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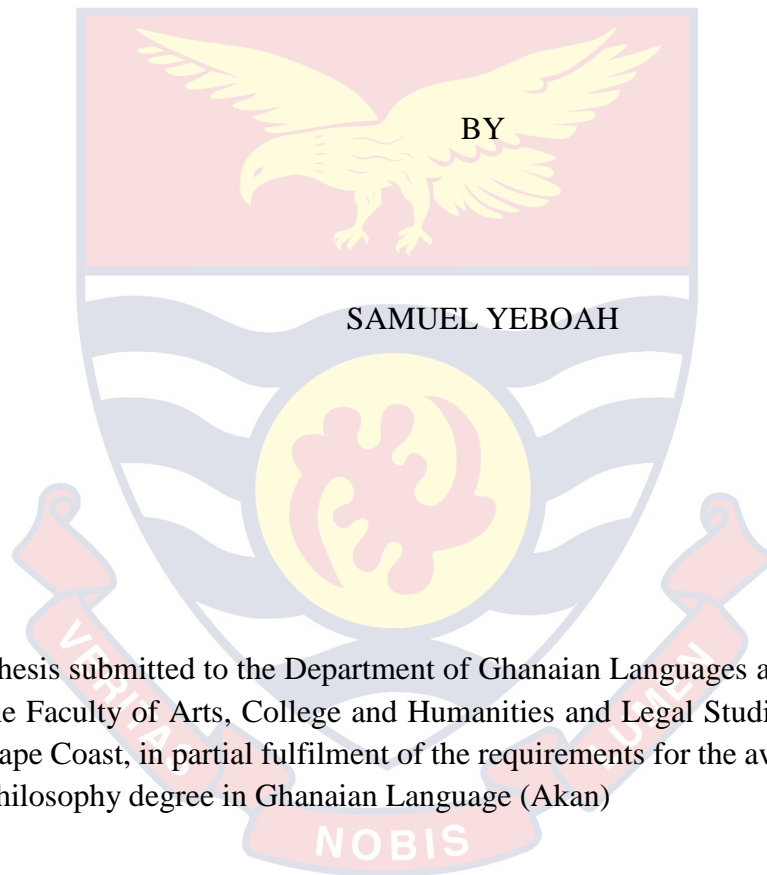
A MORPHOPHONEMIC ANALYSIS OF AKAN HONORIFIC AND
TITLE NAMES FOR GOD



2020

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

A MORPHOPHONEMIC ANALYSIS OF AKAN HONORIFIC AND TITLE
NAMES FOR GOD



Thesis submitted to the Department of Ghanaian Languages and Linguistics of the Faculty of Arts, College and Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy degree in Ghanaian Language (Akan)

SEPTEMBER 2020

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the results of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature Date.....

Name: Samuel Yeboah

Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that that the preparation and presentation of this thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisor's Signature Date

Name: Dr. Emmanuel Amo Ofori

Co-Supervisor's Signature Date

Name: Dr. Kofi Busia Abrefa

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the morphophonemics of Akan honorific and title names for God (AHTN-G). The scope of the study is motivated by the observation that earlier works have looked at Akan personal names either from non-linguistic perspectives or overlooked the morphological and phonological dimensions of AHTN-G in spite of their intra-language pervasiveness and the analytical interest that their structure excites across languages. It, therefore, highlights morphological processes such as affixation, compounding, reduplication and borrowing that underlie the names. It also explores some phonological processes such as elision, homorganic nasal assimilation, voiced-to-nasal assimilation and vowel harmony that the names undergo. Prior to the morphophonemic analysis, the etymology of some of the names are briefly examined to get insights into the Akan's belief and worldview about God. To formalize the analysis, the study adopts Lexical Phonology (LP) as its theoretical framework. Further, the study is purely qualitative; it draws on ethnographic research design and the data analysed were ascertained from both primary and secondary sources. The study reveals that Akan honorific and title names ascribed to God are complex nominals and may even be sentential. In the study, Appah's (2003) claim that the relative marker is overt in the surface form, is found to be seemingly unsatisfactory. Again, vowel harmony is less productive regarding this study, because, one of the violators, the suffix *-foɔ*, features in most of the names. It is recommended that future researchers explore other grammatical aspects of Akan personal names to bridge the gap created in the existing literature.

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DEDICATION

To my family and friends



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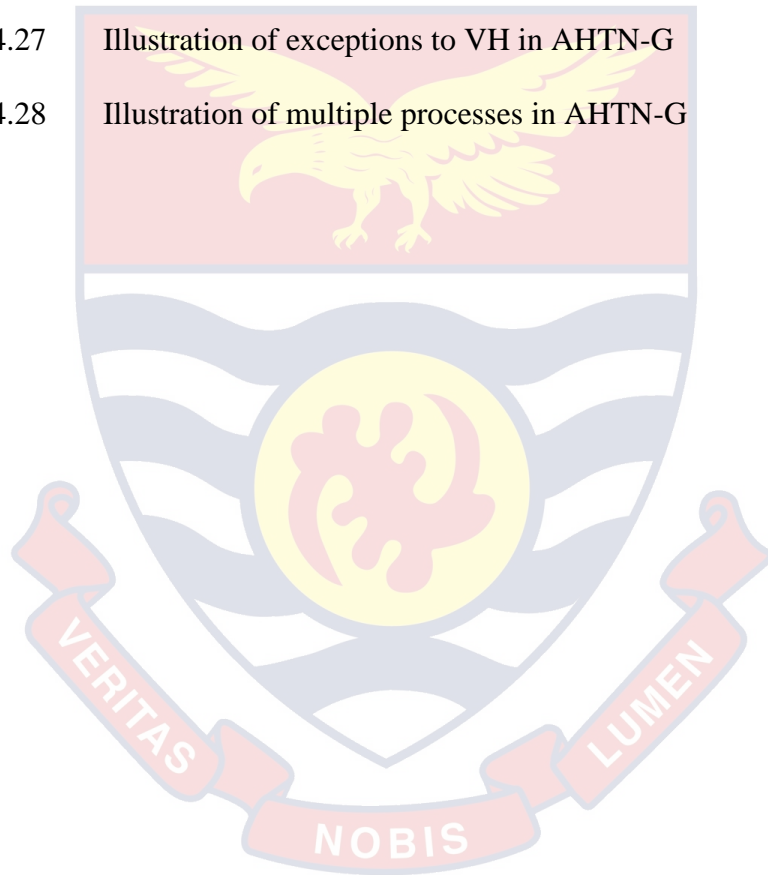
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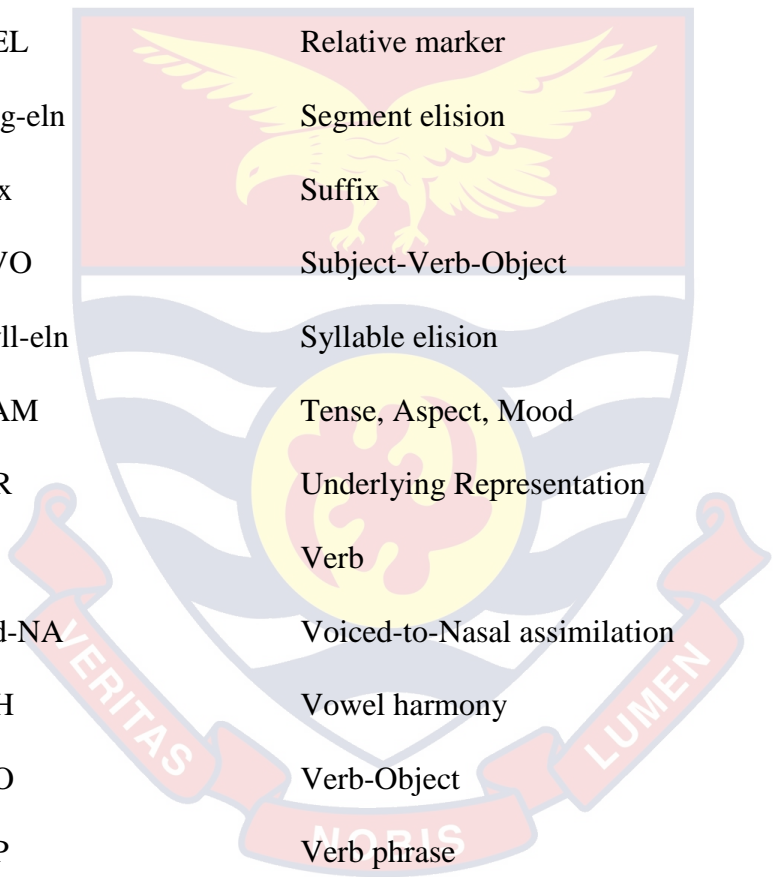
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1SGSUBJ	First person singular subject
2SGSUBJ	Second person singular subject
3SGSUBJ	Third person singular subject
1PLUSUBJ	First person plural subject
2PLUSUBJ	Second person plural subject
3PLUSUB	Third person singular subject
Adj	Adjective
AHTN-G	Akan Honorific and Titile Names for God
ATR	Advanced Tongue Root
COND	Conditional marker
Cop. V	Copular Verb
CV	Consonant-Vowel
DEF	Definite Determiner
Eln	Elision
Foc	Focus marker
GP	Generative Phonology
HAB	Habitual
HNA	Homorganic Nasal Assimilation
LP	Lexical Phonology
N	Noun
Neg	Negative

Nom	Nominalizer
NP	Noun phrase
Pfx	Prefix
Ph.R	Phonological Rule
Postp.	Postposition
PR	Phonetic Representation
Pro	Pronoun
REL	Relative marker
Seg-eln	Segment elision
Sfx	Suffix
SVO	Subject-Verb-Object
Syll-eln	Syllable elision
TAM	Tense, Aspect, Mood
UR	Underlying Representation
V	Verb
Vd-NA	Voiced-to-Nasal assimilation
VH	Vowel harmony
VO	Verb-Object
VP	Verb phrase
WFRs	Word Formation Rules





CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This is the introductory chapter of the study and it highlights the background to the study and the entire scope of the thesis. Further, the chapter contains the ethnolinguistic information on Akan, the conceptualisation of God among the Akan etc. This chapter also comprises the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions and significance of the study. Finally, the chapter highlights the delimitation and limitation of the study, and the organization of the entire thesis. The following sub-section discusses the background to the study.

1.1 Background to the study

Names identify a person or an entity in the universe. In all natural languages and cultures, there is a great deal of importance placed on the systems and practices of names or naming which may be cultural or language-specific. Names are, thus given to people and entities so as to differentiate, to recognise and finally for knowing purpose (Agyekum, 2006). In the same view, Obeng (2001:1) aptly asserts that:

African names are important channels for ‘speaking’ for and about African societies. They are used to achieve a number of goals, including showing human relationships and social roles revealing Africans’ quest for truth and meaning in life; showing the polarity — e.g., goodness and boldness — in human behaviour; pointing to the name users (name-givers’ and name-bearers’) hopes, dreams and aspirations... and many others.

It is therefore obvious that African names may reflect the name-users’ geographical environment as well as their fears, religious beliefs, and

philosophies about life and death. The names of children may even provide insights into important cultural or socio-political events at the time of their birth (Obeng, 2001).

The terminology for the study of names is referred to as onomastics; that is, a branch of linguistics that studies the structure, semantics, pragmatics and etymology of proper names (Crystal, 2008). Within the larger frame of onomastics, there are subfields including, toponymy, anthroponymy, among others. Toponymy has to do with the study of place names whereas anthroponymy, the focus of this study, is concerned with the study of personal or proper names (Algeo, 1992; Owu-Ewie, 2014).

Many Scholars (e.g. Opoku, 1967; Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2000; Obeng, 2001; Agyekum, 2006, etc.) have strived to classify Akan personal names into various kinds. However, the focus of this study is based on the typology outlined by Agyekum (2006) as it arguably projects almost all the aspects of Akan personal names. Agyekum (2006) gives the typology of Akan personal names including, birthday names, family names, circumstantial names, flora and fauna and physical structure names, theophoric names, insinuating, proverbial, insulting and nicknames, gang, play and occupational names, honorific and title names etc.

Akan birth day names are names a child automatically acquires based on the day s/he was born. For example, a male child born on Friday is by default called *Kofi*. Family names, on the other hand, constitute clan names given to children by their parents, especially, the father. The family names are based on the Akan twelve patrilineal clans comprising, Bosommuru, Bosompra, Bosomtwe,

Bosomnketia, Bosomdwerebe, Bosomkrete, Bosompo, Bosomayesu Bosomafi, Bosomakonsi, Bosomakom, Bosomsika and Bosomafam (Agyekum, 2006). Such names in Akan include, Agyeman, Ofori (Oforiwaa for female counterpart), Antwi (Antwiwaa for female counterpart), Abrefa, etc. Further, the circumstances surrounding the birth of the Akan child can also form the basis for giving a name to a child.

Additionally, Agyekum (2006) describes honorific and title names, the focus of this study, as names that are achieved outside people's given names. Such names are normally appellations and titles which may be achieved from occupations, wars, zeal, and stool names when a person is enthroned. *Okogyeasuo* "the fighter who seizes a river", *Bediako* "came to engage in wars" etc. are some of the examples of this category of Akan personal names. Names in this category are used in diverse social contexts and their usage portrays the Akan deference for their addressees (Yankah, 1995; Agyekum, 2003). That is to say, honorific and title names could mostly be employed in Akan formal settings to probably serve as a persuasive mechanism among interlocutors (Obeng, 1997; Agyekum, 2004). Honorific and title names are normally ascribed to the elites and the powerful in the society including natural and supernatural entities (Boadi, 1989; Amekpordi, 2012). The kind of honorific and title names ascribed to God in Akan for instance, reflects their belief in this Supreme Being (Mbiti, 1991). In other words, it is observed that the Akan honorific and title names attributed to the Supreme God capture the Akan ideology, philosophy, worldview and thought about the Supreme God. For example, the Akan people call God *Obɔadeɛ/Bɔrebɔre* 'The Creator/Originator/Inventor', *Onyame* 'The Satisfying one', *Brɛkyirihunuadeɛ* 'All-knowing', *Ɔdomankoma* 'The Passionate one',

Ɔkofo(ɔ) ‘The Warrior’, *Otwereduampɔn/Tweaduampɔn*, ‘The Dependable’ *Amosu*, ‘Giver of rain’, *Kantamanto* ‘The Faithful one’ etc. (see Christaller, 1933; Danquah, 1968; Agyekum, 2003; Ansong, Asante & Kquofi, 2014). It is observed that some of the names ascribed to the Supreme God are coined out of the titles ascribed to creatures (both human/non-human, animate/inanimate) such as kings, animals, lesser gods etc. and this makes the belief in God much more realistic. For example, the Akan call God *Ɔkofo(ɔ)* “Warrior”. In Akan history, only very brave people were given the accolade *Ɔkofo*. So when an Akan refers to God as *Ɔkofo*, it presupposes that God also possesses the characteristics of a warrior (i.e. being strong and brave). Again, some names or address terms that relate to some animals which have also been metaphorically extended to God is an attempt at showing a similarity in ability and strength between the Supreme God and the animal after whom He is named. This helps the Akan to have a fair idea about the nature of God. For example, God is addressed as *Kurotwiamansa*. *Kurotwiamansa* is a title for the leopard (Ɔsebo), which is powerful and able to control the territory under its survey (Ansong et.al, 2014). So, the Akan referring to God as *Kurotwiamansa* could connote His mightiness or supremacy. It is in this direction that Obeng (2001) and Agyekum (2006) dispute Saussure’s assertion that names are just labels which do not have a reflection on the name-bearer. They are of the view that names may not be just arbitrary labels, rather, they may have sociocultural or ethnopragmatic underpinnings. The import of this assertion in a broader perspective is that Akan naming system and practices are normally based on their life experiences or encounters.

As Boadi (1989), Anyidoho (1991), and Agyekum (2003) note, Akan honorific and title names which are normally in the form of appellations may be grammatically complex in that their formation mostly involves word formation processes such as compounding or agglutination of sentences or clauses which sometimes make their interpretation very challenging.

This study, therefore, adds a new dimension to previous studies on Akan personal names by gearing the analysis towards the morphophonemics of Akan honorific and title names for God. That is, the study aims at describing extensively the various word formation processes that take place during the nominalization of the names for God in Akan. Similarly, to describe the respective phonological rules that the names undergo before they are surfaced at the phonetic level. Prior to this, we will strive and endeavour to look at the etymology of some of the Akan honorific and title names attributed to God.

This study is motivated by Lubenga's (2006) assertion that the construction of names in general depends largely on the semantic implications that the name-giver wants to convey followed by the morphological principles which largely depend on the application of a network of affixes that are harmonized by relevant phonological rules. Batoma (2006) is also of the view that the grammatical study of names — of which morphophonemics is an aspect — informs their meaning to a greater extent. Morphophonemic processes that will be looked at, in this study include, borrowing, affixation, compounding, reduplication, elision, assimilation, etc.

1.2 An ethnolinguistic description of Akan

Akan is one of the indigenous languages spoken in Ghana. The term Akan refers to an ethnic group as well as their language. The Akan occupy the greater part of the Southern sector of Ghana. Akan is spoken as a native language (L1 – first language) in six of the administrative regions in Ghana namely, Ashanti, Eastern, Western, Central, Brong Ahafo and some part of the Volta Region.¹ This makes the Akan the largest ethnic group in Ghana (Dolphyne, 1988; Osam, 2003; Agyekum, 2006). According to the 2010 National Population and Housing Census², the Akan form 47.5% of the Ghanaian population, and about 44% of Ghanaians speak Akan as a non-native language (see also Agyekum, 2016). The Akans are made up of various dialects including Asante, Akuapem, Akwamu, Fante³, Akyem, Agona, Assin, Denkyira, Twifo, Wassaw, Kwawu, Bono and Buem⁴. Some Bono speakers are found in La Cote d'Ivoire; a place noted to be the origin of the Akan (Adu-Boahen, 1986; Agyekum, 2006). In Ghana, Akan is studied from primary school up to the university level⁵, and it is currently written in three dialects which are Asante Twi, Akuapem Twi and Fante (Dolphyne, 1988; Osam, 2003; Agyekum, 2006). By the way of its genetic classification, Akan belongs to Kwa sub-group of Niger-Congo. However,

¹ Western and Volta Regions have been recently divided into Western and Western North, and Volta and Oti Regions respectively. Brong Ahafo has also been divided into Brong Ahafo, Ahafo, and Bono East regions (www.graphic.com.gh).

² Retrieved from Ghana Statistical Service (2002). The Census Report listed Nzema, Sehwi, Aowin, Ahanta and Chakosi (i.e. Bia group) under Akan. However, Osam (2003) argues that they are not part of the Akan group, despite their closeness to Akan.

³ Sub-dialects of Fante include, Gomua, Ekumfi, Nkusukum, Iguae, Breman and (sometimes) Agona (see Osam, 2003).

⁴ This subcategory of Akan is spoken in some part of Volta Region and it is like Akuapem-Twi (Agyekum, 2006)

⁵ It is worth to point out that some other parts of the World (e.g. Germany, USA etc.) also study Akan as an academic discipline.

Stewart (2001) cited in Osam (2003) proposes to move Akan's immediate family, Tano, from the new Kwa to be reclassified as Bantoid.

1.3 The Akan concept of God

Before the European Christian Missionaries came to Africa, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the idea of God as a Supreme Being was already known and held by the people (Mbiti, 1991). Sarpong (1974) shares this view by postulating that if the Ghanaian concept of God had been borrowed from the missionaries, it would hardly have been possible for it to have been so well impressed on the minds of the people, and incorporated into their language, art, poetry, proverbs, day-to-day behaviour and drumming as we have had occasion to explain. As a matter of fact, all the three main religions (African Traditional Religion, Christian religion and Islamic Religion) which have emerged in Africa and for that matter Ghana, have a common belief that there is a Supreme Being — God — who created all things in the universe and therefore, very powerful (Gyekye, 1996; Sarpong, 2011). As has been mentioned earlier, there are a lot of honorific and title names ascribed to God to show how the Akan conceive of Him. It is worth noting that aside that there are certain cultural practices as well as social activities among the Akan which similarly depict their worldview about God, the Supreme Being. Ansong et.al (2014) note that names, appellations, proverbs and idioms ascribed to the Supreme Being show how unique and distinct He is, from other deities. For instance, there is Akan maxim which translates as, "If you want to talk to God, talk to the wind". The wind thus, blows everywhere and in all directions, although no one sees and touches it, its effects are felt everywhere. Similarly, God among the Akan, is also believed to be everywhere as the wind. This shows His Omnipresence and to a

large extent, how He is conceptualised in the minds of the Akan that in times of troubles, He is the one whom they resort to (i.e. He is Dependable). The belief in the Akan God is also reflected in how some entities (human or non-human, animate or inanimate) in Akan societies are named. For instance, there is a tree named *Nyame dua* “God’s tree”, *Nyankonsuo* “God’s water” (rainwater), *Nyankontɔn* “God’s bow” (rainbow), *Nyankonsoromma* “God’s stars” (stars), etc. Also, some Akan personal names such as *Nyamekyɛ*, which is translated as “God’s gift” bring to bear, their belief or idea about the Supreme Being (Rattary, 1927; Danquah, 1968). Aside from this, the Akan indigenous people have some constant expressions such as *Onyame mfa wo nko* “May you go in the company of God”, *Onyame ye adom* a... “If God permits or gives us the grace...” etc. (Agyekum, 2011; Gyekye, 1996). These expressions and the like, used in Akan communities perhaps give a clear picture as to who God is — Protector, Helper, Mighty, Friend etc. Moreover, during religious events such as marriage rites, funeral rites, festivals, naming ceremonies, installation of a chief etc., drinks are offered to the Akan deities for thanksgiving, protection, and blessings and many more (Gyekye, 1996). In all these, however, the one pouring the libation makes sure that God, the Supreme Being’s name (i.e. *Tweaduampɔn Kwame*) is mentioned first as it is conventionalised and deeply rooted in Akan doctrinal practices (Rattary, 1927; Sarpong, 1996; Agyekum, 2011). Similarly, the Akan thought about God is also illustrated very well by the Akan myth, which pictures how God separated from man. The story is centred on a certain old woman who used to pound fufu. She was hitting God with the pestle everyday. God protested but the old woman took no notice. God could not go on being hit day in and day out, so He was left with no choice but to retire into the sky (Mbiti, 1991;

Sarpong, 2011). Consequently, the Akan like most African countries, have non-oral traditions chiefly of artistic expressions or artefacts. Quarcoopome (1987) also points out that Africa is very rich in various artefacts and these art forms are concrete manifestations of belief in and the dependence of man upon God. For instance, there are two common art symbols among the Akan called *Gye Nyame* ‘Except God’ and *Nyame nwu na mawu* ‘God does not die and so I cannot die’ which symbolize God’s Omnipotence and Immortality respectively, as have been pictorially represented in appendix D.

