercise for reaffirming the dignity of African languages; but also, a modest attempt to counteract the influence of the imperialists' languages on African minds (ibid.). Such a development makes it possible for the people concern to relate so well to the core practicality of various events in their respective communities. This view has been widely championed by some literary luminaries, with its front runners such as Ngũgi wa Thiong'o (1986), Wali (1963), Nkosi (1981), Kunene (1992), and a few others (see Ukam, 2018; Nwabunze, 2016; Adeseke, 2016; Ndede, 2016).

The argument generated in support of the use of local language in the writing of Africa literature is meant to provide an African literary system that is imbibed with African's way of life. This position holds, because one sees African literature to be the literature of the Africans and as such, it must therefore be created to protect the sterling values of an African worldview. This worldview presents the culture of the people which includes their history as well as their philosophical value. In this regard, Wali (1963: 20) sees the whole acceptance of foreign languages as the inevitable medium for the writing of African literature is a misdirected mission which has no place of advancing African history and culture. He further argues that until these African writers and their Western midwives accept the fact that any true African literature must be written in African languages, such writers would then be identified as people merely pursuing a dead end which can only lead to sterility, uncreativity and frustration (ibid.). What this is seeking to suggest is the fact that the use of foreign languages to express Africa's experience is literarily unacceptable. This is because Africa's stories cannot be told to relent itself to the journey of making sure that the rich cultural philosophy of the people will be harnessed and projected to give credence to African identity and personality through the use of foreign language (see Eyisi & Ezeuko, 2008). To this end, the best way to realise Africa's sense in its written work is to use the language of the people in order to nip a certain social reality out of their own experiences.

Another writer who sees the use of foreign language(s) in expressing African reality as something wrong is Ngũgi wa Thiong'o (1986). According to him, seeing Africa's experience to be expressed in foreign language(s) is entirely incongruous and further seen as a gradual process of decolonialising the minds of the people in order to make them mentally dehydrated into the

colonised world of their masters (ibid.). The basis of Ngũgi's argument is that African writers own it as a duty and a responsibility of making use of their respective local languages so that their target audiences and readers, who are the obvious members of their communities, could feel the impact and relate to things around them so easily without a problem. Here, Ngũgi is just trying to underscore the key role of an advocacy that seeks to suggest that Africans are able to relate so well in their personal welfare better when they interact in their own indigenous dialects and languages. This is because the indigenous dialects and languages define the people and make them unique in their own way. It also makes the people to be accustomed to their own beliefs, traditions and the sterling spiritualism of 'we-feeling', communalism and patriotism (see Gyekye, 1998; Sarpong, 1974). Therefore, writing in a particular local language makes the people and the entirety of African community feel comfortable, feel at ease, feel at home and see the writer(s) as one of their own and further allow them to come to a closer contact with some of the issues expressed in the text. Now, the real argument is to remind all African writers to begin writing in their native languages in order to get rid of foreign languages which are often used to express an African experience to its people. By this, any literature written by Africans in a colonial language is not to be considered as an African literature; rather, it should be seen as an 'Afro-European literature' which is meant to be used as literature for the elite class of Africans since the large majority of Africans cannot necessarily speak or read in any of these European languages (Behrent (2008) as cited in Udofia (2011: 91-92)).

Again, Nkosi (1981) does not see the need for Africans to share their experiences in foreign languages. He sees such development as unfortunate, utterly hopeless and also shows that the writer concerned is culturally 'incomplete' in thought. He believes that the development of such an attitude gives a clear indication that those writers involved have learnt to culturally adore, and perhaps overestimate the value of a foreign tongue in their writings to the detriment of their own mother tongue which serves as the pivot of their cultural identity (Bamgbose, 1995: 78). Nkosi (1981: 19) further maintains that those writers have a certain insurmountable obstacle placed in the way towards the full expression of an African experience and this is something that falls short of their true ideal as Africans. By this, there seems to be a common belief that people who write in foreign languages are only trying to falsify Africa's rich stories out of a real situation to a disillusive world of idealism. In this case, the reality of the African world is not felt and expressed properly in the writers' figurative work. This, therefore, means that the focus of the African

literature is panelled to resonant with its colonial masters and will not be able to form "a formidable drawback to Africa's literary creativity" (Mutiti 2011: 147) since most of the African ideas may have been carried out "in an alien linguistic mode of expression" (ibid.). This then paves the way for an African reader to be drawn into the economy of disbelief and social disillusionment.