In this sub-section we have come to realise that the names the Akan attribute to the Supreme Being are basically a reflection of their ideas about this Supreme God. We use the next sub-section to discuss the Akan sound inventory.

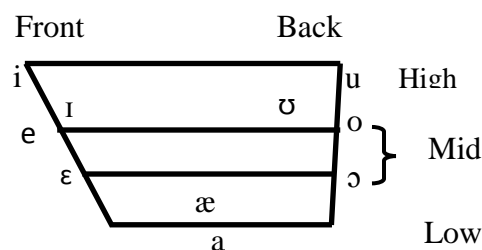
1.4 Akan sound inventory

Dolphyne (1988: 17) posits that there are five (5) basic vowel units in Akan, each of which has vowel quality associated with it as follows:

- [i/ɪ] => High front vowels [æ/a] => Low central vowels
 [e/ɛ] => Mid front vowels [o/ɔ] => Mid back vowels
 [u/ʊ] => High back vowels.

These segments can be represented on the chart below:

Table 1.1 Akan Vowel Chart (Dolphyne, 1988)



It is worthy to point out that the vowels on the left of each pair are the Set I vowels (i, e, æ, o, u) and those to the right are the corresponding Set II vowels (ɪ, ε, a, ɔ, ʊ). The vowels in Set I have the feature [+ATR] whereas those in Set II have the [-ATR] feature specification (Clements, 1985; Bodomo & Marfo, 2006). Further, the Akan vowels show a distinction between two types of vowels based on the shape of the lips during the articulation of the sounds. These are rounded and unrounded vowels which are [o, ɔ, u, ʊ] and [i, ɪ, e, ε, a, æ] respectively. Among these vowels, only six i.e. [æ, a, e, ε, o, ɔ] occur at word-initial position in the Twi dialects (Dolphyne, 1988). Fante, however, has eight vowels occurring at word-initial position: [æ, a, e, ε, o, ɔ, i, ɪ] (Abakah, 2002: 252). All the ten vowels do occur at word-medial position in all the dialects of Akan, while at word-final position, all the ten vowels can occur in Fante (Abakah, 2003). In Twi, however, all, apart from /æ/ occur at word-final position (Dolphyne, 2006; Boadi, 1991). With respect to Akan consonants, there is still a controversy as to the right number of consonantal sounds in Akan. According to Abakah (2003), the definite number of consonantal phonemes in Akan cannot be found in the literature. That is to say, scholars who have given prominence to the Akan sound system have divergent views on the definite number of consonantal sounds in Akan. Schechter and Fromkin (1968) claim that there are eight (8) 'true' phonemes in Akan consonantal catalogue which are /p, b, d, f, s, t, k, g/. Abakah (2016: 27), however, opposes these scholars' assertion by contending that there are fourteen (14) systematic phonemes in the present day Akan consonantal inventory as has been tabulated below:

Table 1.2 Akan consonantal phonemes (Abakah, 2016)

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p b	t d		k g	
Nasal	m	n			
Liquid		r			
Fricative	f	s			h
Glide			j	w	

Inasmuch as divergent views abound on the specific number of Akan consonantal phonemes, Akan alphabetic symbols still remain twenty-two (22) in its orthographic representation, out of which seven are vowels and the remaining fifteen (15) constituting the consonants. To add, Agyekum (2010) proposes to add the letter ‘v’ to the existing 22 letters probably on the basis of some lexical items being borrowed into the Akan language in the modern times. Generally speaking, pertaining to the distribution of the consonantal phonemes, all the fourteen phonemic consonants identified in the Akan consonantal inventory occur at word initial and word-medial positions (Abakah, 2003). But only four (4) [i.e. m, n, r, w] can occur at word-final position. Abakah (2005, 2016), however, asserts that in the Asante-Twi dialect, whenever the nasal /n/ occurs at word-final position, it is usually realized as ‘ɾ’ or ‘ɔ’ depending on whether the preceding vowel is rounded or unrounded. These are examples; *ɔtan* ---> *ɔtaɾ* ‘hatred’, *odwan* ---> *odwaɪ* ‘sheep’ *tɔn* ---> *tɔʊ* ‘sell’, *bɔn* ---> *bɔʊ* ‘crow’.

Let us also note that Akan has two basic constructive level tones in its tonal inventory, namely; high tone H and low tone L (Dolphyne, 1988; Abakah, 2003; Marfo, 2013). There is also a downstep high tone !H which is an allotone of the H.

1.5 Statement of the problem

In Akan, and other cultures, the study of personal names has received quite a significant attention. The study on personal names is thus, cross-linguistic and done across cultures. Works including, Sarpong (1974), Madubuike (1976), Obeng (1997, 1998, 2001), Ansu-Kyeremah (2000), Agyekum (2003, 2006), Adomako (2015, 2017) among others focus on Akan personal names from cultural, historical, anthropological, religious, sociolinguistics, grammatical, etc. perspectives respectively. A close look at the scholarship on Akan personal names, however, reveals that very few studies have been done on the morphology and phonology (aspects of grammar) of Akan personal names (e.g. Obeng, 1997, 1998, 2001; Adomako, 2015, 2017). Although these works exist, none of them was again, geared towards the morphophonemics of Akan honorific and title names for God (Agyekum, 2006). Meanwhile, Akan and other agglutinative languages have a unique style of forming these honorific and title names which make them morphologically complex (Boadi, 1989; Anyidoho, 1991; Agyekum, 2003). For example, sometimes, a whole stretch of phrase, a clause or a sentence may be strung together or compounded to form the names. It is in this light that a study of this nature needs to be conducted in order to explore the various morphophonemic processes or strategies involved in forming Akan honorific and title names for God. Prior to this, the etymology of some of these names especially those that have been metaphorically extended to God in Akan is also discussed. This study broadly contributes to the study on Akan personal names (anthroponyms).

1.6 Objectives of the study

The study aims at:

1. accounting for the etymology of some of the honorific and title names ascribed to the Supreme God in Akan.
2. analyzing the morphological processes that enter into the derivation of the honorific and title names of God in Akan.
3. unfolding certain phonological processes underlying the honorific and title names ascribed to God in Akan.

1.7 Research questions

The study is guided by the following questions:

1. What are the etymologies of some of the honorific and title names for God in Akan?
2. What morphological processes account for the derivation of the honorific and title names for God in Akan?
3. What are the phonological processes situated in the honorific and title names for God in Akan?

1.8 Significance of the study

The study is useful in different ways. To start with, it is useful as a pedagogical material for language students and teachers. Again, it contributes to literature on Akan personal names and hence, can be used as a reference material for potential researchers on onomastics. In addition, Akan honorific terms have a long cultural background and so most of the present generation may have little or no awareness of them. This study, therefore, helps document the origin or history

behind some the names ascribed to God in order to have in-depth knowledge about such names. Moreover, honorific and title names like other classes of Akan personal names are compounds which are complex in nature. They therefore undergo certain morphophonemic processes (such as segment deletion/truncation) which sometimes create difficulty when an attempt is made to interpret these names. The study therefore seeks to identify the various compound elements which enter into the derivation of the names so as to resolve this challenge.

1.9 Delimitation

There are so many types of Akan personal names which include birthday names, family names, theophoric names, honorific and title names, circumstantial names etc. (Obeng, 2001; Agyekum, 2006). However, this study highlights only the morphophonemic patterns of the honorific and title names ascribed to God in Akan. The analysis include the honorific and title names that Akan attribute to the Supreme God as well as those ascribed to creatures but have been metaphorically extended to Him. Also, the study is based on Asante-Twi; one of the sub-dialects of Akan. Again, tone as a phonological process was not considered in the study.

1.10 Limitation

Some respondents gave different interpretations regarding the etymology of some specific names which could, therefore, affect the outcome of the study. Tone was also not marked on the data and, hence, could affect the analysis of the data particularly the lexical items that were heteronymous.

1.11 Organization of the thesis

The thesis is organized in five chapters. Chapter one concentrates on the general background information which forms the basis for the research. Also, the research problem, the objectives of the study, the research questions and the significance of the study are captured in this chapter. Moreover, the delimitation, limitation and the organization of the study are part of chapter one.

Chapter two dwells on the literature review. In this chapter, the concept of morphology and phonology are discussed. Morphophonemic processes such as borrowing, compounding, affixation, syllable deletion, homorganic nasal assimilation, vowel harmony etc. are also discussed here. It also caters for the previous works done on the topic. The last aspect of this chapter also focuses on the discussion on the theoretical framework (i.e. Lexical Phonology) for the thesis. Chapter three focuses on the description of the various methods or techniques employed in collecting and analyzing the data.

Chapter four also presents the analysis and discussion of the data collected. In other words, the morphophonemic processes that names of God in Akan undergo are elaborated through the lens of Lexical Phonology (LP). Moreover the etymology of some of the names are highlighted in this chapter.

Chapter five, the last chapter of the thesis is the concluding chapter. In this section, the whole thesis is summarized and based on the findings, recommendations are outlined for future research.

1.12 Summary of chapter

This introductory chapter has provided a general frame for the study. It first discussed the background to the study and to the language. Following this was

a discussion on the Akan concept of God. This chapter also discussed the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions and significance of the study. Moreover, the delimitation and limitation were also highlighted in this chapter and it was finally concluded with the organization of the study.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the review of related literature. In this light, the discussion is divided into two main sections; theoretical review and empirical review. In the domain of the former, an attempt is made to look at honorifics, the concept of morphology by paying a particular attention to word formation processes as well as the concept of phonology and some phonological processes in Akan. The concept of etymology is also highlighted under the theoretical review. The latter, however, focuses on the review of previous studies in relation to the current study. The last aspect of this chapter also discusses the theoretical framework for the study. In the sub-section that follows, the concept of morphology is explored.

2.1 Honorifics

Honorifics have been studied in different cultures including the Japanese, Javanese, Chinese, Korean, Pohnpeian and Sudanese (Agha, 1994). Honorifics, according to Agyekum (2003: 369), refer to “specialised address and deference forms used to show politeness and competence in language and culture”. Agha (1994) also remarks that honorific terms are directed to various aspects of social identity and are status-indexing speech forms depicting social asymmetries. This means that the kind of honorific terms ascribed to certain individuals with high repute in the society project them in high esteem. By extension, honorific terms can be used as a persuasive mechanism in communication (Brown & Levinson, 1987). There may be variations in the form, language and expressions of

honorifics (Ide, 1989). In other words, if an utterance is featured with only one honorific term, the deferential effect of such utterance may be low and unclear (Agha, 1998). That is, a cluster of honorifics indicates politeness and respect to an addressee and highly projects status, deference and perlocutionary effect (Agyekum, 2003). In Akan, a speaker can use multiple honorifics within the same sentence.

In Akan, there are various types of honorifics used in different social contexts. They include: power-based, gender-based, occupational and symmetrical solidarity honorifics (Agyekum, 2003). Power-based honorifics are honorific expressions ascribed to an addressee based on his/her power or the social class, age, profession, gender, etc. The power-based honorifics are always asymmetric and nonreciprocal, that is, such honorifics always come from a subordinate to a superior but not vice versa. In Akan, there are some honorifics used to address God. Such honorifics express God's omnipotence, omnipresence, his amazing grace, generosity and so on. Examples include: *Ɔbɔadeɛ/Bɔrebɔre* 'The Creator/Originator/Inventor', *Ɔdomankoma* 'The Passionate one', *Otwereduampɔn/Tweaduampɔn*, 'The Dependable' *Amosu*, 'Giver of rain', and *Kantamanto* 'The Faithful one'.

Gender-based honorifics are those honorific terms ascribed solely for males and females so as to identify their specific roles in Akan traditional society. Unlike the power-based honorifics, the honorifics here are symmetric and reciprocal. They are used to boost women's morals and to upgrade them, and they depict the inseparability of women in Akan social life (Agyekum, 2003). Some of the female honorifics include the following: *Ɔbaatan-pa* or *Ɔbaa-pa* 'good mother'.

For every woman is an *Obaatan-pa* or *Obaa-pa*, and the suffix *-pa* ‘good’ elevates her dignity; *atofokɛsɛɛ a sturu mpempem* ‘the mighty waist that carries thousands of children’. Some Akan honorifics are also attributed to men based on bravery, resistance, manly deeds, achievements in wars, defence, farming and other manual works (Agyekum, 2003). The honorifics also refer to their functions as family protectors and providers, and they include: *Bɛmpa* (‘a good man’); *Okumpa* (‘the good husband’); *Ɔkokooɔdurufɔɔ* (‘the courageous man’); *Ɔkofo* (‘the warrior’); *Katakyie* (‘the gallant man, the valiant’) and *Dadeako* (‘the iron fighter’).

Occupational power-based honorifics are those honorifics ascribed to people based on their traditional positions in Akan society including, chieftaincy, hunting, the military and priesthood (Agyekum, 2003). According to Agyekum (2003), if a speaker fails to use the right address forms or calls people by their bare names, s/he is deemed disrespectful, and can thus lead to sanctions and fines. Examples of such honorifics are the names of the various wings of the Akan military structure (such as *Twafohene* ‘vanguard commander’ *Adɔntenhene*, ‘commander of the main/central army’, *Benkumhene* ‘left wing commander’, *Nifahene* ‘right wing commander’, *Kyidɔmhene* ‘rear commander’ and *Ankɔbeahene* ‘commander of the chief’s bodyguard’) that have been established in their various families and are now hereditary (see Agyekum, 2003).

There are other solidarity honorifics that are used symmetrically or reciprocally (i.e. symmetric honorifics), where X uses it to Y, and Y responds with the same term. According to Agyekum (2003), the Akan refer to such honorifics as *ɛfɛɛ*

(‘fashionable names’) or *mnrane* (‘nicknames’). Some of such honorifics are *me/wo nua* ‘my/your brother/sister’, *me/wo gyafɔ* ‘my/your colleague’, *Akora* (‘old man’), *Agya* (‘father’), *Agya ba* (‘father’s son/daughter’) and *Eno ba* (‘mother’s son/daughter’). It can be seen that all these are kinship titles, but most of them are used more loosely (see Agyekum, 1998). It is important to note that appendix A, (pg. 156) gives a clear picture as to how some of the Akan honorifics are contextualised.

2.2 The concept of morphology

The term ‘morphology’ has to do with the study of the internal structure of words in a given language (Crystal, 2008). It consists of two words: *morph* and *ology* which means ‘form’ and ‘the study of’ respectively. Mathews (1991) reports that the term was first used in the mid-nineteenth century in the field of biological sciences to refer to the study of the form and structure of plants and animals. Aronoff and Fudeman (2011: 2) define morphology as “the mental system involved in word-formation or to the branch of linguistics that deals with words, their internal structure, and how they are formed”. Similarly, Fromkin, Hyam and Rodman (2007) and Arifin (2009) are of the view that to study morphology is to study the internal structure of words and rules by which words are formed. As Fromkin et. al (2007) note, morphology is part of our grammatical knowledge of a language. This means that the study of morphology offers important insights into how language works, revealing the need for different categories of words, the presence of word-internal structure, and the existence of operations that create and modify words in various ways (O’Grady, Archibald & Katamba, 2011). According to Crystal (2008: 134), morphology is “the branch of grammar which studies the structure or forms of words, primarily

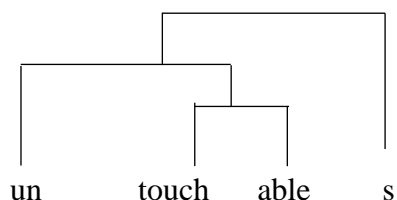
through the use of morpheme construct”. From this definition, we can point out that a morpheme is an essential component of word structure (Thakur, 2010). What then is a *morpheme*? Katamba (1993: 20) defines a *morpheme* as “a term used to refer to the smallest, indivisible units of semantic content or grammatical function which words are made up of”. He further elaborates that a morpheme cannot be decomposed into smaller units which are either meaningful by themselves or mark a grammatical function like singular or plural number in a noun. There are two types of morphemes, namely, *free* morphemes and *bound* morphemes. Free (independent) morphemes are those morphemes that can stand on their own as words whereas bound (dependent) morphemes are those morphemes that cannot stand alone and must be attached to another morphemes or words (Bauer, 1993; Denham & Lobeck, 2013; Yule, 2010). Illustratively, we can break the Akan word *asuafoɔ* ‘students/disciples’ into three morphemes, that is, **a-sua-foɔ**. The morpheme *sua* ‘learn’ is the free morpheme whereas **a-** and **-foɔ** constitute bound morphemes. Additionally, in terms of function, bound morphemes can further be grouped into, *derivational* and *inflectional* morphemes. Derivational morphemes are those bound morphemes attached to free forms (noun, verb, adjective etc.) to make new words or to make words of a different grammatical category (Lyons, 1981; Hayes, 2009). In Akan for instance, the bound morpheme **a-** can be attached to the verb *do* ‘weed’ to derive the noun *ado* ‘weeding’. Conversely, inflectional morphemes are attached to free forms not necessarily producing new words or lexical items but rather to add grammatical information to the lexical item in question (Trask, 2007; Crystal, 2008; O’Grady et. al, 2011). In other words, they are used to indicate aspects of the grammatical function (such as tense/aspect, number, possession,

negation, etc.) of a word. In terms of tense/aspect for instance, the lexical item *di* (simple present) ‘eat’ in Akan can be inflected into the following forms: *di-i* (past), *re-di* (progressive), *a-di* (perfect), etc. The boldfaced bound morphemes just added grammatical information to the lexeme *DI*. It is essential to note that the bound morphemes are usually referred to as *affixes*. We reserve the next subsection to describe the morphological terms: *root*, *stem*, *base* and *affix*.

2.2.1 Root, Stem, Base and Affix

Root, stem and base are all terms used in the literature to designate that part of a word that remains when all affixes have been removed (Bauer, 1993). Of more recent years, however, there have been some attempts to distinguish consistently between these three terms. Thakur (2010: 8) defines root as “that part of a word which remains after all affixes have been removed”. This means that it is the form which cannot be further analysed, either in terms of derivational or inflectional morphology. The root constitutes the core of the word and also carries the major component of its meaning (Aronoff & Fudeman, 2011). Taking insights from Bauer (1993: 20), in the form *untouchables* for instance, the root is *touch* to which the (bound) morphemes *-able*, *-un*, and *-s* have been added respectively as illustrated below:

Fig 2.1



The stem on the other hand, is that part of a word that exists before any inflectional affix (but not derivational) is attached to. In other words, after

removing any inflectional morpheme from the word, what will be left is referred to as the stem (Katamba, 1993). Bauer (1993) posits that a stem may be complex because it can take more than one root. From the figure above, the stem is be *untouchable* because it has no inflections.

Finally, a base is any form to which affixes of any kind can be added. This means that any root or stem can be termed as a base, but the set of bases is not exhausted by the union of the set of roots and the stems (Katamba, 1993). From this explanation, we can identify *touch*, *touchable* and *untouchable* (as seen in the Figure above) as bases. It is important to point out that there are instances where a particular word-form can be a root, a stem and a base concurrently. For example, in Akan the word-form *kua* 'farming'. *Kua* is a root because, it has no bound morpheme; it is a stem because we can add inflectional morpheme(s) to it; and it is a base in that it can accept another affix as in *a-kua-foɔ* 'farmers'. In this study, we use these terms (root, stem and base) purposefully to suit a particular context.

As has already been pointed out, morphology aims at describing or studying the structure of words and the relationship between complex words. Dolphyne (1988) posits that a word (in Akan) may be a single stem, two or more stems, and in some cases stems and affixes. Crystal (2008) asserts that in terms of number, affixes are limited in languages and are generally classified into three types depending on their positions (distribution) with reference to the root or stem of the word. These classifications are:

- affixes which are added at the beginning of a root/stem (prefixes)
- those added at the end of a root/stem (suffixes) and;

- those affixes which occur within a root/stem (infixes).

It is observed that affixes may be ‘double edged’ (Katamba, 1993; Bodo & Marfo, 2006). This means that there are times a word (a base or stem) may have multiple affixes (e.g. Prefix + suffix) and can, therefore, be termed as *parasyntesis* as in the Akan word *a-nua-nom* ‘siblings’. In this word, the prefix *a-* and the suffix *-nom* have been attached to the root *nua* simultaneously. Dolphyne (1988) notes that there are two main types of affixes in Akan, which are prefixes and suffixes. For infixes, Adomako (2012) and Dolphyne (1988) assert that Akan does not have infix in its affixal system. For example, compounds like *aniɛden/anɔɔden*, ‘haughtiness’, *ahɔɔfɛ*, ‘beauty’ and the like may be misconstrued to have an infix $\epsilon/\text{ɔ}$ between the first and the last stems of the compound word. However, these vowels, according to Dolphyne (1988), are analysed as the copular verb $y\epsilon$ ‘to be’ which is reduced to vowels that take the lip-position of the preceding vowels. Again, Adomako (2012) also observes that affixes *ken* and *bem* as in the derived words *akenkan* ‘reading’ and *abembam* ‘embrace’ respectively constitute reduplicative prefixes but not infixes. It is observed that affixes in Akan could be nominal(izing) affixes (Dolphyne, 1988; Appah, 2003). As matter of fact, some of the nominalizing affixes can also be classified as inflections, however, we will not delve much into them since this thesis dwells much on derivational morphology. In the sub-sections below, we elaborate on the nominal affixes in Akan by first looking at the nominal prefix.

A nominal prefix in Akan is either a vowel or a consonant which should be homorganic with the following consonant in the stem (Dolphyne, 1988; Appah, 2003; Bodo & Marfo, 2006). Nominal prefixes in Akan include: / a, æ, e, ɛ

o, ɔ / (Asante-Twi). In addition to these are /i, ɪ/ in Fante. There are also nasal prefixes in Akan including: /m, n, ŋ, ɱ/. Adomako (2012) shares a similar view by postulating that with the exception of the high back vowels (/u, ʊ/), all the ten vowels in Akan can occur word-initially as nominal prefixes. We show examples below:

(1)

	Prefix	Base	Derived nominal	Gloss
i.	a-	sa	Asa	dance
ii.	ɛ-	nam	Enam	meat
iii.	o-	wu	Owuo	death
iv.	ɔ-	wɔ	ɔwɔ	snake
v.	m-	pa	Mpa	bed
vi.	n-	sa	Nsa	hand

As can be seen from the above data, both vocalic and nasal segments serve as prefixes to the bases/stems. And the nasals have the same place of articulation with that of neighbouring sounds in the bases. Aside from that, the principle of vowel harmony is also featured in the data. In other words, some of the prefixes (vowels) are selected based on the [ATR] specification of the vowels in the stems. In *owuo* for instance, ‘o’ was selected in order to harmonize with ‘u’ and ‘o’ in the stem/base. Dolphyne, (1988) argues that in Akan, the mid and low vowels (e, ɛ, a, o, æ, ɔ) and the front vowels /i, ɪ/ (Fa) are nominal prefixes which are harmonic with the vowels in the stems. Adomako (2012), however, claims that the low and mid vowels /a/ and /ɛ/ are respectively noted for violating this ATR rule in Akan. Moreover, in Akan, whenever we have /e, ɛ, ɔ, o/ as nominal prefixes, they always mark singularity and usually form their plurals with /a/ prefixing the base form. On the other hand, Akan nominals that have /a/ as a

prefix take a nasal prefix to mark plurality (Appah, 2003). The following are examples of nominal prefixes marking singular and plural:

(2)	Singular	Plural
i.	e-fie 'house'	afie 'houses'
ii.	ɔhɔhɔɔ 'stranger'	ahɔhɔɔ 'strangers'
iii.	asaase 'land'	nsaase 'lands'
iv.	afidie 'machine'	ɱfidie 'machines'

In addition, although adjectives in Akan do not have prefixes in the singular forms, they inflect for number (plural) and they similarly have prefixes as the nominals i.e. a-, n- (Dolphyne, 1988; Abakah, 2015). We add that the plural forms of adjectives are often reduplicated as shown below:

(3)

	Singular	Plural	Gloss
i.	kɛsɛɛ	a-kɛsɛɛ/akɛsɛakɛsɛɛ	big
ii.	ketewa	n-ketewa/nketenkete	Small
iii.	papa	a-papa	good
iv.	tea/teatea	n-teanteaa	slender

Source: Dolphyne (1988: 86)

Verbs in Akan are also observed to have morphological features which include clitics, tense, aspect, mood, negation, and motional prefixes. We discuss these in the next sub-sections.

2.2.3 Morphological features (Clitics, TAM, etc)

We start with the clitics. In Akan, if the subject of a sentence is a pronoun, it is expressed as a prefix on the verb (Osam, 2003; Agyekum, 2010; Akrofi, 2011). Following these scholars, we outline the various subject pronouns in Akan below:

- (4) i. me 1SGSUBJ
- ii. wo 2SGSUBJ
- iii. ɔno/ɛno 3SGSUBJ
- iv. yɛn 1PLUSUBJ
- v. mo 2PLUSUBJ
- vi. wɔn 3PLUSUB

Having listed these, we now attach them as clitics (prefixes) to the Akan verb *tɔ* ‘to buy’ to have the following realizations:

(5)

	Pronoun	Prefix	Verb/Stem	Derived form	Gloss
i.	me	me-	tɔ	metɔ	I buy
ii.	wo	wo-	tɔ	wotɔ	you buy
iii.	ɔno	ɔ-	tɔ	ɔtɔ	s/he buys
iv.	ɛno	ɛ-	tɔ	ɛtɔ	it buys
v.	yɛn	yɛ-	tɔ	yɛtɔ	we buy
vi.	mo	mo-	tɔ	motɔ	you buy
vii.	wɔn	wɔ-	tɔ	wɔtɔ	they buy

In the data above, the clitics in the derived forms are subjects (singular/plural) on the verb *tɔ*. We now discuss tense/aspect, mood and negation in relation to affixes in Akan (Appah, 2003; Agyekum, 2010). There are prefixes in Akan which also mark either tense/aspect, mood, and negation as has been outlined below:

- (6)
- i. bɛ- Future marker e.g. bekɔ ‘will go’
 - ii. re- Progressive marker e.g. rekɔ ‘is going’
 - iii. a- Perfect marker e.g. akɔ ‘has gone’
 - iv. rebɛ- Immediate future e.g. rebekɔ ‘is about to go’
 - v. m-/n- Negative markers e.g. mfa/nkɔ ‘don’t take it’/don’t go’

- vi. m-/n- Imperative markers e.g. mfa/nkɔ⁶ ‘should take/
should go’
- vii. kɔ-/bɛ- Motional markers e.g. ɔkɔfa ‘s/he goes to take it’

It can be noted from the table that the Past marker does not undergo prefixation in Akan except when it is in negative constructions. That is, the marker for this tense is a suffix. In other words, apart from the Past and Negative Perfect which are realized as suffixes, all the affixes attached to verbs in Akan are observed to be prefixes (Agyekum, 2010). For example, in transitive constructions, the Past marker as a suffix can be realized by lengthening the final vowel or consonant of the verb word as in *di* ‘eat’ being realised as *di-i* and *yɛn* ‘rear’ being realized as *yɛn-n* ‘reared’ respectively. However, in intransitive constructions, the suffix *-iɛ/-eɛ* can be attached to a verb to mark the past tense. For example, the suffix *-eɛ* can be attached to the verb *sere* ‘laugh’ to produce *sere-eɛ* ‘laughed’. Likewise, *-iɛ* can also be suffixed to the verb *tu* ‘uproot’ to derive the form *tuiɛ* ‘uprooted’ which depicts a completion of an action (See Osam (2003), Appah (2003) and Agyekum (2010) for more details). The foregoing discussion has focused on Akan prefixes. We discuss Akan suffixes below.

As has been said earlier in this study, suffixes are bound morphemes which occur after the stem. Suffixes are added to Akan verbs to derive other nominals (Dolphyne, 1988; Bodomo & Marfo, 2006). These are some of the nominal suffixes available in Akan: *-iɛ*, *-eɛ*, *-wa*, *-aa*, *-ma*, *-bea*, *-ni*, *-foɔ*, *-nom*, and *-pɔn* (Agyekum, 2010; Osam, 2003). Again, in the Asante dialect, the (mid) suffix (i.e. *e*, *ɛ*, *o*, and *ɔ*) occurs if the nominal stem ends in an oral high vowel

⁶ Note that it is tone that distinguishes negative markers from that of imperative. While negative prefixes are said at low (L) tones, the imperative markers are said on high (H) tones

(Dolphyne, 1988) as could be seen from the table below. From Dolphyne, the vowel suffix agrees in both tongue root and lip position of the stem. In Asante, Adomako (2012) also claims that the suffixes -e and -ε can be added to verb stems to produce nominals. The table below illustrates suffixes/suffixation in Akan:

(7)

	Stem/Base	Gloss	Suffix	Derived form	Gloss
i.	wu	die	-o	owuo	death
ii.	dade	metal	-wa	dadewa	nail
iii.	sukuu	school	-pɔn	sukuupɔn	university
iv.	sika	money	-ni	sikani	richman
v.	boa	help	-foɔ	(ɔ)boafɔɔ	helper
vi.	agya	father	-nom	agyanom	fathers

Each of the suffixes in Akan as outlined in the table above may have a specific role to play. For example, the suffix in ‘i’ is a nominalizing suffix because it has been added to a verb to derive other word (a noun). Further, the suffix -wa marks diminutivity and sometimes femininity as has been exemplified above (Agyekum, 2010). We can also infer from the table and conclude that -pɔn in Akan is used to mark augmentativity (Agyekum, 2010). The suffix -pɔn can also serve as an adjective in Akan (Obeng, 2001; Agyekum, 2019; Agyekum, 2017). Dolphyne (1988) points out that the suffix -ni is derived from the noun *oni* ‘person’. Appah (2003) also adds that the suffix -ni derives citizenship or nationality and agentive nouns respectively (see also Bodomo & Marfo, 2006). The suffix -foɔ (v) is also used in two contexts: one, it co-occur with other prefixes to mark plurality on stems they are attached to; and two, it is attached to stems in Akan to derive agentive nouns as in *akɔmfɔɔ* ‘fetish priests’, *adwadifoɔ* ‘marketers/sellers’, etc. Finally, in Akan, the suffix -nom exists to

pluralize kinship nouns as in *vi* above. As said earlier, Katamba (1993) also postulates that generally, certain words are formed by attaching several affixes (both prefix and suffix) to the root/base (i.e. circumfixation). This notion is also not uncommon in Akan. That is to say, in Akan, some stems may take both prefixes and suffixes concurrently for a particular grammatical function e.g. plurality (Adomako, 2012; Agyekum, 2017). This phenomenon has also been termed as ‘double edge’ affixed positioning by Bodommo and Marfo (2006: 234).

We give examples below:

(8)

	Prefix	Stem	Suffix	Derived form	Gloss
i.	a-	Nua	-nom	Anuanom	siblings
ii.	m-	Panin	-foɔ	mpanimfoɔ	elders
iii.	o-	Kristo	-ni	Okristoni	christain
iv.	ɔ-	Hene	-pɔn	ɔhemɔn	great chief

As could be seen from the table above, both the prefixes and suffixes are revolving round the stems. We cannot discuss morphology and/or derivation without describing the word formation rules. We therefore turn our discussion to look into some word formation processes in Akan.

2.3 Word formation process

Every natural language, of which Akan is no exception, adds to its stock of vocabulary through the various word formation processes. As stated by Jackson and Amvela (2001: 16), word formation processes means “the different devices which are used to build new words from existing ones”. They further assert that each word-formation process will result in the production of a specific type of word. Akan resorts to a lot of word-formation processes which include, affixation (derivation), coinage, clipping, abbreviation, acronym, borrowing,

compounding and many more. We do not however, intend describing all of these in the current study because some do not relate to this study. We start with affixation as a word-formation process in Akan.

2.3.1 Affixation (Derivation)

We briefly discuss the concept of affixation since it has almost been catered for in our previous discussions (see section 2.1.1). Appah (2003: 51) defines affixation as a process which “involves the addition of a nominalizing affix (prefix or suffix or both) to the structure that enters the derivation process, that is, the root or stem to be nominalized”. In general terms, affixation is a morphological process whereby bound morphemes are added to a stem or a base for grammatical or lexical information (Crystal, 2008). So in terms of word-formation, affixation refers to the process of attaching affixes to a base to derive other words with a meaning and/or category distinct from that of its base (O’Grady et. al, 2011). In English for instance, the prefix *dis-* and *ex-* can be added to the stem *obey* (V) and *wife* (N) to derive the verb *disobey* and the noun *ex-wife* respectively. Conversely, the suffixes *-ness* and *-al* can also be added to the stems *sad* (Adj) and *refuse* (V) to derive *sadness* (N) and *refusal* (N) respectively. To add, both the prefix *un-* and the suffix *-ness* can be attached to the stem *happy* (Adj) to produce *unhappiness* (N). Bauer (1993) and O’Grady et. al (2011) aptly assert that in English, the vast majority of prefixes are class-maintaining whilst suffixes are class-changing. This means that in English, unlike suffixes, prefixes do not change the category (word class) of the stem. Similarly, Akan also has some prefixes which are added to stems to derive other free forms whose meanings and/or categories may be distinct from that of the stem as has been exemplified below:

(9)

	Prefix	Stem	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
i.	a-	pam	Sew	apam	covenant
ii.	ɔ-	dɔ(V)	Love	ɔdɔ(N)	Love
iii.	ɔ-	kɛse	Big	ɔkɛse(ɛ)	big one

2.3.2 Compounding

Compounding is a very productive cross-linguistic phenomenon as Bauer (1993: 33) opines that “it seems no known language is without compounds”. That is to say, most languages in the world add to their lexicon a lot of vocabulary items through compounding. Bauer (1993) writes that compounding is the process whereby two or more elements which could potentially be used as stems (or bases) are combined to form another stem. He goes on to say that since each potential stem contains at least one root, a compound must contain at least two roots. That is, if one of the potential stems that make up the compound is itself a compound, the resultant form may of course, contain more than two roots as in *wastepaper basket*. Thakur (2010: 61) also defines compound as ‘when two or more words are joined to make a longer word, the process is known as compound-formation’. Crystal (2008) also conceives compounding as a linguistic unit which is composed of elements that function independently in other circumstances. According to Katamba (1993: 54), “a compound word contains at least two bases which are both words, or at any rate, root morphemes”. This means that a prototypical compound is a word made up of at least two bases which can occur elsewhere as independent words. There are varying views on compounding in terms of its classifications. The criteria mostly used in classifying compounds into their various forms include semantic, morphosyntactic, and phonological criteria (Fabb, 1998; Appah, 2013).

Nonetheless, from the perspective of Syal and Jindal (2001), compounding can be put into semantic and formal classifications. The semantic classification of compounds deals with the issue of *head* word (Booij, 2007; Owu-Ewie, 2014). Based on semantics, compounds are of four types which are, *endocentric* (a compound whose head and modifiers can be identified and hence, compositional) *exocentric* (a headless compound and therefore, non-compositional or metaphorical), *copulative* (a compound with double semantic heads) and *appositional* (a compound with two (varying) attributes referring to the same referent) (Bauer, 1993; Aikhenvald, 2007; Nketsiah, 2016). The other category which will be of much relevance to the current study is the formal classification which has to do with classifying compounds based on the class or form of the constituents yielding Noun-Noun, Noun-Adj, Noun-Verb, Verb-Noun, Verb-Verb, etc. (Anderson, 1985; Bauer, 1993; O’Grady et. al, 2011). Casting compounding in formal classification, Dolphyne (1988) identifies the following types of compounding in Akan; Noun + Noun, Object + Verb, Verb + Object, Noun + Adj, Adj + Noun and Verb + Verb. The Object + Verb and Verb + Object are in reality N-V and V-N compounds respectively (Marfo, 2016; Appah, 2013a&b). Following Dolphyne (1988), we display examples of the types on the table below:

(10)

<u>Compound type</u>	<u>Base forms</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Derived form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
N-N	dadeɛ + ɛsɛn	metal + pot	dadesɛn	iron cookware
N-V	nkɔm + hyɛ	prophecy + utter	nkɔmhyɛ	Prophecy
V-N	kyɛ + adeɛ	give + thing	akyɛdeɛ	Gift
N-Adj	sika + kɔkɔɔ	money + red	sikakɔkɔɔ	Gold
Adj-N	kɛsɛɛ + asɛm	big + matter	akɛsɛsɛm	magniloquence

V-V sɔ + hwɛ test + look nsɔhwɛ Temptation

To add to this, Abakah (2003, 2006) also reports that there are other compounds in Akan which are phrasal verbs, Deverbal Noun-Noun and nominalisation of sentences. Scholars such as Dolphyne (1988), Abakah (2003), Marfo (2016), etc. claim that Adj-Noun compounds exist in Akan. However, Appah (2013a&b) shares a strong opposing view by postulating that there are no Adj-N compounds in Akan and that all those forms exemplifying Adj-N compounds in the literature are in real sense, N-N compounds. He based his argument on the fact that adjectives do not have prefixes in Akan (see Dolphyne, 1988). Adjectives are, therefore, prefixed when they are nominalized. So in *akɛsɛɛ* ‘big ones’ for instance, putting *a-* before *kɛsɛɛ* ‘big’ (Adj) renders it a noun i.e. nominalized adjective. It is worth saying that the categories outlined above may be solid (combinative) open (isolative), or hyphenated. A compound is said to be solid when the underlying constituents are written together in the surface level. On the other hand, open compounds remain open or isolated in the resultant nominal. Additionally, hyphenated compounds are those compounds having hyphens in-between the constituents at the output level (see Hayes, 2009: 106; Lieber, 2009; Katamba, 1993; Mathews, 1991). For example, long-term, African-American, far-flung, etc.

2.3.3 Borrowing

It is arguable that no language is static; a static language dies somewhere along the line. In other words, language develops to respond to the changing trends brought about by factors including globalization, modernisation or technological advancement (Bureau of Ghana Languages, 1995; Osam,

Agyekum & Apenteng, 2011). Borrowing is another word formation process through which a language adds to its lexicon as opined by Fromkin, Hyam and Rodman (2011: 54) that “when one language adds a word or a morpheme from another language to its lexicon, it increases the lexicon of the language”. Mensah (2016) points out that the borrowed words can go through the process of nativisation to suit the phonological rules of the language into which the word was borrowed. Additionally, it is not only phonological rules that the borrowed words undergo. There are also morphological processes that may occur in the borrowed words which include nominal inflection, verbal inflection and negation (see Amfo & Apenteng, 2014: 228-235). We can therefore argue that borrowing is not only a phonological phenomenon as claimed by scholars such as Uffman (2006) but a morphological one as well. Adomako (2008: 25) therefore gives out the major repair strategies in borrowed words as vowel epenthesis, consonant deletion, vowel lengthening, and non-native segmental adaptation. Amfo and Apenteng (2014) observe that the Akan mostly borrow from English Language in the following domains: education, governance, sports, agriculture, religion, politics, health, security, among others. They also assert that Akan speakers borrow English words to fill semantic gaps, for simplicity and also for prestige. We finally present the data below to exemplify some borrowed words in Akan (from English).

(11)

- | | | | |
|------|---|-----|---|
| i. | wɛda-foɔ
welder-PL
‘welders’ | ii. | Leva bladɛse-foɔ
Lever brothers-PL
‘Lever borthers’ |
| iii. | rɛfirii-nom
referee-PL
‘referees’ | iv. | lanseman-nom
linesman-PL
‘linesmen’ (Amfo & Apenteng, 2014) |

Other examples that have been borrowed (into Akan) from some languages other than English are exemplified in 12 below:

(12)

	Borrowed word	Source
i.	donkomi	Hausa
ii.	tɔfeakwa	Igbo
iii.	mpɔɛgo	Portuguese
iv.	trɔtrɔ	Ga

(Source: Researcher)

2.3.4 Reduplication

Reduplication also referred to as *repetition compound* (Fabb, 1998) is another morphological process which is common in, for instance, Kwa and Chadic languages (Aziaku, 2016). Dolphyne (1988: 124) defines reduplication as “a type of compound formation which consists of the repetition of the whole or part of a stem”. Reduplication is generally noted to be a morphological process (Singh, 2003; Rubino, 2005). In terms of typology, reduplication according to Rubino (2005) are of two types. These are full reduplication and partial reduplication. The full reduplication is a complete repetition of the stem while partial reduplication has to do with a repetition of only a part of a stem (Fabb, 1998; Osam, Agyekum & Marfo, 2013; Aziaku, 2016). Examples of both cases are as follows:

A. Partial reduplication:

(13)

	Base form	Reduplicated form	Gloss
i.	Mene	<i>Memene</i>	swallow
ii.	foro	<i>Foforo</i>	Climb
iii.	kyene	<i>Kyenyene</i>	to be hard/stiff

B. Full reduplication:

(14)

	Base form	Reduplicated form	Gloss
i.	Pa	Papa	Good
ii.	Ten	Tenten	Long
iii.	abosom	abosomabosom	Deities
iv.	bu	Bubu	Cut

As seen from the table above, most Akan lexical categories (major word class) can be reduplicated and the reduplicant (i.e. affixal copy of the base as in ‘A’) is prefixed to the base (Adomako, 2012). Osam et. al (2013), Abakah (2003), Dolphyne (1988), etc. observe that Akan verbs and adjectives can be reduplicated as many times as breadth would allow. Notwithstanding this, the longest verbal and adjectival reduplicative forms can be segmented into three identifiable parts (Dolphyne, 1988) so that we can have the following examples:

(15)

	1 st Reduplicated Form	2 nd reduplicated Form	3 rd reduplicated form	Gloss
i.	bobɔ	bobɔbobɔ	bobɔbobɔbobɔ	hit
ii.	keka	Kekakeka	kekakekakeka	bite
iii.	tuntum	Tuntumtuntum	tuntumtuntumtuntum	black

Further, Aziaku (2016) notes that reduplication can co-occur with affixation that presumably interferes with the canonical consecutive of reduplicated forms. A similar observation can be made in Akan. There are instances where Akan reduplicated forms are affixed (i.e. prefixing, suffixing or both) to the base/stem. For example, the nominal prefix *n-* can be affixed to the reduplicated form *kyerɛkyerɛ* ‘teach’ to be nominalized as *nkyerɛkyerɛ* ‘teachings’. In the same vein, the affixes *a-* and *-foɔ* (plural marking affixes) can be attached to the reduplicated form *kyerɛkyerɛ* to derive *akyerɛkyerɛfoɔ* ‘teachers’.