Kunene (1992) also supports this view and believes that any of the languages in Africa should be used to trace out African's way of life in whichever forms of genres (i.e., drama, prose fiction and poetry) that the individual writer desires to explore within. Kunene further maintains that the language of the people shows who they are, how they do their things and their socio-cultural philosophy that underpin their existence as people in a society (ibid.). Therefore, such philosophical values in writing through the use of their own indigenous language are completely non-negotiable at all. As a result, African writers who write in foreign language are already part of foreign institutions and they have, therefore, adopted foreign values and philosophical attitudes, which obviously seek to make them members of that culture (ibid.: 32). As such, these writers cannot be said to be African cultural representatives who write in another language; because in spirit, at least, they speak from the perspective provided for them through the effective apparatus of mental control exercised by their former colonial masters (ibid.). These writers who are much more engrossed in this practice can be described as 'lost friends' (Peters, 1964), since they cannot use words from their own mother tongue to express the value of African's rich cultural experience to the world; but rather becoming the sole apostles to the most adopted foreign values and philosophical attitudes which only seek to make them 'Africanly' acculturated. This situation only creates a culture of 'disownership' and lack of respect in the development of Africa's values; and further goes to suggest that Africa's identity is made possible under the quarry and control of foreign language as the sole medium for telling its story.

3.1.2 Universalists' Approach

The Universalists' view is in a great anathema to the opposing views of the Relativists, even though the core target of these views is to look at the best form of language that can be used to express African's way of life in its entirety. What appears to have been forgotten in the light of the Relativists' views is the fact that those people who were once colonised by the foreigners have now acquired the languages of such people (foreigners or colonists), redesigned it, remade it and domesticated it to suit the philosophical sense and purpose of their culture (Rushdie, 2010). With

this account, the Universalists believe that using a foreign language to communicate African's worldview should not be seen as an intellectual crime is justified, since a foreign language does not make an individual writer lose his/her sense of Africanism. Rather, it is the surest way of presenting Africa's world to the wider social communities in a manner that will project and help regain its lost identity as a continent perceived to be "dark" (Innes & Lindfors, 1978: 3), 'primitive' and "infantile minds" (Amouzou, 2007: 331). This therefore stands to believe that in using a foreign language in African written literature, every aspect of African's life and philosophy is shared and explained vividly to enhance the unique identity of an African personality. This view became valid model that is championed by the likes of Achebe (1975a), Wiwa (1992), Mphahlele (1997), Adejunmobi (1999) and others (see Ukam, 2018; Nwabunze, 2016; Adeseke, 2016; Ndede, 2016).

In matters of language in the development of African literature, the common underlying matrix is based on the kind of information that is presented to the target audience. And so, how a particular language is used and harnessed in a literary writing by an individual writer to carry out a specific function is obviously too pedestrian to the cultural needs of an African written literature. This is what Achebe (1975a: 62) tries to advocate and comes to terms with the fact that African writers can write in a foreign tongue and abandon their mother tongue if he or she so wishes. He believes that this can never be a bad idea at all. This is to admonish the fact that African writers do not have any obvious choice to use their own local languages in their literary writings; because many of these local languages do not have orthographic forms (Alex, 2022; Eme & Mbagwu, 2011; Heine & Nurse, 2000) which can therefore be used as a solid platform to share and explain to the external societies around the world on the practical nature of Africa's worldview, the philosophical culture of its people and their real life experiences (see Gyekye, 1998; Sarpong, 1974). As a result, using foreign languages then becomes the best way to contextualise the nexus of Africa's reality. By this argument, Achebe is seeking to suggest that foreign languages have been with Africa since its colonial days; and as such, those languages have come to stay and to live with the people of Africa forever (see Morris, 1998; Widdowson, 1994; Kachru, 1986). So, irrespective of the nature of the literary forms in focus, the foreign languages can be used to carry the weight of an African experience and its worldview in a way that with be in a full communion with its new African surroundings (Achebe, 1975a: 62) in order to enhance the development of Africa's literary tradition.