We have so far discussed some properties of reduplication without touching on its functions. We now give some functions of reduplication. Dansieh (2010):

164) echoes that in terms of function, “reduplication can be considered as a morphological process with certain grammatical functions such as plurality, intensification, iteration and augmentation”. Dolphyne (1988) and Boakye (2015) share the same view by asserting that Akan reduplicated forms may be for plurality as in *wu ~ wuwu* ‘die’; for intensification as in *ketewa ~ keteketekete* ‘very tiny’; for a repetition of action as in *bo ~ bobo* ‘hit repeatedly’ and so on.

2.4 Etymology

Crystal (2008: 75) defines etymology as “a term traditionally used for the study of origins and history of the form and meaning of words”. The term etymology is derived from the Greek words *etymon* and *logia* which has English equivalences ‘original form’ and ‘study of’ respectively. Jandah and Joseph (2005) also conceive etymology as the study of origin of words and the way in which their meanings have changed throughout history. This means that studying names etymologically is relevant not only for getting knowledge about how the words have changed their form and meaning but also for finding out the sociocultural conditions that motivated the composition of the names (Aziaku, 2016). Additionally, the etymology of names can be analysed from both scientific and non-scientific viewpoints (Aziaku, 2016). The non-scientific analysis is given the title ‘folk etymology’ which means that the meanings provided are based on conjunctures as a result of the continuous observation of the referent.

We have thus far discussed the concept of morphology and some word formation processes as well as etymology. We use the following subsection to explore the concept of phonology and some phonological processes.

2.5 The concept of phonology

Phonology is the study of the sound system and the ways we can discover the unconscious systems underlying speech (Katamba, 1989; Hayes, 2009). This means that there is a vast amount of unconscious knowledge individuals possess about the sounds of their language and how they interact. According to Denham et. al (2013), phonology is a system of rules underlying the sound patterns in a language. That is, speech sounds are not generally used in isolation; we string sounds together to make words and sentences. Phonology can also be defined as the systematic study of speech sounds of a particular language, and how these sounds are combined to form larger units like the syllable, word, etc. (O'Grady et. al, 2011). That is, in phonology, we are not just interested in how the various speech sounds of a language are produced but also the phonotactics or the possible combinations of these sounds in a word. Phonology is language-specific, for instance, the possible combinations of sounds in language A may not be applicable to language B, if A and B are supposedly languages in the world. There are of course various phonological rules or processes that pervade in every natural language. These processes include but not limited to segment deletion (elision) or insertion, vowel harmony, nasalization, palatalization, labialization, homorganic nasal assimilation, vowel raising or lengthening, and dissimilation (Abakah, 2003). The following sub-section briefly discusses the syllable structure of Akan, after which some of phonological processes that have been mentioned are explored.

2.5.1 The syllable structure of Akan

Akan has open syllables. According to Dolphyne (1988) and Abakah (2005), consonants in Akan, thus, cannot occur at syllable-final (coda) or morpheme-final position other than a consonant which is syllabic or a sonorant (e.g. /m n w r/). There are three basic types of syllables in Akan. These are vowel (V), as in *ti.e* ‘listen’, consonant (C) as in *ta.m* ‘to take’, and consonant vowel (CV) as in *ko* ‘go’ (Dolphyne, 1988; Abakah, 2004; Marfo, 2013; Adomako, 2015). Let us notice that the tone bearing unit (TBU) in Akan is the syllable (Dolphyne, 1988; Marfo, 2013). The work by Paster (2010), however, suggest that the TBU in Akan is the mora.

2.5.2 Elision

Elision is one of the phonological processes which is very productive in most languages including Akan. Mathews (1997: 111) defines elision as “a process by which a vowel at the end of a word is lost, or elided before another vowel at the beginning of a word that follows”. This definition is tentatively unsatisfactory as Mathews specifies only one of the several phonetic environments in which the process of elision occurs. Moreover, it is not only vowels that end a first word that delete but also vowels that begin a second word are equally deletable as the case in Akan (Dolphyne, 1988; Abakah, 2004). Abakah (2004: 182) defines elision as “a phonological process by which a consonant and sometimes a syllable which is an intrinsic property of a morpheme in the isolative style is dropped in the combinative style”. We can deduce from the definition that in a connected or fast speech, consonants and even vowels are also subject to elision as the case in Akan.

In Akan, elision occurs word-internally, and at morpheme or word boundary and word-finally whether in colloquial, formal, careful or careless speech situation (Dolphyne, 1988; Abakah, 2004; Marfo, 2013). We exemplify the said environments in which elision occurs in Akan.

In Twi dialects, when a word has CV.CV structure and the second consonant is a sonorant (e.g. m, n, r, w), the vowel in the second syllable or the whole syllable is often deleted in the phonetic form as has been exemplified below:

(16)

	A	B	Gloss
i.	(e)tire	ti	Head
ii.	horo	ho	Wash
iii.	hunu	hu	See
iv.	firi	fi	go out

The illustrations below further showcase the elision process in the words in (16) above:

(17)

'head'	'see'	'wash'	Gloss
/etire/	/hunu/	/hɔrɔ/	UR
re	nu	rɔ	CV2 elision (in stem)
[eti]	[hu]	[hɔ]	PR

It can be seen from (17) that the second syllables (CV2) *re*, *nu*, and *rɔ* in the base forms *etire*, *hunu* and *hɔrɔ* have respectively undergone elision to realize *eti*, *hu*, and *hɔ* as displayed in the phonetic representations.

Dolphyne (1988), Marfo and Yankson (2008), Marfo (2013) among others contend that some Akan words with CV.CV structure are realized as CrV in the phonetic form (casual speech). In this case, the vowel in the first syllable (of CV.CV) is elided in the surface level as has been exemplified below:

(18)

	CV.CV	CrV	Gloss
i.	pera	pra	Sweep
ii.	kuro	kro	Town
iii.	berε	brε	Time

As could be seen from the above, the second column subscribes to the phonetic realization of the CV.CV syllable structure (i.e. CrV) and it is the optimal form in the normal or casual speech in terms of native-speaker intuition (Marfo, 2013). Below are illustrations which further provide evidence as to how the elision occurs in this regard.

(19)

'sweep'	'town'	'time'	Gloss
/pira/	/kuro/	/birε/	UR
ɪ	u	ɪ	V1 (of CV.CV) elision
[pra]	[kro]	[brε]	PR

In (19), it can be revealed that all the stems which have CV.CV structure have been surfaced as CrV. That is, the first vowels (V1) *ɪ*, *u*, and *ɪ* in the base forms *pira*, *kuro* and *birε* are respectively deleted to derive the surface forms *pra*, *kro*, and *brε*. Again, in compounding, when the first compound member has CV.CV syllable form and the second consonant is an approximant, (or sonorant), the whole syllable (σ_2) is often deleted in the resulting compound. Moreover, vowels at morpheme boundary can also delete in the resultant nouns as we show examples below:

(20)

	Base forms	Gloss	Compound form	Gloss
i.	(e)tire + bɔne	head + bad	tibɔne	bad luck
ii.	aduro + to	medicine + throw	adutoɔ	Attempt to kill via sorcery

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|---------------|----------|----------|
| iii. | yareε + mpa | illness + bed | Yarepa | sick bed |
| iv. | kεseε + asem | big + talk | akesesεm | big talk |

In addition to the deletion of the second CV in the first compound member, it could also be seen from the data above that when the second compound element has a prefix (i.e. nasal or vowel-initial), this prefix is also often deleted in the resulting compound as in iii and iv. The following illustration further exemplifies this observation.

(21)

‘bad luck’	‘sick bed’	‘big talk’	Gloss
/(e)tire + bɔni/	/yarie + mpa/	/kesie + asem/	UR
re	-	-	CV elision
-	ε, m	-	V#C elision
-	-	ε, a	V#V elision
[tibɔni]	[yaripa]	[akesisεm]	PR

In the first column in (21), when the base forms *etire* and *bɔni* compounded, the syllable *re* of *etire* dropped to produce the phonetic form *tibɔni*. In the second column too, before the base forms *yarie* and *mpa* merged to derive the phonetic form *yaripa*, the segments ε (word-final vowel/suffix) in *yarie* and m (word-initial nasal/prefix) in *mpa* got deleted. Additionally, it could be observed from the third column in (21) above that the vowels ε in *kesie* and a in *asem* at word boundary elided to yield *akesisεm* at the phonetic representation.

2.5.3 Homorganic nasal assimilation

In languages, there are cases where speakers adjust the place of articulation of a nasal in anticipation of the place of articulation of a following consonant and this is termed *Homorganic nasal assimilation* (Katamba, 1989; Archangeli & Pulleyblank, 1994). Homorganic nasal assimilation (henceforth HNA) thus occurs when a nasal adopts the place of articulation of the following consonant.

In this light, Bota (2002) notes that there are two types of nasals which are the *N-Morpheme* and the *Already-Associated Nasal*. She explains the former as the morpheme whose place of articulation is not specified and that it receives its place of articulation from the consonant that follows it. The latter, on the other hand, is the nasal which has a specified place of articulation but changes to agree with the neighbouring consonant with regard to places of articulation (Appah, 2003). In Akan HNA is directed leftward or in a regressive manner (Dolphyne, 1988; Abakah, 2002 Adomako, 2013). This means that for instance, in ‘AB’ where A and B are speech sound features, ‘A’ becomes ‘B’ (i. e. AB → BB). In the examples that follow, an underlying nasal prefix noted as /N/ adopts the place of articulation of the stem-initial consonants in the surface form.

(22)

Underlying Representation (UR)	Phonetic Representation (PR)	Gloss
i. N-frama	mframa	wind
ii. N-kosua	ɔkosua	eggs
iii. N-paboa	Mpaboa	a pair of shoes

Aside from stems, HNA can also occur in Akan compound words (Dolphyne, 1988; Marfo, 2005; Appah, 2003). In this light, a final nasal in a preceding compound member takes the place of articulation of an initial consonant in the following compound member. In other words, the final nasal in the first compound word is replaced in the compound by a nasal that is homorganic with the following consonant as exemplified below:

(23)

Base forms	Gloss	Compound form	Gloss
i. asem + ka	word + say	aseŋka	statement/preaching

- ii. adwene + mind + good adwempa good idea
papa⁷
- iii. kɔn + pɔ neck + knot kɔmpɔ goitre

2.5.4 Nasalization of voiced plosives and affricates

With this assimilatory process in Akan a voiced plosive or stop becomes a nasal with the specification of a nasal prefix and/or a final nasal in a preceding word (i.e. in compounding) (Dolphyne, 1988; Appah, 2003; Bodomo & Marfo, 2006). Bodomo and Marfo (2006) term this process as *Voiced-to-Nasal Assimilation*. We first deal with a nasal prefix. Here, the nasalization occurs when a nasal prefix is attached to a stem or base having initial oral consonant or voiced plosives (i.e. obstruent). For example, [d] in *dua* ‘tree’ becomes [n] with a plural nasal prefix, [n-] i.e. *dua* → *ndua* → *nnua* ‘trees’. Similarly, [b] in *bu* ‘break’ becomes [m] with negative nasal prefix [m-], i.e. *bu* → *mbu* → *mmu* ‘don’t break’. In Akan (esp. Akuapem and Asante) compounds too, a voiced obstruent takes on the manner of articulation of the nasal that precedes it (Bodomo & Marfo, 2006). That is, in Akan compounds, a plosive or affricate at stem initial in the following compound member is assimilated into a nasal when there is a final nasal in the preceding compound member as in the following examples:

(24)

	Base forms	Gloss	Compound form	Gloss
i.	asem + dua	issue + wood	Asennua	stem/base
ii.	okyim + gye	doubt + receive	Akyinnye	disbelief
iii.	nsem + bɔne	issues + evil	nsemɔne	evil deeds

As can be seen from the above data, the HNA process takes place before the nasalization of the voiced plosive or affricate; a kind of bidirectional

⁷ Here, the reduplicated form *papa* is reduced to *pa* at the phonetic level.

assimilation. In *asennua* for instance, the final [m] of *asem* is first replaced by the nasal [n] in order to become homorganic with the initial consonant (i.e. [d] in *dua* ‘wood’) so that *asendua* becomes *asennua*). The vowel harmony rule has also caused /ɛ/ to become /e/ in the phonetic form. It is important to say that unlike HNA which is regressive, voiced-to-nasal assimilation is progressive (rightward directed assimilation). With this, we mean that if ‘AB’ are speech sound features, B becomes A as schematized AB→AA. And again, whereas HNA involves place of articulation, voiced-to-nasal involves manner of articulation (Bodomo & Marfo, 2006).

2.5.5 Vowel harmony

There is an exhaustive literature on Akan vowel harmony. Notable amongst them include: Shactcher and Fromkin (1968), Clements (1984), Dolphyne (1988), Archangeli and Pulleyblank (1994), O’Keefe (2003), Abakah (2003), Ballard (2010), among others. Vowel harmony is a restriction on the distribution of vowels (from two sets) which makes it necessary for vowels in one set and only one set to occur in a word and sometimes a phrase (Dolphyne, 1988; Abakah, 2003). Katamba (1989: 211) posits that vowel harmony “is a process whereby within a designated domain, usually the word, all vowels are required to share one or more phonological properties”. He goes on to point out that the vowels of a language are divided into two mutually exclusive sets and all vowels within a stipulated domain must be either back, high, rounded or unrounded. In Akan, there are two types of harmony which are tongue root harmony or advancement of tongue root (ATR) and Rounding harmony (Abakah, 2003; O’Keefe, 2003). Based on the tongue root harmony, Akan vowels can be classified into two sets as shown below:

Set I [i e o u æ]

Set II [ɪ ɛ ɔ ʊ a]

The Set I vowels are advanced (+ATR) whereas the Set II vowels are unadvanced (-ATR). This means that during the production of Set I vowels, the root of the tongue is pushed forward whilst in producing the Set II vowels, the root of the tongue is not pushed forward (Dolphyne, 1988; Abakah, 2003; Ballard, 2010). We reiterate that due to the restriction on the distribution of vowels, only [+ATR] or [-ATR] vowels normally occur in Akan stems as exemplified below:

(25)

	[+ATR]	Gloss	[-ATR]	Gloss
i.	efie	house	ɛfiɛ	vomit
ii.	owuo	death	ɛwʊ	honey
iii.	koko	porridge	kʊkʊ	chest

Based on Rounding harmony, Akan vowels can be divided into two; rounded and unrounded. The rounded vowels are /o, ɔ, u, ʊ/ and unrounded ones are /i, ɪ, e, ɛ, æ, a/. Like ATR, in terms of Rounding harmony, only one set of vowels normally appear in Akan stems as in the data below:

(26)

	+Round	Gloss	-Round	Gloss
i.	oyuo	antelope	esie	ant hill
ii.	fufuo	white	æni	eye
iii.	ɔhɔhʊ	stranger	sisie	waste

Dolphyne (1988), O’Keefe (2003), among others posit that rounding harmony mostly occurs in Fante, and therefore, in this thesis, we will not delve much into that.

The foregoing discussion has been based on the description of vowel harmony in stems. We subsequently focus our discussion on Akan vowel harmony

regarding affixal morphemes and compounding as Abakah (2003: 76) aptly asserts that “vowel harmony in stems do not really provide any basis for any convincing argument that the language has a VH system inasmuch as the fact that vowels in each set of words come from a particular set could be purely accidental”. Akan is noted for its affixations (Osam, 2003; Bodomo & Marfo, 2006). O’Keefe (2003), in dealing with Akan vowel harmony, groups Akan affixes into verbal affixes (pronominal, future, progressive, perfect ingressive and egressive), nominal prefixes (singular/plural), verbal suffixes (past, nominalizing), and nominal suffixes (Asante nominal, person, diminutive, personal pronoun, kinship plural). We extract the following examples from O’Keefe (2003: 10) to support the idea of the ATR harmony between the prefix and the stem or base in the Asante dialect.

- (27)
- | | | | |
|------|------|-------------|--------------|
| i. | +ATR | mi-di (Hab) | ‘I eat’ |
| ii. | +ATR | me-di (Fut) | ‘I will eat’ |
| iii. | -ATR | mɪ-kɔ (Hab) | ‘I go’ |
| iv. | -ATR | mɛ-kɔ (Fut) | ‘I will go’ |

As could be seen from the data above, the vowels in the stems are harmonic with vowels in the pronominal prefixes. That is to say, vowels in pronominal prefixes take the [ATR] Specification of the various words they attach to.

In Akan compound words too, the process of vowel harmony does occur. That is, when two or more words are concatenated to form another distinct word, vowels in preceding units normally adopt the [ATR] specification of the vowels in the succeeding units and this makes VH a regressive rule in Akan (Dolphyne, 1988; Abakah, 2003; Adomako, 2008). We exemplify vowel harmony in Akan compounds below:

(28)

	Base forms	Gloss	Output	Gloss
i.	asɛm + hunu	case + empty	asenhunu	nonsense
ii.	bɔ + edin	mention + name	abodin	title
iii.	odwar + nini	sheep + male	dwenini	ram
iv.	tɔ + di	buy + eat	ntonnie	to buy and eat

Although vowel harmony as a phonological process is very productive in Akan, there are cases where it fails to apply. That is, there are some exceptions to vowel harmony rule in Akan. We therefore give examples of the exceptions and refer readers to Dolphyne (1988), Abakah (2003) and Adomako (2008) among others for an elaborative discussion. Dolphyne (1988) and O’Keefe (2003) point out that there are consistent violators of harmony within stems. O’Keefe (2003) identifies /a/ as the first violator within some stems in Akan. That is, vowels which occur before the unadvanced vowel /a/ are often advanced and this violates the rule as has been exemplified below:

(29)

- i. bisa ‘ask’
- ii. kura ‘hold’

The second harmony violator he notes is /ɛ/ which also violates the harmony due to alignment of vowels and that the vowel only appears after consonants which are palatalized within this context. For example, in words such as *pinkyɛ* ‘come close’ and *nyinsɛn* ‘pregnancy’, there is a kind of disharmony between the vowels /i/ (advanced) and /ɛ/ (unadvanced). Again, whenever affixes such as -nɔm, -fɔɔ, -ni etc. are attached to some stems, it normally causes disharmony between the vowels in the stems and the suffixes. We give examples below:

(30)

- i. æ-sukuu-fɔɔ ‘students’
- ii. æ-nua-nɔm ‘siblings’
- iii. Fantɪ-ni ‘a person from Fante’

As could be seen from the examples above, through the suffixation, both advanced and unadvanced vowels have been mixed up leading to the disharmony.

We have thus far attempted to describe the various morphological as well as phonological concepts. In the following section, we endeavour to review some of the previous works done in relation to the current study.

2.6 Previous works on personal names

In Ghana and beyond, many scholars have studied the socio-cultural or sociolinguistics (and anthropological) aspects of personal names. Notable among them include Egblewogbe (1977), Akinnaso (1980), Suzman (1994), Schottman (2000), Obeng (2001), Agyekum (2006), etc. They conclude that clearly, names are not mere labels, they are a true reflection of the socio-cultural milieu of the people of a particular society. Apart from studying the social aspect of personal names, some scholars have also studied the grammatical rules that govern personal names. In the following paragraphs, we strive to review some previous works done cross-linguistically on personal names from the grammatical perspective.

An aspect of Agbedor and Johnson (2005) discusses Ewe personal names from the grammatical perspective. They report that Ewe personal names may have linguistic structures which are complex and their complexity is as a result of socio-cultural information they convey. They therefore categorize Ewe personal names into two grammatical groups which are nominals and sentences. According to them, the nominal group constitutes names that are derived from simple nouns, compound nouns and complex noun phrases. They add that some

morphological and syntactic rules underlie the derivation of complex personal names in Ewe. They cite an example that the personal name *Vigbedɔ* is derived from the relative clause:

- (31) *Vi si gbe dɔ*
Child Rel. refuse work
'A child who refuses errands' (Agbedor & Johnson, 2005: 173).

They report that in deriving a name from a relative clause, the underlying relative clause is clipped to obtain the output form. That is, the relative pronoun *si* in this sense, is covert when surfaced. Similarly, in Akan, some honorific expressions are observed to be clausal (Agyekum, 2003; Anyidoho, 1991). It could therefore be predicted in this thesis that such linguistic phenomenon is likely to occur in deriving the Akan honorific for God. However, the analysis of the data in chapter four will bring to bear whether or not the relative clause marker is clipped to obtain the surface form as the case in Ewe.

Caesar (2019) also examines Dangme allusive names from morphosyntactic perspective. Caesar observes that Dangme allusive names may be mono-morphemic, di-morphemic and poly-morphemic. She identifies mono-morphemic allusive names in Dangme as *Kɔli* 'an expressive and valuable bead', *Odehe* 'A great one', *Juɛni* 'jewellery' etc. (Caesar, 2019: 62). She notes that such names are metaphoric and become more explicit when put in context. She cites example that when the name *Kɔli* is put in context, it could be expressed as 'you are the most valuable thing that I have ever had in life.' Regarding di-morphemic allusive names, Caesar identifies compounding and affixation as the two morphological processes underlying such names. For instance, the name *Sikayo* 'A rich woman' was analysed as a Noun-Noun compound where the first noun modifies the second noun (i.e. Head NP) as in:

- (32) Sika + yo → Sikayo
NP + NP
Money + woman
'A rich woman' (Caesar, 2019: 163)

With allusive names having poly-morphemic structure, Caesar (2019) points out that such names, as in Ewe, are made up of phrases, clauses and sentences. According to her, the clauses and sentences in this case also function as declarative, imperative and interrogative structures. She exemplifies Dangme allusive names with poly-morphemic structure as:

- (33) O hi pe ni → Ohipeni
you good than things
'You are worth more than riches' (Caesar, 2019: 66)

The above structure, according to the author, constitutes the structure of sentential affirmative declarative allusive names having free morphemes which are composed of members of the word class. In her syntactic analysis, she reports that there are Dangme allusive names which are in imperative negative forms. With this, she points out clearly that in Dangme, *ko* and *koo* 'do not' are the imperative negative markers and the choice of any depends on the tone of the verb it negates. She goes on to say that *ko* precedes a monosyllabic verb with a high tone. Also, *ko* can occur with a di-syllabic which bears the high tone either in both syllables or in the first syllable of di-syllabic word. In contrast, *koo* according to Caesar, precedes a mono syllabic verb which bears a low or mid tone, mid-low tone, low-high tone and mid-high tone (Caesar, 2019: 79). Although her analysis was not phonological, we opine that since tone plays a vital role in that regard, it could have been much appropriate to show examples of such verbs being marked with the various tone melodies she makes mention of, so that, non-native readers for instance could really get a fair idea of her

assertion. Akan word *papa* for instance, has multiple senses; it could mean ‘father’, ‘fan’, and ‘good’. The tone assigned to it could thus, be very useful in identifying its particular sense.

Mwangi (2015) also examines the linguistic structure of Gikuyu (of Kenya) personal names regarding morphological constructions, their modifications and general developments. Affixation, derivation, compounding and reflexivization are the various morphological processes he identifies in Gikuyu personal names. He adds that Gikuyu personal names are mostly derived from nouns, verbs and adjectives (but not adverbs). With regard to affixation, Mwangi (2015) reveals that some common nouns are transformed into personal names without any change being performed on them. In other words, these names, according to the author, do not undergo any kind of affixation and therefore they are referred to as non-derivable names or names with zero affixation. They become ungrammatical in trying to break them into further morphemes. He gives examples as, *Ngigi* ‘locust’, *Ngina* ‘bean’, *Ngugi* ‘public work’, etc. He further posits that names in this category refer to common nouns including names of plants, animals, body-parts and other inanimate objects. Like Gikuyu personal names, we observe that some Akan personal names such as *Dua*, ‘tree’, *Pɔnko* ‘horse’, *Gyata* ‘lion’ *Nantwi* ‘cow’, *Mframa* ‘wind’, *Sika* ‘money’ etc. can also be classified under this category, in that they are non-derivable names. Other examples are in the form of death-prevention names in Akan such as *Sumina* ‘garbage’, *Kuntu* ‘trapping stick’, *Waduro* ‘mortar’, *Nanka* ‘snake’ etc. (Obeng, 1998, 2001; Agyekum, 2006). Agyekum (2006) and Obeng (2001) aptly assert that such names may reflect the sociocultural aspect or philosophy of the Akan. A close look at the study also reveals a unique linguistic phenomenon which

may not be productive in Akan. That is, in Gikuyu, the prefix (*nya-*) can be attached to the masculine personal names *Mweru*, *Kairu* and *Kiriga* to derive the feminine variants *Nya-mweru* ‘a white female’, *Nya-kairu* ‘a black female’, and *Nya-kiriga* ‘unknown female’ respectively. In Akan, however, the feminine markers such as *-aa*, *-waa*, *-maa* etc. are suffixed (but not prefixed) to the male personal names to derive their female counterparts (Agyekum, 2006; Adomako, 2017) as has been exemplified below:

(34)

	Masculine name	Feminine name
i.	Antwi	Antwiwaa
ii.	Sapɔn	Sapɔmaa
iii.	Tweneboa	Tweneboaa

Akomolafe and Fajobi (2018) explore the phonological processes embedded in the anglicized Yoruba Personal Names (AYPNs). Their study reveals that AYPNs undergo phonological processes which include substitution, epenthesis, contraction, elision, resyllabification and stress-shift. To add to this, they observe that majority of the names undergo more than one of the phonological processes. They also argue that though in terms of structure, the AYPNs are more English than Yoruba, they are nevertheless, pronounced with Yoruba tone rather than stress by most of their respondents. They claim that the names in the table below undergo substitution, epenthesis, and contraction simultaneously.

(35)

Original name	Transcription	Number of syllables	Anglicized name	Transcription	Number of syllables
i. Abayomi	[abajɔmi]	4	Yomex	[jɔmeks]	2
ii. Boluwatife	[boluwatife]	5	Bolex	[bɔuleks]	2
iii. Temitope	[temitɔpɛ]	4	Topsy	[tɔpsɪ]	2

(Source: Akomolafe & Fajobi, 2018)

Akomolafe and Fajobi (2018) make the following comments about the data above. To start with, in (i), the first two syllables in the original version have been elided. This accounts for the reduction in the number of syllables from four (i.e. /a+ba+jɔ+mi/) to two (i.e. /jɔm + eks/) in the anglicized version. Besides, according to them, the peak of the final syllable in the original name (i.e. /mi/) which is an unrounded close front vowel /i/ in Yoruba vowel inventory has been substituted with the unrounded half-open front vowel /e/ in the anglicized version as in Yomex. Also, Akomolafe and Fajobi (2018) assert that there is insertion of the voiceless velar plosive /k/ and voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ in the anglicized version of the same item. Additionally, they reveal that out of the 50 names they analysed, they find 8 anglicized names having consonant clusters whilst 15 are uttered with codas (e.g. shegz /ʃegz/) which does not conform to Yoruba phonotactic rules. Thus, there are no consonant clusters or codas in Yoruba words or lexical items. Similarly, some anglicized Akan personal names are distant from the original names both in orthography, morphology and/or phonology (Agyekum, 2006). The spelling of some Akan personal names are for instance, characterised with some English alphabet and sounds as has been exemplified below:

(36)

	<u>Original name</u>	<u>Anglicized form</u>
i.	Fɔdwoɔ	Fordjour
ii.	Akyampon	Acheampong
iii.	Kofi	Quofi
iv.	ɔkyere	Otchere
v.	Kodua	Koduah

(Agyekum, 2006)

From the table above, we could see some alphabet clusters like [ch, dj, tch] which are not permissible in Akan orthography. Moreover, [g] and [h] do not occur at (orthographic) word-final in Akan, and there is no [q] in Akan alphabets. The studies reviewed so far do not include Akan. We therefore shift attention to review some previous works on Akan personal names in the domain of grammar, particularly, morphophonemics.

Obeng (1997) examines morphophonological processes in Akan hypocoristic day-names. The study points out that during hypocorisation in Akan, such morphological processes as compounding and reduplication occur. Also, phonologically, processes such as segment deletion, tonal change and vowel harmony take place in the Akan hypocoristic day-names. On the issue of compounding, Obeng (1997) claims that apart from Thursday-born female name *Yaa*, all the other feminine day-names have hypocoristic forms which are compounds derived by attaching ‘*awuraa*’ (in Ak/As) or ‘*ewuraba*’ (in Fa) to the non-hypocoristic day-names. For example, in forming ‘*ewureesi*’ (Fa), one combines ‘*ewuraba*’ and ‘*esi*’ and thereafter, deletes the syllable ‘*ba*’ of ‘*ewuraba*’ and ‘*a*’ of the syllable ‘*ra*’ is then assimilated into ‘*e*’ (+ATR harmony). This is, however, not the case in Twi. That is, in Twi, the paper claims that the final syllable ‘*a*’ in ‘*awuraa*’ is rather deleted. He gives example as in ‘*awuraaama*’ being surfaced as ‘*awuraama*’.

Also, Obeng (2001) partly discusses Akan political anthroponyms in terms of pragmatics and morphosyntax. He states that from the morphophonological viewpoint, like Akan nouns, such morphophonological processes as compounding, deletion, tonal change, vowel harmony among others, take place in Akan political anthroponyms. Regarding deletion, for instance, Obeng gives

an example that it can be observed from the underlying form of a name *Safari* (i.e. ɔsa 'war' + Ofori 'a personal name') that the initial vowels of both compound units are deleted. Although Obeng (2001) observes Akan political anthroponyms to undergo such morphophonological processes that have been mentioned above, he does not in that regard, analyze the names other than the one example he cites. The names under the current study are similar to these political anthroponyms and therefore, such phonological properties could also be predicted to occur in the names.

Additionally, Adomako (2015) examines some morphophonological processes in Akan personal names (APNs), with reference to family-names and day-names concatenations. Truncation, vowel harmony, and compensatory lengthening are some of the morphophonological processes he identifies at the phonetic level of the APNs. He posits that whenever a day-name and a surname (family name) are concatenated, there is the case of elision at the morpheme boundaries and word-internally. Adomako (2015) further discusses two phonological processes in APNs (day-name + surname). These are compensatory lengthening and ATR harmony. He observes that when the base surname is disyllabic, it preserves its syllable structure in the truncated form through compensatory lengthening. With regard to ATR harmony, Adomako again, observes that in truncated form of APNs, the spread is from leftward to rightward but not vice versa. This claim adds to what has been noted earlier by authors such as Dolphyne (1988) and Marfo (2004) that it is the [+ATR] feature which usually spreads from leftward to rightward in Akan phrasal words. See chapter four for examples.

Adomako (2017) again, examines the morphophonological processes in the derivation of some female family-name formation in Akan. In the study,

phonological processes identified in the female family-name formation are lenition/b-softening and nasalization. He claims that in Asante variant, the underlying /-baa/ (suffix) surfaces as /-waa/ or /-maa/ in deriving the female family-names (from male family-names). He illustrates it as:

(37)	<u>Base forms</u>	<u>compound form</u>	<u>nasal assimilation</u>	<u>output</u>
a.	sapɔn + baa	sapɔnbaa	sapɔmmaa	sapɔmaa
b.	agyei + baa	agyeibaa	-	agyeiwaa

It is therefore argued in the paper that in the Asante, /b/, a morpheme initial plosive is never surfaced in female family-name formation.

From the review, it has been brought to bear that although some scholars have strived to analyse Akan personal names from the grammatical point of view, none of them was directed towards the morphophonemics of Akan honorific and title names designated for God. This study, therefore, fills this gap by describing the various word formation rules and their corresponding phonological rules underlying such category of names in Akan.

2.7 Theoretical framework

At this juncture, we discuss the theoretical foundation of the current study. The study is couched within the general theory of Lexical Phonology (LP). We use the next sub-section to discuss the general framework of LP by considering its basic properties or assumptions, tenets, motivations and criticisms.

2.7.1 Lexical Phonology (LP)

The theory of Lexical Phonology (henceforth LP) was developed in the 1980s. The proponents of LP include Kiparsky (1982), Mohanan (1982), Halle and Mohanan (1985), Pulleyblank (1986), among others. A major claim made by the developers of the theory is that there is a symbiotic relationship between the

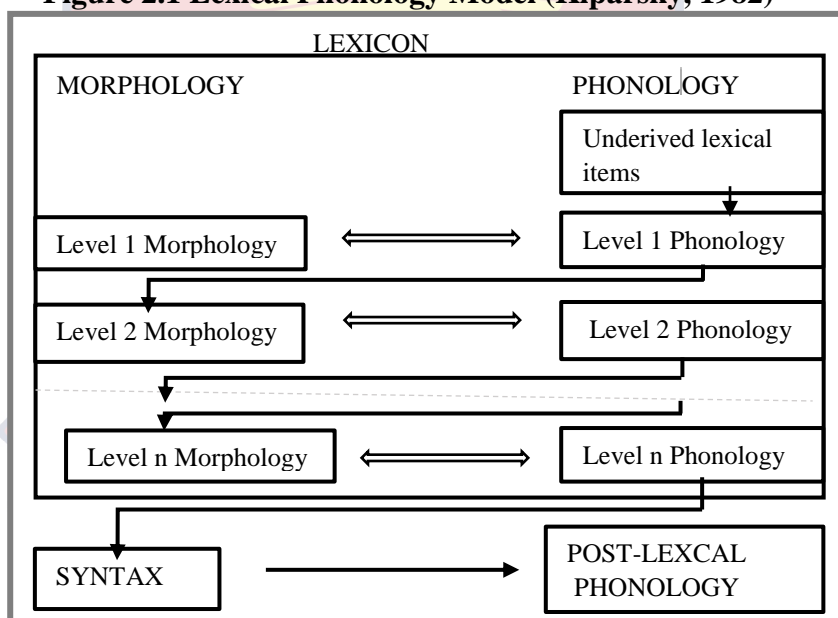
rules that build the morphological structure of a word and the phonological rules responsible for the way a word is pronounced (Kiparsky, 1982, 85; Mohanan, 1982, 86). All these rules are ultimately found in the lexicon where they are organised in blocks called strata (i.e. levels or layers) which are arranged in a hierarchy, one below the other (Siegel, 1974; Pesetsky, 1979).

The theory is an outgrowth of Generative Phonology (henceforth GP). That is, before this theory emerged, another theory was current in the study of linguistics called Generative Phonology introduced by Chomsky and Halle (1968). Although, in principle, the GP and LP are similar (McMahon, 2000), there are, however, criticisms levelled against GP and this led to the birth of LP as an alternative phonological theory. We outline some of the reasons that provided the need for LP in preference to GP. One of the reasons is that in GP, morphology is totally absent without any role assignment to the lexicon. In other words, the GP ignored morphology or it was not given any status. However, according to Mohanan (1982) and Kiparsky (1983), LP attempts to incorporate morphology and phonology in a single frame by giving much prominence to the role of the lexicon. That is, with LP, the lexicon is not just seen as an appendix to grammar whose function is to list what is unpredictable and irregular about the words of a language; rather, is recognised as a central component of the grammar which contains not only idiosyncratic properties of words and morphemes, but also regular word-formation and phonological rules (Katamba, 1989; Giegeich, 1999). Again, as a non-linear theory, GP makes use of boundary markers whilst LP as a linear theory makes use of level ordering in the lexicon. That is, unlike GP, which deals with the difference in the behaviour of affixes in terms of boundary strength, LP approaches it in terms of the ordering of layers

or strata. It is, therefore, assumed that affixes are added at different levels in the lexicon and each level of the lexicon has associated set of morphological rules that do the word-building; and these morphological rules also interplay with a particular set of phonological rules that actually establish the way the structure built by the morphology is to be phonetically realised (Kiparsky, 1982; Pulleyblank, 1986; Inkelas, 2014).

Following Kiparsky (1982), the general structure of LP is sketched and subsequently elaborated below:

Figure 2.1 Lexical Phonology Model (Kiparsky, 1982)



As could be seen from the structure above, LP assumes that there are underspecified lexical items within the lexicon which should be merely listed in the lexicon without going through any word-formation rules.

Again, from the structure, there is a sub-theory of *levels ordering*. In other words, as has already been espoused, LP claims heavily that the lexicon is organised in ordered levels where in each level, there exist an interface of morphology and phonology (i.e. morphology \longleftrightarrow phonology). Katamba (1989:

257) also claims that with LP “both inflectional and derivational word formation processes can be displayed on a series of linked levels or strata”. There is a controversy as to what really constitutes the right number of ordered levels. As a matter of fact, linguists agree that the lexicon is structured into levels but the exact number required is the contentious issue (Katamba, 1993; McMahon, 2000). Having said this, however, we resort to the onion metaphor and agree with Katamba (1989: 258) that:

The word can be likened to an onion with the root of the word as the core and level 1 as the inner layer, level 2 as the outside layer and post-lexical phonology as the skin on the outside.

From this assertion, we can tentatively conclude that there should be at least two ordered levels in the lexicon; and also, since the theory is language-specific, restricting the levels to a specific number could arguably be problematic as word-formation rules in language A may be blind to language B and vice versa. To add to the above submissions, LP, according to Mohanan (1982), is broadly divided into two domains, namely; lexical and post-lexical. The former is when rules apply word-internally (i.e. lexical rules) whereas the latter is when rules apply across word boundaries (when words are put into syntactic phrases). Unlike post-lexical rules, lexical rules are intrinsically cyclic in that they reapply after each step of word-formation at their morphological level. That is, the output of every word-formation process undergoes the respective phonological rules of its level (Kiparsky, 1983; Mohanan, 1986). We now summarize the differences between lexical and post lexical rules and thereafter, make comments where necessary. The lexical and post-lexical rules can be distinguished as follows (adopted from Kiparsky, 1983; Hargus & Kaisse, 1993: 16)

(38)

Lexical rules	Post-Lexical rules
1. Word bounded	Not word bounded
2. Access to word-internal structure assigned at the same level	Access to phrase structure only
3. Cyclic	Apply once
4. Precede all post-lexical rules	Follow all lexical rules
5. Structure-preserving	Are not necessarily structure-preserving ⁸
6. May have exceptions	Do not have exceptions (automatic)
7. Apply to only lexical categories	7. Apply to all categories

Unlike lexical rules, post-lexical ones are automatic in the sense that if the necessary phonetic conditions are present, the rule can apply without any blockage in any grammatical contexts. In other words, lexical rules have exceptions because there is hardly a lexical rule that applies to all forms that it could affect in principle. In English for instance, we cannot predict which bases will take the stratum 1 suffix *-th*, and the ones which will not. We can therefore be permitted with forms *leng-th*, *bread-th*, *wid-th* but not **tall-th*, **short-th*, **narrow-th* or **thick-th* (Katamba, 1993). Moreover, Kiparsky (1983) postulates that to say lexical rules apply to lexical categories only, is to mean that such rules apply to (major) lexical categories such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs but not to such categories like pronouns, determinants, complementizers, conjunctions and interjections (i.e. minor word classes/function words). This means that unlike the major word-classes, the minor word-classes fail to enter into any word-formation and phonological rules in the lexicon. For instance, it will be difficult to derive any lexical items from

⁸ Under the tenets of LP this phenomenon has been explained.

words such as *the, he, and, but, oh*, etc. Conversely post-lexical rules can be applicable to both classes of words (i.e. minor and major). We have seen that a rule may apply lexically or post-lexically. A rule may also apply in both instances. That is, we assume that there is a single set of phonological rules, but that any given rule in the set may be defined as applying lexically, post-lexically or both (Kiparsky, 1985; Pulleyblank, 1986; Mohanan, 1986). Hence, the same rule might apply both lexically or post-lexically but manifest different properties in the two cases. We exemplify the case where one rule applies both lexically and post-lexically by pointing to flapping rule in American English:

(39) /t/ → [r] /V _____[-stress]

Here, /t/ is realised as [r] (a voiced consonant which sounds like a very short [d]) whenever it occurs between vowels at the beginning of unstressed syllable. This automatically happens within a single word like [pɪrɪ] ‘pity’ or across a word boundary as in [gɛrɪt] ‘get it’. The foregoing discussion has focussed on the general properties of LP. We now devote the subsequent paragraphs to discuss other basic tenets⁹ of the theory which have not yet been submitted in the above discussions. They include; *The Strict Cycle Condition, Bracket Erasure Convention, Elsewhere Condition* and *Structure Preservation*.

The Strict Cycle Condition (also called Strict Cyclicity) claims that phonological rules can only affect those strings of sounds that are interlinked by a word-formation rule applying at the same level (Salman, 2008). In other words, there is a restriction on the level that should be operational at a goal. That

⁹ It is worth noting that these tenets and other properties of the LP such as levels ordering are not taken up in the current study since they do not have any direct bearing on the analysis or results of the data.

is to say, the Strict Cycle condition makes sure that in the lexicon, level 1 rules for instance, are alternated by structures created by level one morphological processes and level 2 rules may only change structures created by level 2 morphological processes.

Also, the principle of Bracket Erasure Convention, states that in order for a rule to apply, it is not necessary to delve into the derivational history. That is, after application of all rules at a level, the brackets between the morphemes are deleted so that reference to the constituent morphemes become impossible in the subsequent levels or strata (Mohanan & Halle, 1985)

In addition, the Elsewhere Condition is a principle of LP which asserts that, if two rules are competing for the same territory, the more specific rule first applies which then blocks the more general rule (Kiparsky, 1982). That is, a more specific rule is normally applied first and then later the general rule applies elsewhere.

The last is the Structure Preservation Principle in LP. In our earlier discussions, we noticed that lexical rules are structure-preserving. This is because the output of every layer of derivation, being a lexical item, must satisfy the same condition as basic lexical items. Namely, all lexical rules are subject to the phonotactics and other constraints that govern the lexicon as a whole. Katamba (1993: 107), therefore, aptly points out that “there exist canonical phonological patterns of segment structure, syllable structure and prosodic structure that severely restrict the kinds of morphemes and words that can appear in the lexicon of a language”.

Although LP has been tested to be generally applicable and a useful theory (Mohanan, 1982) in the architecture of grammar, there are, however, some

linguists (e.g. Goldsmith 1990, Spencer, 1991) who have critiqued its operations. We look at some of the criticisms of LP below.