Wiwa (1992: 155) also presents a view point on the use of foreign language in writing African literature. To him, Africans have "a common colour or certain common beliefs or a common history of slavery and exploitation" (ibid.), yet they are found to have several divergent linguistic backgrounds (see Nwabunze, 2016). These divergent backgrounds often make it possible for intra-community interaction and not for inter-community engagement purposes (ibid.). However, since Africans have common colonial experiences, it becomes a bit easier for African writers to express their literary thoughts in a language being introduced by their colonial masters so that their writings could receive wider audiences or readers. This does not in any way reflect the fact that the African sense and its humanistic ethos are going to be out of place in literary discussions. He maintains further that as far as he lives, he is going to "remain a convinced practitioner and consumer of Africa literature" (Wiwa, 1992: 157) written in a foreign language because it is the grammar and the semantics of this foreign language that has made him appreciate the perspective of African society better in the sense that enables him to project the core values of African philosophy genuinely without any dint of equivocation (ibid.). This is to say that Wiwa is well engrossed in the use of a foreign language and that he does not see anything wrong with any writer who chooses to write in another language apart from his or her own. To this end, such a person is working in the spirit of Africa's agenda and its tradition.

Adejunmobi (1999: 589), who whirls his wings into this debate, argues that using a local language in writing Africa's stories will only reflect the parochial concerns within the writers' own immediate community and will not, however, help in providing the much-needed mallet to fight back the western world and their oppressive motives during the days of colonialism. He maintains that the best way of letting the imperialists feel the danger in colonialism in the land of Africa is to write back in their own language which can therefore serve as a common political and culturally neutral background to provide a sterling debate that projects and presents the focus of Africa state in reference to the period before, during and after colonialism. To him, African literature written in European languages represents the best form of art par excellence. And this is done to promote the most self-conscious state of Africanism (ibid.: 592) since African society has an alarming rate of people who cannot read and write in their own indigenous languages (Adeseke, 2016: 56). In this case, Adejunmobi is just trying to advance an argument that using any of the European languages to express Africa's experience is not anything that is entirely wrong in its own right. Rather, it becomes the most viable weapon in advancing the course of Africa's lost history and

integrity. The core development of the entire idea in this regard centres on the fact that every single European language has no specific contextual form and practice. It can only be used is, however, found to be in a sound conformity to an emerging issue of every community. And so, its use to contextualise African emerging social issues and worldview cannot be identified as a problem as well.

Mphahlele (1997) also adds his voice to the ever-growing discussion on the type of language to be used in order to communicate Africa's experience. Mphahlele, just like other Universalists, sees nothing wrong with the use of foreign languages to explain and share Africa's cultural life and living experience to the external world in a way that will project the image of Africa. He also debunks the claims by Wali (1963) and wa Thiong'o (1986) which seek to suggest that writers in Africa should wait until a particular language of African ancestral origin is developed before they could write to share the experiences of Africa's life to the international world as an unrealistic business. To him, such a claim will mean that no one could write on Africa's experience until a centralised language is developed, written and spoken in the entire continent. It appears also that Wali and Ngũgi still conceive that Africa is a continent with just a single community as its representative body. They (Wali (1963) and wa Thiong'o (1968)) have forgotten again that Africa is made up of fifty-four member states with various forms of cultural and colonial experiences. As a result, the development of a centralised language is essentially unachieveable in this context. So, an African writer can write in English, Portuguese, French and other foreign languages, which he or she knows and has mastered over a period so that Africa's voice could be heard (ibid.:338). As such, the prize of using foreign languages must be adhered to in order to submit to many people, especially those outside Africa, the nature of Africa, its people and their cultural heritage which have been eclectically fashioned out to carry a particular experience of Africa's identity in a very effective manner.