Linguists advocate that the lexicon is divided into levels, yet, one of the contentious issues in LP is determining the exact number of strata that are required. In other words, there is lack of unanimity as to how many levels required in the lexicon. In English, for instance, Kiparsky (1982b) proposes three levels, whilst Halle and Mohanan (1985) propose four and in addition introduce the so-called *loop*. Booij and Rubach (1987) also propose two for that same language. Another criticism of the theory is that unlike phonological rules, morphological rules are allowed to operate at only one level. Some scholars defy this claim (Williams, 1981; Strauss, 1982; Katamba, 1993) by opining that just as phonological rules can apply at more than one level, it seems some morphological rules are also not restricted to a single level either. So by extension, the use of Bracket Erasure Convention, according to these opponents, brings with it severe complications, though it has some merits. The last criticism to highlight here is that the theory claims that lexical levels are determined by affixes. Goldsmith (1990) shares an opposing view by asserting that the levels are determined by roots but not affixes.

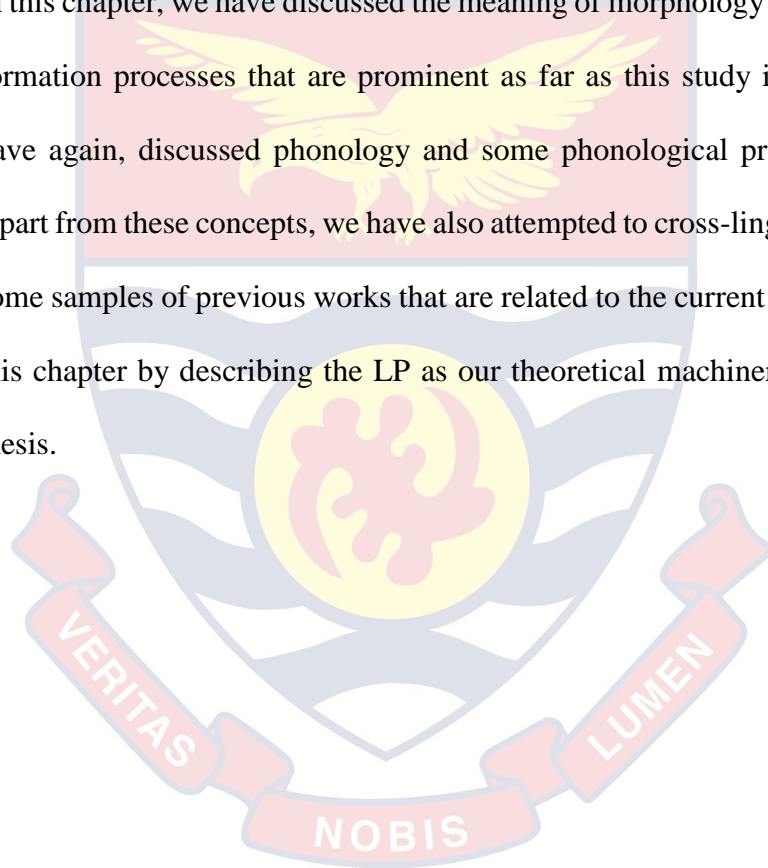
Having discussed some criticisms of the theory, we close this chapter by looking at the motivation for the choice of LP for the current study over other phonological theories such as Mora Theory, Autosegmental Theory, Optimality Theory, etc.

One of the reasons for choosing this theory for the current study lies in the fact that it involves both morphological as well as phonological theories. LP can

therefore best represent our morphophonological concerns as both morphological and phonological rules are brought together into a single framework. Another reason for choosing LP is its flexibility. With this model, we are given the opportunity to formulate our own local rules and that is to say, we give the lexicon a key role to play unlike the case of the GP.

2.8 Summary of chapter

In this chapter, we have discussed the meaning of morphology and various word formation processes that are prominent as far as this study is concerned. We have again, discussed phonology and some phonological processes in Akan. Apart from these concepts, we have also attempted to cross-linguistically review some samples of previous works that are related to the current study. We closed this chapter by describing the LP as our theoretical machinery for the current thesis.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter is about how the data for the current study was collected and processed for the analysis. In this chapter, we describe the various strategies and procedures employed in collecting and handling the data for the study. Specifically, we consider the type of research and research design, sources of data, sample and sampling technique, and research instrument and procedure. In the section that follows, we discuss the research approach and design used in this study.

3.1 Type of research and research design

This current study involves the use of words to describe variables and therefore purely qualitative in nature. To generate a corpus for the study, the ethnographic research design was adopted as the design for the thesis. Creswell (2008) notes that to understand the patterns of a culture-sharing group, the ethnographer typically spends considerable time in the field interviewing, observing, and gathering documents about the group to understand their culture-sharing behaviours, beliefs, and language. It is in this light that we resorted to this design so as to have much insight into the various morphophonemic patterns of the names the Akan as a group of people ascribe to the Supreme God on the basis of their beliefs system or worldview. That is also to say, the ethnographic research design paved way for an interaction between the researcher and some Akan natives who are well-versed in the phenomenon being explored.

3.2 Sources of data

The data for the study was tapped from two sources: primary and secondary sources. The data from the primary source was ascertained by using two main research instruments namely, interviewing and observation (see 3.5 below for their elaborations). On the other hand, data from the secondary source was retrieved from some documented materials including books, articles, thesis (both published and unpublished), among others. Some examples of documented materials which were very useful source of data collection in this thesis include, Akan dictionary written by J. G. Christaller and Asante-Twi Bible published by The Bible Society of Ghana. Other works consulted are Danquah (1968), Adu Darkwa (1973), Sarpong (1974), Nketia (1974, 1978), Obeng (2001), Agyekum (2003, 2006), Appah (2003, 2013), and Ansong et. al (2014).

3.3 Sample and sampling technique

To provide vivid answers to the research questions outlined in chapter one, in all, 20 Akan native speakers living in Ashanti Region, Kumasi¹⁰ and Wiemoase¹¹ to be precise were purposively sampled for the study. In purposive sampling, the researcher intentionally selects potential individuals who could, on the basis of the research objectives, provide adequate information on the subject being inquired (Darlington & Scott, 2002; Patton, 2002). In view of this, the choice of these participants was not only motivated by demographic features such as age and social status or position but also on the basis of their empirical

¹⁰ Kumasi is the Regional Capital of Ashanti and the second largest city in Ghana. It has been the dwelling city of the kings in the Asante Kingdom.

¹¹ Wiemoase is one of the towns in the Sekyere South District of Ashanti where the researcher hails from.

knowledge on the Akan honorific and title names explored in the thesis. It is important to point out that none of these informants was below the age of fifty (50). Moreover, out of these twenty (20) participants, twelve (12) were males whereas three (8) being females. One may contemplate as to why the number in terms of sex was not evenly distributed. We justify this by reiterating that in purposive sampling the researcher decides on the type of subject who will satisfy the specific needs of the study being conducted and picks them to be included in the study. Thus, since we did not randomly select the participants, there could be some kind of gender bias in this context. Additionally, in terms of status or position, two (2) of the participants were reverend ministers; four (4) were traditional priests/priestesses; two (2) of them were curators (both former and present) of The Manhyia Palace; and two (2) were Akyeame (spokespersons). From the remaining ten (10) participants, eight (8) were among other traditional rulers (i.e. either a chief, a queen mother, a clan head or a sub-chief). The last two (2) participants were lecturers from the University of Cape Coast, Department of Ghanaian Languages and Linguistics, Twi section to be specific.

3.4 Research Instrument and Procedure

As said in 3.2 above, interviewing and observation were the two main instruments used in eliciting first-hand information for the current study. We discuss them by starting with interviewing. In educational research, interviewing is one the methods commonly used to obtain knowledge about a certain phenomenon to be explored. With interview, the researcher asks open-ended questions so that the participants can best voice their experiences unconstrained by the perspectives of the researcher of past research findings (Given, 2008; Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

Many different forms of interviewing exist. These include, one-on-one or face-to-face, focus group, over the telephone, and electronic e-mail interviews (Creswell, 2008). Among these forms, the one-on-one and over the telephone were adopted in the study. These forms helped the researcher to access from the participants, the historical information needed for the study. A semi-structured interview guide was used during the interviewing session and this helped the researcher to freely ask follow-up questions without any kind of restrictions. During the interviews, the participants after being briefed about the motive for this research, were asked to identify and narrate the history behind some of the honorific and title names ascribed to creatures (such as kings) that have been metaphorically extended to God. As they narrate, a phone recorder was used to record the conversation by putting the mobile phone on flight mode. And as part of adhering to the ethical issues in educational research, the participants were made known that they were being recorded. However, the information from those who were not conversant with the phone recordings was hand-written as the interaction was ongoing. As has already been pointed out, the interviewing was not only conducted in a face-to-face manner, but also through a telephone conversation. As a matter of fact, some of the participants who were scared to come into contact with the researcher due to a disease outbreak (i.e. COVID-19) at the time of this study were reached on cell phones for the required information. The information gathered from these two avenues was later transcribed and processed for the analysis.

The second instrument that was used to solicit information for the study was observation. In observational studies, researchers collect data on the current status of subjects by either watching them or listening and recording what they

observe rather than asking questions about them (Given, 2008). In view of this, the researcher intuitively observed that in some of the songs sung in Akan, the potential artists normally employ the Akan honorific and title names for God in the lyrics of their songs and therefore, could be very resourceful for the study. The researcher, therefore, identified some of these songs and downloaded them from the youtube. The calibre of songs downloaded included gospel songs, traditional or highlife songs and a few hiplife songs¹². These songs were listened to one at a time and with rapt attention, all the honorific and title names that were featured in them were hand-recorded and processed for the analysis. Aside from this, there were cases where the corpus generated for the current study was sourced from Sunday church services of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Branch Riis Congregation, Wiemoase. During the pilot study, the researcher was able to write down some of the honorific and title names the preachers and singers ascribed to God in the course of the service by the aforementioned church of which the researcher is a member up to now. Again, part of the data for the study was ascertained via the researcher's introspection as Akan native speaker.

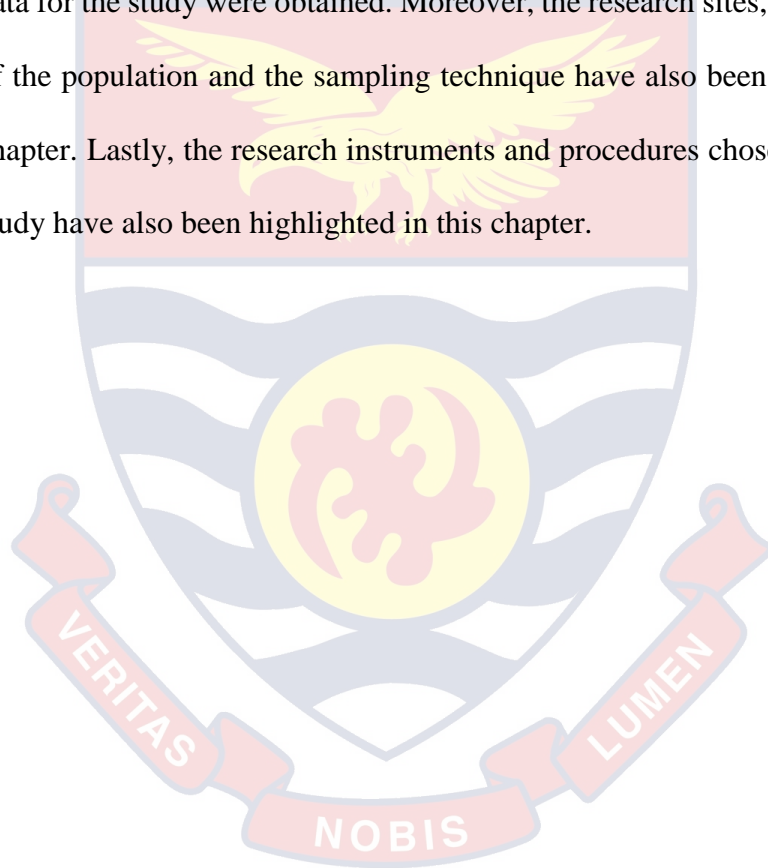
It is worthy to note that all the data collected through the interviews and observation were scanned through the process of *elicitation*. That is to say, to check the accuracy and/or authenticity of the data gathered, it was sent to the researcher's supervisors and together with other lecturers who are well-versed in the Akan language, the data was eventually verified by paying particular

¹² Highlife is a music genre in Ghana that uses the melodic and main rhythmic structures of traditional (Akan) music but is played with Western instruments.
Hiplife is a popular music genre in Ghana that mixes hip-hop beating and rap.

attention to the transcription and/or orthography, and the constructions or expressions which needed modifications were also dealt with.

3.5 Summary of chapter

This chapter was geared towards the various methods and procedures employed in collecting and handling the data for the study. In view of this, we considered in this chapter, the research approach, design and the sources through which the data for the study were obtained. Moreover, the research sites, sample taken out of the population and the sampling technique have also been discussed in this chapter. Lastly, the research instruments and procedures chosen for the current study have also been highlighted in this chapter.



CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter highlights the analysis and discussions on the morphophonemics of Akan honorific and title names for God (henceforth, AHTN-G). The analysis, therefore, involves both morphological as well as phonological properties embedded in the names. The chapter begins with a brief discussion on the etymology of some of the names. The morphological processes involved in the formation of the names are also examined. Further, it explores some phonological processes that occur in the process of deriving the names. The last aspect of this chapter also looks at the formalization of the analysis by couching the discussions within the theoretic machinery of Lexical Phonology (LP).

4.1 Etymology of some AHTN-G

As has already been pointed out in chapter two, to study words etymologically is to shed light on the origin and history of the form and meaning of such words (Crystal, 2008). This sub-section therefore briefly discusses how some of the names attributed to God originated and their associated meanings and extensions in contemporary Akan societies. One question worthy of asking here is, why the need for etymological analysis in this thesis? The reason is simple; to gain insights into the socio-cultural conditions that informed the composition of the names. Although the names have been segmented and discussed morphophonemically in the subsequent sub-sections, it is essential to briefly provide the conceptual orientation of the people on the derivation of the names (see Aziaku, 2016). In other words, inasmuch as personal names reflect the

culture or the sum total experience of a particular society (i.e. Akan), it is much prudent to bring to bear, some of these experiences that led to the coinage or formation of such names especially those that are morpho-semantically complex. This at the long run could help readers to gain fair knowledge about the Akan's ideology, belief, philosophy and worldview about God and how it reflects in the morphology of words in their language.

Etymologically, names are analysed from two perspectives, namely, scientific and non-scientific. The latter is also referred to as *folk etymology* (see chapter two). There is a general assertion that no one has seen God in the physical realm before and so, cross-culturally, God is represented in human and non-human images (i.e. mental pictures) to project His real existence or in an attempt to bridge the gap between His abstractness and concreteness. A close look at the names the Akan ascribe to God reveals that almost all the said names are based on a belief, imagination or perception and hence, fall under the folk-etymology. Having said this, it is observed that in real sense, some of the names may be scientifically derived but becomes non-scientific when metaphorically extended to the Supreme God. For example, the title *Okoforobɔ* 'one who climbs rocky hills whilst fighting' has a historical background in the Asante Kingdom. It was ascribed to a warrior, Nana Ntodi Bosompem of the then Asankare State who was observed to have been climbing mountains or rocks during a warfare. Thus, his performance at war earned him this title and has since been attributed to subsequent chiefs in Asankare State as a stool name (Nana Osei Kwadwo: Personal communication). In this light, God is also purported to be like the warrior; courageous, wondrous, strong and powerful Being.

As pointed out earlier, there are human and non-human images of God which are very useful to the imagination for people to picture God as if He has human and non-human characteristics. These mental images are aids to the Akan understanding of God; they assist the mind to have a working knowledge of God (Mbiti, 1991). It is, therefore, noted that apart from a few Akan descriptive or traditional names solely meant for God, all the others constituting the majority of the data were coined out of human (such as kings, priests, etc) and non-human (e.g. animals, plants, etc.) attributes and characteristics as have been categorized and exemplified below:

- i. Akan Traditional names or attributes solely for God: *Otwereduampɔn* ‘Dependable’, *Ɔbɔadeɛ* ‘Creator’, *Onyame* ‘The Satisfying one’ etc.
- ii. AHTN-G related to humans: *Ɔdeɛfoɔ* ‘The Munificent one’, *Daasebrɛ* ‘The Magnanimous one’, *Nana* ‘Grandfather’, *Otumfoɔ* ‘The Powerful one’ etc.
- iii. AHTN-G related to animals: *Akokɔbaatan* (hen) ‘Protector’, *Kurotwiamansa* (leopard) ‘The fearsome’, *Ananse Kokuroko* (the great spider) ‘All-wise, The great one’ etc.
- iv. AHTN-G related to plants: *Ɔɔtɔ kɛsɛɛ* ‘the overgrown vegetation’, *Prɛkɛsɛ* ‘aidan fruit’¹³, *Odupɔn* ‘big tree’ etc.
- v. AHTN-G related to topographical features: *Sereboɔ Sakyi* ‘flintstone’, *Tetebotan* ‘rock of ages’, *Kontonkurowi* ‘luminous circle’ etc.
- vi. AHTN-G related to Akan body-parts: *Kokurobeti/kokuromoti* ‘the thumb’, *Anidasoɔ* (eye) ‘Hope’, *Onimuonyamfoɔ* (face) ‘The Degrified one’ etc.

¹³ The botanical name for this fruit is *tetrapleura tetraptera*

- vii. AHTN-G related to some artificial objects: Nkatabo ‘chest plate’,
Frankaa ‘banner/flag’, *Abotire* ‘crown’

It could be seen from the above that, apart from the names that are originally meant for God in Akan (as in ‘i’), all the others (as in ‘ii-vii’) are honorific or appellations for God associated with creatures, both human and non-human. In the following sub-sections, we take samples of these names and discuss their etymologies. It is important to note that apart from the primary data ascertained from the participants, we also consulted other secondary or documented materials such as Asante-Twi Bible, Christaller (1933), Nketia (1974, 1978), Danquah (1968), Obeng (2001), Ansong (2012), Agyekum (2003, 2019, etc), among others for the analysis.

4.1.1 *Bɔrebɔre* ‘The Originator/Inventor’

One of the address terms that justifies the Akan conception of God is *Bɔrebɔre*. The term is a reduplicative form of the Akan verb *bɔre* which among other things means ‘to dig’, ‘to scoop’ or ‘to hew out in search of the unknown or undiscovered things’. The name signifies that God is the originator or inventor of the things in the world. The Akan address term that is synonymous to this honorific term is *Ɔboadeɛ* ‘Creator’.

4.1.2 *Onyame* ‘The Satisfying one’

This address term for God is made up of the nominal prefix *o-* together with the verbs *nya* ‘to get’ and *mee* ‘to satisfy’. In post-lexical context, the name can be expressed as *Wonya no a, womee*, that is, the one whom when you own, makes you satisfy completely. The impression here is that among the Akan, the Supreme God is believed to wholly provide or satisfy those who call upon Him.

Ogomee ‘one whom when you are in company with, brings satisfaction’ is synonymous to the above name.

4.1.3 *Onyankopɔn* ‘The one and only Great God/Awesome’

This name is a compound nominal composed of the underlying constituents, *Onyame* ‘the Satisfying one’, *ko* (clipped form of *baako*) ‘one’ and *-pɔn* ‘great’. The name therefore implies that Onyame is the only Great God who cannot be compared to any other entity in the world. By this name, the Akan conceive God as the Great one who is equal to none and therefore unique.

4.1.4 *Otwereduampɔn/Tweaduampɔn* ‘The one you can lean without falling’

This is one of the Akan traditional compound names derived from the underlying components, *o-* (nominal prefix), *twere* (verb) ‘lean’, *dua* (noun) ‘tree’, *m-* (negative marker) and *pɔn* (verb) ‘fall’. The name *Otwereduampɔn* is the truncated form of the relative clause, *Dua a wotwere no a, wompɔn*’ which literally translates as ‘the tree that when you lean, you do not fall’. This name therefore depicts the Akan strong dependence on God. Here, the Supreme God is metaphorised as a strong tree which one can lean for support, hence, the Dependable one.

4.1.5 *Toturobonsu* ‘He who causes rain to fall copiously and makes waters overflow’

This name is one of the Akan honorific name ascribed to God which manifests God’s goodness and power. This name bears the meaning, ‘he who causes rain to fall copiously and makes waters overflow. The meaning is evident in how the

name is derived. The first three syllables of the name, that is, *toturo* is a corrupt form of *tɔtɔtɔ* which is a triplicated form of the verb *tɔ* ‘to rain’ (Danquah 1968).

Bonsu,¹⁴ the last two syllables of the name is also a compound nominal derived from the verb *bɔ* ‘to create’ and the noun *nsuo* ‘water’. The vowel /ɔ/ in *bɔ* has been assimilated into /o/ due to the vowel harmony rule in Akan (see chapter two). The name therefore reflects God’s generosity and magnanimity as perceived and idealized by the Akan.

4.1.6 *Daasebrɛ* ‘Magnanimous one’

This honorific expression is a composite nominal made up of the verb *da* ‘lie’ the postposition *ase* ‘under’ and the verb *brɛ* ‘to be tired of’. In Akan, to refer to any person of a high repute or social status (such as kings) as *Daasebrɛ* is to mean his people have thanked him and become tired. This name in this context, reflects the king’s benevolence and kindness towards his subject or the people he rules. The beneficiaries thus, reciprocate their benefactor with a lot of thanks as has been conventionalised in Akan customs and traditions. When extended to the Supreme Being, it projects the idea that like the king, God always provides the needs of His creatures. That is, he is ever generous and gracious and Akan cannot be tired of thanking Him for being hitherto their provider.

¹⁴ In Akan, *Bonsu* is also a nominal for the whale. It has also been taken as a metaphorical name for one of the Asante kings called Nana Osei Kwame Asibe. He was the Asantehene (King of the Asantes) from 1799-1824. History has it that during his reign, the Asante Nation had a warfare with the Coastal States, specifically the Fantes. The Fante chiefs wanted to protect two Assin chiefs Otibo and Aputae who had offended the then Asantehene and therefore needed to face punishment but run to the Fanteland and the Fante chiefs refused to give them out to the Asantehene and this led to the war. The war was commanded by the king himself and the Asante army eventually defeated the Fante forces. The king Nana Osei Asibe swam in the sea at Winneba after defeating the Fante troops and this earned him the title *Bonsu* ‘whale’ which was added to his name. The impression is that Nana Osei Kwame Asibe also did boast of power like a whale on the sea since he stepped into the sea without any challenger.

4.1.7 *Otumfoɔ* ‘The one who wields power’

This name is up to now, one of the commonest genealogical or stool names of the kings in the Asante Kingdom. In terms of derivation, *Otumfoɔ* is a composite form of the underlying constituents, *tumi* ‘power’ plus the nominalizing affixes *o-* and *-foɔ*. This name is attributed to kings of Asante States to portray their supremacy or strength, especially in warfare. One of my informants remarked that this title could have been coined out of the marshal character exhibited by the Asante kings during warfare. He continued to say that when the various Asante states became one under the legendary Nana Osei Tutu (1695-1719), the Asantes were able to defeat other states and annexed them into their kingdom. One of the strong states which according to the informant, Asante fought and defeated was their ‘master’ Denkyira Kingdom during the reign of Nana Ntim Gyakari. Again, from the informant, those who succeeded Nana Osei Tutu also followed the precepts of this founder and further annexed some other states into their kingdom. This name therefore shows how powerful and strong the kings were/are. The name also denotes the power vested in the occupants of the Golden Stool over all the sub-chiefs in the Asante Kingdom. And before one becomes a chief under the Asante Kingdom, he must swear an oath of allegiance to the Asantehene whose stool is greater than all the other stools in the kingdom. To refer to God as *Otumfoɔ* is to project the belief that God wields power which makes Him Almighty. In other words, God is also a mighty one in battle and hence the Akan’s consultant in both spiritual and physical wars.

4.1.8 *Ahuntahunu* ‘ability to see things hidden’

This name is a complex nominal made up of the verbs *hunta* ‘hide’, *hunu* ‘see’ and the nominalizing prefix *a-*. In Akan, the smallest species of ant is given

this name. The name is coined out of the ant's ability to have access to oily and sugary foods no matter how well you keep or store it. The name has now been metaphorically extended to God as a honorific term. This is to imply that God is able to unveil all secrets in the world and hence denoting His Omnipresence.

4.1.9 *Ɔdomankoma* 'The Graceful one'

Etymologically, this name has been given different interpretations in the existing literature. Christaller (1933: 90) for instance, asserts that *Ɔdomankoma* may be derived from the root morpheme *domankoma* meaning 'many', 'manifold' 'abundant' etc. This morpheme according to him is synonymous to the Akan lexical items *bebre*, *pii*, *peewa*, among others marking number. The derivation therefore involves the prefixation of the form *domankoma* which then yields *Ɔdomankoma*. The nominal prefix *Ɔ-* is thus added to *domankoma* to derive this name of God which marks him as the boundless, infinite, interminable etc.

According to Danquah (1968: 59), the term *Ɔdomankoma* written completely is *Ɔ-doma-nko-ma*, where *doma* means 'abundance' of anything (as in *mmodoma* 'animal kingdom'), and *ara* being an intensifying or emphatic particle meaning, 'only', 'this very', 'just', etc. According to him, *nko* also stands for 'one', 'only' or 'alone' and the last syllable *ma* also means 'full of'. Dropping the particle *ara* and attaching the prefix *Ɔ-* provides the output form *Ɔdomankoma*, which to Danquah, means 'He who is uninterrupted, infinity, and exclusively full of the manifold, namely, the interminable, eternally, infinitely, universally filled entity.'

From these two derivations, it is observed that although Danquah does not agree with Christaller on how the name is derived ethno-semantically, they share the same opinion that to say God is *Ɔdomankoma* is to mean that He is interminable, infinite, boundless among others. Further, the name has recently been associated with grace or passion (Appah, 2003; Agyekum, 2003). Appah (2003) claims that this name is derived from the relative clause: *Adom a ɔno nko ma* glossed as ‘the grace that he alone gives’ and denotes the ‘Gracious one’. In addition to this, one of my informants also pointed out that the nominal can be separated into *Ɔdom Ankoma*, ‘s/he helps Ankoma’, a personal name in Akan. That is to say, God is a helper.

4.1.10 *Honhom (Kronkron)* ‘(Holy) Spirit’

The word *Honhom* is derived from *ehon* that is marrow in the bones or brain, the pith, the essence of the mind. The marrow is covered with the bones which makes it invisible. In other words, it is the innermost part of the bone which cannot be seen without breaking the bone. The form *honhom* is a repetition of *ehon*, the *ehon* of the *ehon* (*ehon-mu-hon*), that is, the pith of the pith, the essence of the essence, the ineffable spiritual principle or soul of ultimate reality. This name therefore depicts the invisibility of God.

The foregoing discussion has focused on the etymology of some of the AHTN-G. We have attempted to look into the ethnopragmatic contexts that informed the formation of such names. The following sub-section seek to explore the various morphological processes or word formation rules underpinning the names collected for the study.

4.2 Morphological analysis of AHTN-G

We got to know in chapter two that in linguistics, morphology is primarily concerned with studying the internal structure of words and rules by which these words are formed. A close look at the data collected for the study reveals the following morphological processes in the derivation of the names of God; affixation, compounding, reduplication and borrowing. Although these (WFRs) are identified, there are some of the names which are observed to undergo no derivational process and therefore constitute single root morphemes. That is, in general, the morphemic makeup of AHTN-G are mono-morphemic, di-morphemic or poly-morphemic as the case in Ewe, Dangme, and other languages (see section 2.5. The immediate sub-section discusses the mono-morphemic names identified in the study.

4.2.1 Deriving AHTN-G from single root morphemes

AHTN-G in this category are unanalysable. In other words, the names here are composed of free morphemes whose internal morphological structures cannot be broken down into further morphemes to derive meaningful forms. This implies that the names are non-derivable and therefore have covert affixal markings. The names made up of single roots mostly carry the major components of their meanings. Moreover, the names under this umbrella may be arbitrary labels referring to God in a metaphorical sense. Examples of such names are in (4.1) below:

Table 4.1 AHTN-G derived from single root morphemes

	Name	Gloss	Ill-form
i.	Kurotwiamansa	leopard	*kuro-twi-ama-nsa
ii.	Prekesε	aidan fruit	*pre-kε-se

iii.	Katawere	personal name	*Kata-were
iv.	Kokurobeti	thumb	*ko-kuro-beti
v.	Poma	walking stick	*po-ma

As could be seen from (4.1) above, the names are mono-morphemic in that they are semantically impossible when attempt is made to break them into further morphemes as seen in the ‘ill-form’ column. Again, apart from ‘iii’ which is a proper name, all the remaining nominals above are common nouns that have been metaphorically extended to God and that when any of them is put in context, becomes more meaningful than in isolation. In other words, the Akan socio-cultural factors that hinge on the names in this category become more explicit when they are situated in contexts. For example, the expression *Mede Onyame beye me poma daa nyinaa* ‘I will always make God my walking stick’. This implies that God is a Helper and therefore should be consulted in all matters (see the etymology section for more examples). There is also an appellation of God which goes *Prekese Gyamaadu a ofiti kurotia reba a na ne ho agye afie mu* ‘The Prekese Gyamaadu whose aroma is diffused into houses prior to His entry into a neighbourhood’. This also implies that God is believed to exist and that His presence is always felt although not physically seen. It may also connote His might and wondrous nature. All the above names thus express a complete thought about God among the Akan.

4.2.2 Deriving AHTN-G through affixation

Affixation, as has already been espoused in Chapter two, is one of the productive processes of deriving nominals in Akan. In derivational terms, affixation involves the attachment of nominalizing affixes (prefix, suffix or both) to a stem or a base to derive other free forms distinct from the underlying constituents.

Here, the study reveals three lexical categories from which the names are produced. These lexical categories (word class) that are nominalized to produce the names are verbs, adjectives and nouns. We first look at how the names of God are derived through verbal nominalization.

4.2.2.1 Deriving AHTN-G from verbs

Appah (2003) remarks that the nominalization of verbs is a type of nominal derivation that has been attested in almost all existing languages. Generally, the simple formula $V \rightarrow N$ can assist us in deriving the nominals from verbs as exemplified in the table below:

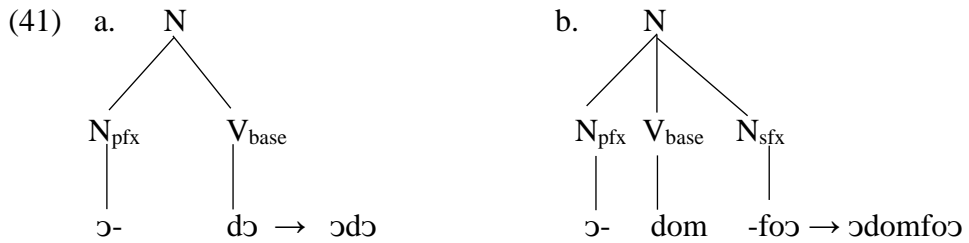
Table 4.2 AHTN-G derived from verbs

	Prefix	Root/ Stem	Gloss	Suffix	Derived form	Gloss
i.	ɔ-	dɔ	love	-	ɔdɔ	Love
ii.	ɔ-	dom	help	-foɔ	ɔdomfoɔ	Gracious One
iii.	ɔ-	hwɛ	look	-foɔ	ɔhwɛfo	Shepherd
iv.	ɔ-	gye	save	-foɔ	ɔgyefo	Refuge
v.	o-	gyam	console	-	Ogyam	Friend/Consoler
vi.	ɔ-	nwono	weave	-foɔ	ɔnwonfoɔ	Weaver/Artist
vii.	ɔ-	boa	help	-foɔ	ɔboafoɔ	Helper
viii.	ɔ-	wɛn	guard	-foɔ	ɔwɛnfoɔ	Guard
ix.	ɔ-	bɔ	create	-foɔ	ɔbɔfoɔ	Creator
x.	o-	wura	enter	-	Owura	Master/Lord
xi.	ɔ-	ko	war	-foɔ	ɔkofo	Warrior

From the above data, it could be seen that bound morphemes have been attached to stems (free forms) to derive the names. And with the exception of ‘i’, ‘v’ and ‘x’ which only went through prefixation, all the other forms are affixed with both prefixes and suffixes simultaneously. This derivation process can,

therefore, be captured by the following sub-lexical rule (40) which is further demonstrated in (41a&b) below:

$$(40) \quad N \rightarrow \text{Pfx-Verb}_{\text{base}}\text{-(Sfx)}$$



It could be observed from (41a) that the verb *dɔ* ‘to love’, constituting the base is attached with the prefix [ɔ-] to derive the nominal *ɔdɔ* ‘love’ (as also seen in table 4.2i above). Moreover, in (41b), verb form *dom* ‘help’ is affixed with both the prefix [ɔ-] and the suffix [-foɔ] to be nominalized as *ɔdomfoɔ* (see also 4.2ii above). Additionally, in Akan, the prefix o-/ɔ- when attached to stems can mark singularity. That is, in ‘i’, ‘v’ and ‘x’ of table 4.2 above, the stems have been prefixed with o-/ɔ- without any suffix and in this light, depict that the derived forms are in singular forms. Similarly, the rest of the data which take both the prefix ɔ- and the suffix -foɔ yield nominals marking singularity. That is, the derived names refer to the actor or performer of the action designated by the verb (Appah, 2003). Further, all the verb stems are action verbs or non-stative with the exception of ‘i’ which is in stative form. The verbs in the derived nominals in ‘ii-xi’ above indicate events that involve action or movement.

4.2.2.2 Deriving AHTN-G from adjectives

In (4.2.2.1) above, we looked at the names of God derived from verbs. In this sub-section, we look at how some of the names are produced through the affixation of adjectives. That is, here, the nominal affixes are attached to

adjectives (which traditionally function as noun modifiers) to realize the names as has been exemplified below:

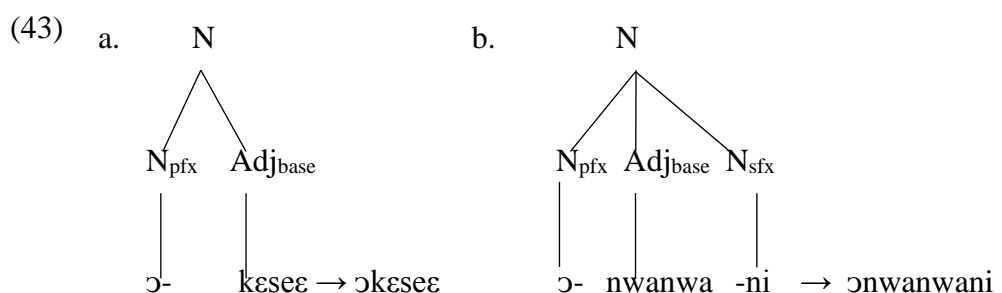
Table 4.3 AHTN-G derived from adjectives

Pfx	Root/ Stem	Gloss	Sfx	Derived form	Gloss
i. ɔ-	kɛsɛɛ	big	-	ɔkɛsɛɛ	The Great one
ii. ɔ-	kakraka	large	-	ɔkakraka	The Big one
iii. ɔ-	kantinka	huge	-	ɔkantinka	The Great one
iv. ɔ-	katanka	Big	-	ɔkantanka	The Great one
v. o-	mintiminim	large and heavy	-	Omintiminim	The Impregnable
vi. o-	pumpuni	huge	-	Opumpuni	The highest authority holder
vii. o-	bolobo	Big	-	Obolobo	The largest one
viii. o-	kokuroko	Great	-	Okokuroko	The Huge one
ix. ɔ-	nwanwa	wonderful	-ni	ɔnwanwani	Wondrous one
x. ɔ-	kronkron	Holy	-ni	ɔkronkronni	The Holy one
xi. m-	birikisii	dark place	-e	Mmirikisie	Dense -forest

The derived nominals here reflect the augmentativeness of God. Like the nominal derivation of verbs, the adjectives nominalized may take either a prefix, a suffix or a cluster of both prefix and suffix as could be seen from table 4.3 above. The sub-lexical rule for the derivation of the nominals can, therefore, be formulated as in (42) below:

$$(42) \quad N \rightarrow \text{Pfx-Adj}_{\text{base}}\text{(Sfx)}$$

The examples (4.3i) and (4.3ix) are represented on the word structures in (54) below to show how the above rule (53) applies.



In (43a) above, it is clear that the nominal prefix [ɔ-] has been attached to the adjective *kɛsɛɛ* ‘big’ yielding the surface form *ɔkɛsɛɛ* ‘the great one’. Other examples in table 4.3 that undergo this process are ‘ii-viii’. In (43b), however, the form *nwanwa* ‘wonderful’ picked up two nominal affixes [ɔ-] and [-ni] to surface as *ɔnwanwani* ‘wondrous one’. Other example in (4.3) that undergoes this process is ‘x’. Also the nominal prefixes ɔ-/o- in ‘i-viii’ mark number (i.e. singularity). Similarly, the nominal affixes ɔ-/m- and -ni/-e added to the respective bases in ‘ix-xi’ imply that the names derived are in singular forms. It is worth to point out that the names within this category can also function like any proper noun (e.g. subjects/objects). Again, most of the names in the data imaginarily express physical properties or physical attributes of God.

Sometimes some of these adjectives are converted into nominals without overt affixes. They thus go through the process referred to as zero affixation or conversion. For instance, the adjectives *kɛsɛ(ɛ)*, *kantanka*,¹⁵ and *kantinka* may be nominalized to become personal names without any change in the morphology of their respective forms.

4.2.2.3 Deriving AHTN-G from nouns

The data collected for the study reveals a few nominals derived from base nouns. Like the nominalization of adjectives and verbs, the names under this category possess nominal affixes which mark number (singular) and are also agentive nouns. We exemplify such address terms below:

¹⁵ Kantanka is also an appellation or by-name for Sarfo, an Akan personal name.

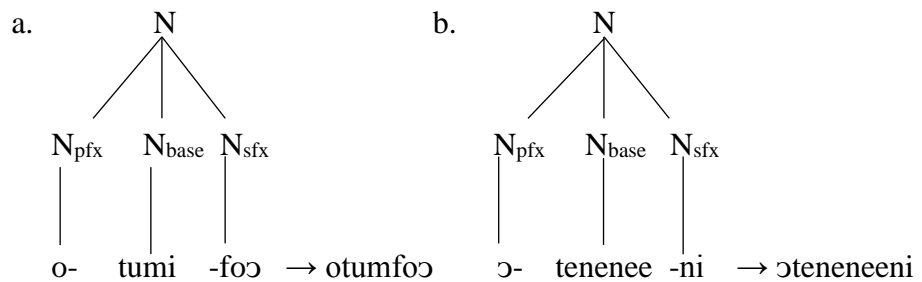
Table 4.4 AHTN-G derived from nouns

Pfx	Stem/ Base	Gloss	Sfx	Derived form	Gloss
i. ɔ-	adɔɛɛ	kindness	-foɔ	ɔdɛɛfoɔ	Benevolent
ii. o-	tumi	Power	-foɔ	Otumfoɔ	The Powerful one
iv. o-	nyansa	Wisdom	-foɔ	Onyansafoɔ	All-wise
v. ɔ-	adanseɛ	Witness	-foɔ	ɔdansefoɔ	The Witness
vi. o-	ninkunu	Jealousy	-foɔ	Oninkufo	The Jealous one
vii. ɔ-	tenenee	righteousness	-ni	ɔteneneeni	The righteous one

In (4.2) and (4.3), we saw that the nominals are derived through the attachment of affixes to the base forms. A similar observation is also made regarding the names outlined in (4.4) above. Here, all the base nouns have affixes at both prefix and suffix positions as could be identified on the data above. The sub-lexical rule that derives these names can be schematized in (55) and based on (4.4 ii&vii), demonstrated (as seen in 56a&b) below:

(55) $N \rightarrow \text{Pfx-Noun}_{\text{base}}\text{-Sfx}$

(56)



From (56a), the base noun *tumi* ‘power’ co-occurs with the prefix [o-] and suffix [-foɔ] to realize the form *Otumfoɔ* ‘the powerful one’. It can also be seen in (56b) that the affixes ɔ-/ni have been simultaneously added to the noun *tenenee* ‘righteous’ to derive the nominal *ɔteneneeni* ‘the righteous one’. As has been clearly established in our earlier discussions, the prefix o-/ɔ- co-occurring with

the suffixes -foɔ (as in 'i-vi') and -ni (as in 'vii') inflect the nominals for number. Additionally, the noun stems from which the nominals are formed are intangible concepts and, hence, denote abstract nouns. We have thus far discussed AHTN-G that are derived through the process of affixation. The next word formation process to consider is compounding.

4.2.3 Deriving AHTN-G through compounding

In chapter two of this study, we noted that Akan language generates a lot of vocabulary items by resorting to the process of compounding. Compounding as a word formation process aims at adjoining two or more lexical items or bases to produce new (free) forms distinct from the underlying constituents. Majority of the data collected for the study fall under this process. Morphologically, the names in this domain are observed to have emanated from one of the following formal classifications of compounding: Noun + Noun, Noun + Verb, Noun + Adjective, Verb + Verb, Noun + Postposition + Noun etc. This is therefore in line with those outlined by scholars such as Dolphyne (1988), Abakah (2003), Owu-Ewie (2014), Appah (2013), among others. A close look at the compound names also reveals instances where part of these nominals are nominalized sentences or clauses. That is, a whole or part of the lexical items in a construction are fused together to realize the names. Further, a compound nominal may either be in isolative (open), combinative (solid) or hyphenated style (Lieber, 2009; Hayes, 2009; Appah, 2013; Owu-Ewie, 2014; Agyekum, 2017). Further, the AHTN-G that are described from this angle are poly-morphemic. It is important noting that in compounding, some of the compound elements may be compound nouns themselves which have been attached to other stems to derive the nominals (Bauer, 1993; Hayes, 2009, Appah 2013) as seen in the expression

wastepaper basket. That is, one of the properties of compounds known to aid their productivity is *recursion*. Appah (2013) asserts that the process of compounding can be applied in recursive manner to facilitate our communicative needs. He takes this from Spencer (1991) to throw more light on his assertion:

(57) [[Student film] society]

[[[Student film] society] committee]

[[[[Student film] society] committee] scandal]... (Appah, 2013:144)

Booij (2002: 142) also remarks that, for Dutch, “[t]he productivity of nominal compounding, in particular of N-N compounds is increased by the fact that both constituents can be compounds themselves”. The impression here is that, in Dutch, there is no structural constraint on the extent of recursivity to the extent that it does not cause processing difficulty. Similarly, Appah (2013) also observes such morphological property in Akan and gives the following examples:

- (58) a. anibere-sɛm (enyibere-sɛm)
‘seriousness-matter’
‘serious matter’
- b. asetena-m /ahiadee S
‘down-sit-in’ ‘need’
‘basic necessities of life’ (Appah, 2013:144)

In the next subsections, we elaborate the discussion on compounding by considering first, those in combinative style.