4 My Standpoints

Since the development of African written literature is coming from the people, talks about the people and from the people with a certain form of meaning-oriented intentions (Ndede, 2016: 3), the debate on the kind of language to be used is seen as a 'brain teaser' which only seeks to propagate unrealistic agenda. This is so because the totality of African written literature is based on content, form and setting for its development and presentation (ibid.). And so hammering on a

specific language of expression will amount to a distortion of this critical areas in terms of determining the true direction (Irele, 1981: 44) of African written literature which places a premium on the Africa's traditions, models, norms (Amouzou, 2007: 330) and the colonial relic which reminds Africans on the harrowing experiences of colonialism (Nwabunze, 2016: 76).

Also, this debate is regarded as a non-serious literary agenda to be considered at all within the remit of any literary discussion since every language has the capability of expressing different aspects of human experiences in the world (see Nwabunze, 2016; Whorf, 2012). As such, it does not really become a matter of concern to any African writer who chooses to write in a particular language (i.e. foreign language or the indigenous language), as long as what the person chooses to write in is good (Achebe, 1975b: 31), can provide power and influence in the society (Eyisi & Ezeuko, 2008: 199) and also has the tendency of expressing an African experience (Obiechina, 1990: 53). So, there appears to be no linguistic basis "in fighting a language" (Achebe, 1975b: 31) when it comes to its use in the development of any written literature in Africa. In this regard, individual African writers should be allowed to have a particular language choice to express the sense of Africa's experience since the prize of every language is meant to be accessible to different uses in all human situations and conditions in order to benefit mankind.

Again, one sees the above arguments in the light of language debate as a needless exercise since it becomes clearly inappropriate for an individual or a set of individuals to customise a particular language to be more important than the other. Such a development is entirely an act of 'languagism' or 'linguicism' (thus, an unfair treatment to someone because he or she uses a particular language) (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988) and further goes against some traits of linguistic justifications that suggest that every language is used to perform different human experiences and activities (see Nwabunze, 2016; Whorf, 2012). The sense of these arguments, however, generates a literary defect on the part of African writers as an attempt to promote and defend their ideological inclinations could lead to an unjustifiable travesty within the scope of African written literature. By this, an African writer should be allowed to choose the medium (i.e., whether indigenous language or foreign language) which suits his or her art best (Emenyonu, 1986: 35). Any of these languages which will be in use, must therefore, be made to serve as a patriotic weapon to position African society from the abyss of a colonial bondage and imperialism (Dathorne, 1975: 219) to its shared experience of dignity, respect and a unifying bond of Africanity (Karen (1991) as cited in

Onwuwere & Egbulonu, 2014: 156) in order to reflect the context of Africa's core values and socio-cultural realities of the people (Achebe, 1975a: 61).

5 Conclusion

Ideally, the study has taken a cursory review on the development of African written literature and the ideological dichotomy relative to its language use to express Africa's sense of identity and cultural reality. The debate thus far made on the type of language to be used is a good exercise for the mind and to also broaden intellectual capability for a pure academic attention to be drawn, but it does not proffer any sense of conclusive argument to the entire conversation. In essence, African written literature has to be supported, accepted and institutionalised as a literary tradition that is meant to project Africa's rich cultural values and colonial experiences irrespective of the type of language in place that could be used to access such intricacies in African society. And this can make African written literature startlingly successful in its course when it is shielded on particular evidence to resolve and provide reasonable circumstances, being present or past, which are meant to serve the interest of the appetising audience in Africa. This, therefore, should be the central course for African written literature to strive on.

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COVID 19 AND THE METAPHORS OF CRISIS IN SELECTED TEXTS BY ADICHIE AND ACHEBE: A JUNGIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL READING

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PLACE-NAME LEXICALIZATION IN AKAN: ON THE SEGMENTAL AND PROSODIC PROCESSES AND CONSTRAINTS

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MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX OF DAGBANI PROVERBIAL NAMES

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THE PERCEPTIONS OF SELECTED GHANAIAN LANGUAGE TEACHERS ABOUT VIRTUAL TEACHING AND LEARNING DURING CRISES

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LANGUAGE DEBATE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN WRITTEN LITERATURE

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