4.2.3.1 Deriving AHTN-G from Noun + Noun Compounds

This type of compounding is one of the productive word formation processes in Akan in general (Dolphyne, 1988; Abakah, 2004; Marfo, 2004; Appah, 2013).

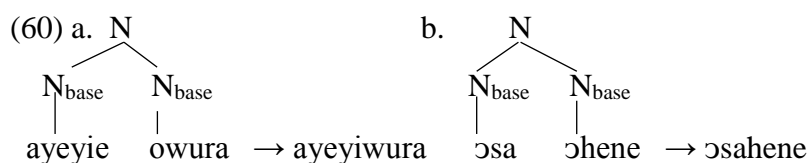
This is where two independent base nouns or noun phrases are combined in the process of deriving the name. In Noun-Noun compounding, mostly, the first noun (N1) serves as a pre-modifier to the second noun (N2). That is, the first nouns qualify the second nouns (i.e. appositive). Here, the N2 is thus the substantive noun being modified by the N1 at pre-head position. Examples of AHTN-G derived from N-N compounds are shown in (4.5) below:

Table 4.5 AHTN-G derived from Noun-Noun compounds

Base forms	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
i. ayeyie + owura	praise + lord	Ayeyiwura	Lord of praise
ii. ɔsa + ɔhene	war + king	ɔsahene	Warlord
iii. ako + ɔkyem	wars + shield	Akokyem	shield, protector
iv. adom + owura	grace + lord	Adomwura	Lord of grace
v. akokɔ + ɔbaatan	hen + parent	Akokɔbaatan	Hen
vi. nkonimdie + ɔhene	victory + king	Nkonimdihene	King of victory
vii. nkwagyee + ɔbotan	salvation + rock	Nkwagyebotan	Rock of salvation
viii. ɔsa + barima	war + man	ɔsabarima	commander

As could be seen from (4.5) above, the underlying lexical items concatenated to derive the nominals are made up of two independent nouns and the resultant nouns are in combinative style. The first constituents are also modifying the second constituents in all the cases. The sub-lexical rule for the derivation of N-N compounding names can, therefore, be formulated as in (59) below. The illustrations in (60a&b) further account for the application of the rule constructed in (59) below.

$$(59) \quad N \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Noun}_{\text{base}}\text{-Noun}_{\text{base}}$$



In *Ayeyiwura* ‘lord of praise’ (60a), the *owura* ‘lord’ is the substantive noun (head) being combined with *ayeyie* ‘praise’, a modifier at pre-head position. It can also be seen from the second structure (60b) that the nominal *ɔsahene*¹⁶ ‘warlord’ is surfaced from the noun base forms *ɔsa* ‘war’ and *ɔhene* ‘king’, where the former (N1) constitutes a modifier to the latter (N2), that is, the substantive noun (head). Additionally, the base nouns may either be abstract or concrete, common or proper. Moreover, the names derived here may be compositional. That is, the meaning can be inferred from the underlying constituents.

4.2.3.2 Deriving AHTN-G from Noun + Adjective Compounds

The data at our disposal also shows that some Akan personal names referring to God are noun-adjective compounds. That is, the first word in the nominal is a noun and the second, an adjective. The nouns in this constructions are head nouns (NPs) being modified by the adjectives in the post-head position. Adjectives in this category are used attributively. The following data conforms to this pattern:

Table 4.6 AHTN-G derived from Noun-Adjective Compounds

Base forms	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
i. <i>ɛban + denden</i>	wall + hard	<i>Abandenden</i>	Hard wall
ii. <i>ɔhene + kɛsɛɛ</i>	king + big	<i>ɔhenkɛsɛɛ</i>	Great king
iii. <i>ɔbaatan + papa</i>	parent + good	<i>ɔbaatampa</i>	Good parent
iv. <i>nufo + tabraba</i>	breast + large	<i>Nufotabraba</i>	The large breast

¹⁶ The N2 loses its nominal prefix due to the process of elision which has been discussed under section 4.3.1

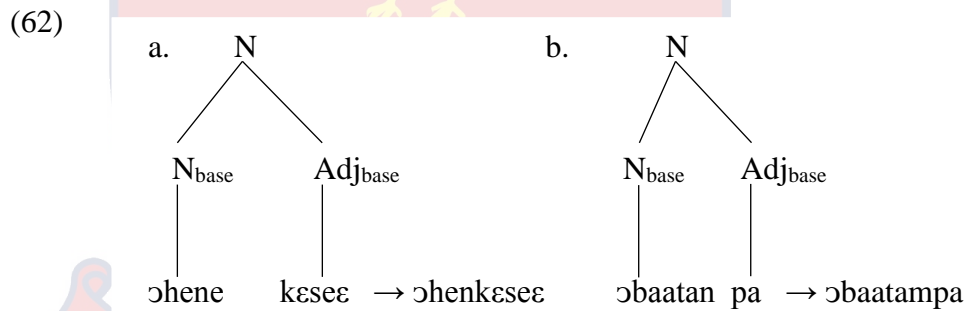
v. atofo + kɛsɛɛ	waist + mighty	Atofokɛsɛɛ	The Mighty waist
vi. dua + pɔn	tree + large	Odupɔn	The Great Tree
vii. ɔhene + pɔporɔ	king + great	ɔhempɔporɔ	The Great king
viii. ɔhene + pɔn	king + large	ɔhempon	Mighty King

It could be seen in (4.6) that the derived nominals are from N-Adj constituents.

The sub-lexical rule resorted to in this category of the names is schematized as:

$$(61) \quad N \rightarrow \text{Noun}_{\text{base}}\text{-Adj}_{\text{base}}$$

The following have been taken from (4.6) above, particularly, ‘ii’ and ‘iii’ to exemplify how the derivation under this process occurs.



As can be observed from (62a), the noun *ɔhene* ‘king’ and the adjective *kɛsɛɛ* ‘great’ are joined together in the process of producing the name *ɔhenkɛsɛɛ* ‘great king’. Again, in (62b), the adjective *pa* ‘good’ has been added to the noun *ɔbaatan* ‘parent’ to derive the honorific term *ɔbaatampa* ‘good parent’. Ostensibly, all the adjectives in both cases are qualifying the head nouns as could be inferred from the glosses. Additionally, as said earlier, the adjectives qualifying the noun base forms express physical property of God in metaphorical context or imaginary sense. The adjectives in the derived nominals mark augmentativity. However, the adjectives in ‘i’ and ‘iii’ respectively denote how hard and good the referent (God) is.

4.2.3.3 Deriving AHTN-G from Noun + Verb Compounds

This is another morphological pattern through which the names of God are deduced. The compound nominals produced by this morphological structure involve the juxtaposition of a noun and a verb base forms. The nouns precede the verbs even in the surface structure. We exemplify the N-V compounds attained for the study in table (4.7) below:

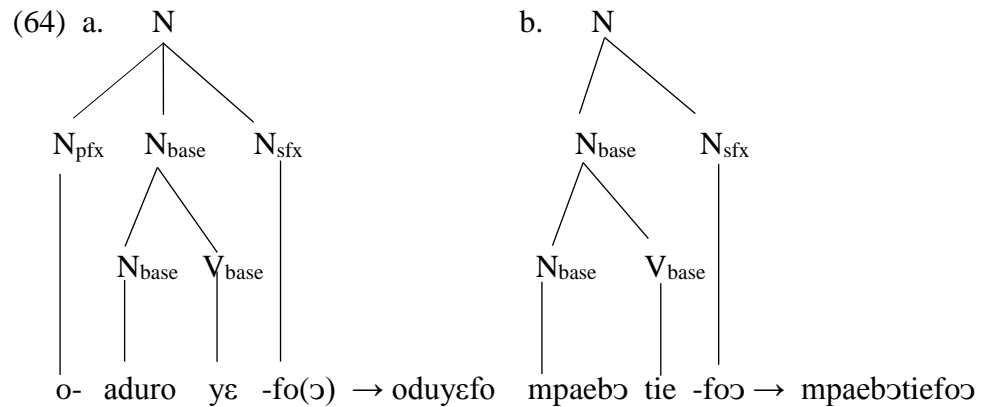
Table 4.7 AHTN-G derived from Noun-Verb compounds

Pfx	Base forms	Gloss	Sfx	Derived form	Gloss
i. o-	aduro + ye	herb + do	-foɔ	Oduyefo	Healer
ii. ɔ-	ɛkwan + kyere	road + show	-foɔ	ɔkwankyerɛfoɔ	Director
iii. -	hyɛberɛ + sesa	destiny change	-foɔ	Hyɛberɛsesafoɔ	Destiny changer
iv. o-	aten + bua	judgement + judge	-foɔ	Otemmuafɔɔ	Judge
v. ɔ-	botan + tim	rock + be firm	-	ɔbotantin	Solid rock
vi. ɔ-	ɔsa + gye	war + receive	-foɔ	ɔsagyefo	War redeemer
vii. -	mpaebɔ + tie	prayers + listen	-foɔ	Mpaebɔtiefoɔ	Prayer listener
viii. -	etire + pagya	head + lift	-foɔ	Tipagyafoɔ	promoter

This morphological pattern as could be seen from the data, is very productive regarding the formation of the names of God. From (4.7) above, the names in this category do not only involve compounding but also affixation. That is, after the Noun-Verb combination, the form derived may further take affix(es) to complete the derivational process. Following this observation, the sub-lexical rule that yields the names here is schematized as:

$$(63) N \rightarrow (Pfx)\text{-Noun}_{\text{base}}\text{-Verb}_{\text{base}}\text{-(Sfx)}$$

The following examples ‘i’ and ‘vii’ in (4.7) are structurally illustrated below:



The first illustration (64a) displays a N-V compounding, whereby the noun *aduro* ‘medicine’ and the verb *yɛ* ‘do’ are being concatenated to form *aduoyɛ*. This form then undergoes affixation, that is, the addition of the nominalizing affixes *o-/-foɔ* (agentive) to yield the surface structure *Oduɛfo(ɔ)* ‘herbalist/healer’. Similarly, in (64b), the form *Mpaebɔtiefoɔ* ‘prayer listener’ is made up of the base noun *mpaebɔ* ‘prayer’ and the verb *tie* ‘listen’ which then picks up the agentive suffix *-foɔ* to obtain the output form. Furthermore, almost all the base nouns of this pattern are common ones and the verbs are also in indicative mood. Appah (2003) notes that in Akan, the choice of affix in the process of deriving nominals is determined by certain semantic factors. He continues to name some of these factors as, the entity to be named; whether or not the entity is inanimate; human or non-human. As could also be seen on the table, during the process of nominalization, some of the constituents dropped their original affixes and picked up new ones which conform to the appropriate semantic class or feature of the referent (i.e. either +human and/or +inanimate). In ‘i’ for instance, the base forms having gone through the process of compounding, drops the prefix *-a* in *aduro* and replaces it with *o-* (+human, in singular form) in the output form. A close look at the structure of the base forms

seems to suggest that originally, they are verb phrases whose linear orders have been transposed in the process of constructing the nominals. That is, we can switch the positions of the underlying constituents to ascertain VPs. For example, we can switch the positions of the base forms in ‘ii’ (i.e. *ekwan + kyere*) to form the verb phrase ‘*kyere* (ɔ)*kwan* ‘to show direction’.

4.2.3.4 Deriving AHTN-G from Verb + Noun Compounds

This is where the lexical items compounded to form the nominals are made up of a verb and a noun. This makes it a direct opposite of the N-V compounds discussed above. The nominalization process in this category also involves compounding and affixation as we find in some of the morphological structures in the study. Most of the data at our disposal also subscribe to this pattern as has been illustrated in (4.8) below:

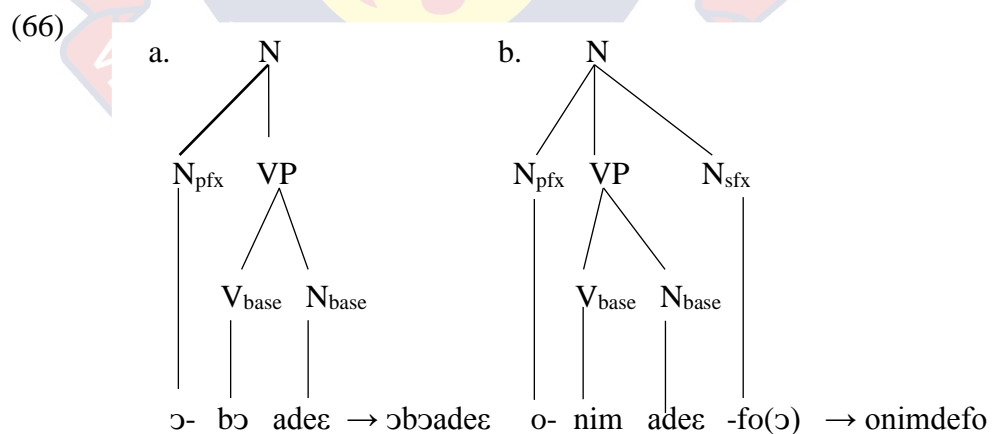
Table 4.8 AHTN-G derived from Verb-Noun compounds

	Pfx	Base forms	Gloss	Sfx	Derived Form	Gloss
i.	a-	ma + nsu	give + water	-o	Amosu	Giver of rain
ii.	a-	ma + owi	give + sunshine	-a	Amowia	Giver of sunshine
iii.	ɔ-	bɔ + ade	create + thing	-ε	ɔbɔadeε	Creator
iv.	n-	kata + εbo	cover + chest	-	Nkatabo	The Chest plate
v.	ɔ-	kata + akyi	cover + back	-e	ɔkatakylie	Valiant
vi.	o-	kum + anini	kill + males	-	Okumanini	Killer of men
vii.	a-	gye + ɔman	save + nation	-	Agyeman	Saviour of nations
viii.	a-	bɔ + etire	tie + head	-	Abotire	The Crown
ix.	o-	nim + adeε	know + thing	-foɔ	Onimdefo	All-wise
x.	a-	gye + nkwa	save + life	-	Agyenkwa	Saviour

Similar to N-V compound names discussed above, the derived names here are a merger of a noun and a verb which then go through the process of prefixation but not suffixation or both except in ‘ix’. In other words, the segments that seem to be suffix in each case are mere formatives (empty morphs). They do not add any grammatical or lexical information to the nominals thereby creating the impossibility to consider them as nominalizers (see Crystal, 2008). This is a common phenomenon in the Asante variant of Akan. For example, a Fante native speaker says or writes *nsu* which is a standard (orthographic) form of *nsuo* in Asante. The last segment or morpheme -o is just a mere formative. Following this discussion, the sub-lexical rule for the derivation of the names is then given by:

$$(65) N \rightarrow \text{Pfx-Verb}_{\text{base}}\text{-Noun}_{\text{base}}\text{-(Sfx)}$$

Structurally, this is how the derivations of the nominals in ‘iii’ and ‘xi’ respectively occur:



In (66a), the elements merged to form the compound nominal are the verb *bɔ* ‘create’, the noun *adeɛ* ‘thing’ and the nominalizing prefix *ɔ-* which then surfaced as *ɔbɔadeɛ* ‘creator’. The derivational process in (66b) is slightly different from (66a) because, the nominal does not only have a prefix but a suffix

too. That is, in (66b), the constituents compounded to deduce the nominal are the verb *nim* ‘know’ and the noun *adeε* ‘thing’ yielding the form *nimdee* ‘knowledge’ which then takes the nominalizing affixes o-/-foɔ thereby producing the surface form *Onimdefo* ‘all-wise/knowledgeable one’. Here too, all the verbal elements preceding the nominals are in indicative mood.

4.2.3.5 Deriving AHTN-G from Verb + Verb Compounds

This is yet another class of compound from which some AHTN-G are composed. Here, the two underlying constituents fused together for the realization of the names are all verbs. In addition, before the base forms are compounded to produce the nominals, the process of affixation may also take place. Examples of the names that fall within this category are outlined in (4.9) below:

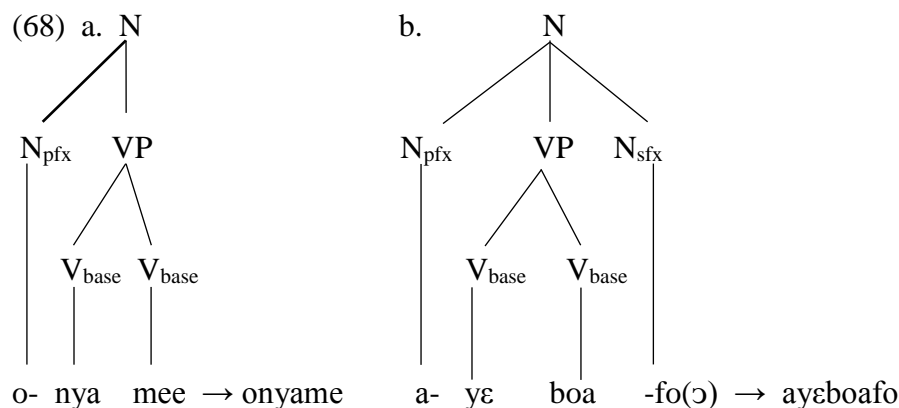
Table 4.9 AHTN-G derived from Verb-Verb compounds

Pfx	Base forms	Gloss	Sfx	Derived Form	Gloss
i. o-	di + ma	intercede + give	-foɔ	Odimafɔ	Advocate
ii. ɔ-	ka + ma	say + give	-foɔ	ɔkamafo	Spokesman
iii. a-	kɔ + be- to	go + come meet	-	Akorɔbeto	Everlasting
iv. o-	nya + mee	get + satisfy	-	Onyame	The satisfying one
v. a-	yε + boa	be + help	-foɔ	Ayεboafɔ	Has been a helper

Following (4.9), the sub-lexical rule which deduced the nominals is given below:

$$(67) N \rightarrow \text{Pfx-Verb}_{\text{base}}\text{-Verb}_{\text{base}}\text{-(Sfx)}$$

We can refer to this rule and conclude that the names that fall within this morphological pattern may or may not take affixes during the derivational process. The nominal affixes are thus, optional elements in the nominalization process as exemplified in (68) based on (4.9iv&v).



It is observed from (68a) that the verb forms *nya* ‘get’ and *mee* ‘satisfy’ fused together and picked only the nominalizing prefix *o-* to derive the address term *Onyame* ‘the satisfying one’. In (68b), however, the base forms *ye* ‘be’ and *boa* ‘help’ are brought together and through affixation, both the prefix *a-* and the suffix *-foɔ* are attached to be nominalized as *Ayeboafo* ‘benevolent’. Further, as established in the earlier discussions, the affixation of the base forms indicates singularity of the nominals. That is, the nominal prefixes *o-/ɔ-/a-* and the human identity (agentive) suffix *-foɔ* attached to the base forms mark number. We can also tentatively argue that the resultant nominals in ‘i’ and ‘ii’ are non-compositional because it becomes unclear when attempt is made to resort to the underlying constituents for the meaning of the derived nominals. In addition, the verbs are also in stative forms; they denote action. When the verbs are also in isolation, they depict indicative mood.

4.2.3.6 Deriving AHTN-G from Noun + Postp. (mu) + Noun Compounds

In the foregoing discussion, we have concentrated on the AHTN-G derived from lexical categories (major word class), including verbs, nouns and adjectives. In this sub-section, we analyse some few names of God which feature the minor word class, postposition. Postposition is antonymous to preposition in English Language. That is, whereas prepositions occur before nouns in English, postpositions occur after nouns (mostly objects) in Akan (see Agyekum, 2010 for details). The compound names under this category are formed by the internal morphological structure Noun + Postp. (Mu) + Noun. That is, the names are composed of a noun, a postposition *mu* ‘in’ and another noun. Examples of such names that undergo this process are given in (4.10).

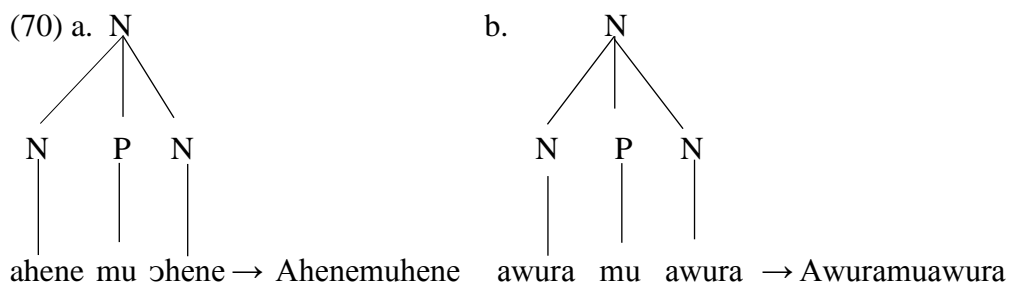
Table 4.10 AHTN-G derived from Noun + Postposition (mu) + Noun

Base forms	Derived form
i. Ahene + mu + əhene ‘Kings’ + ‘in’ + ‘king’	Ahenemuhene ‘King of kings’
ii. Awura + mu + awura(de) ‘lords’ + ‘in’ + ‘lord’	Awuramuawura ‘Lord of Lords’
iii. Ahohia + mu + əboafaɔ ‘Perplexity’ + ‘in’ + ‘helper’	ahohiamuboafoɔ ‘One who intercedes in times of distress’
iv. Animuonyam + mu + onimuonyamfoɔ ‘glory’ + ‘in’ + ‘glorious one’	Animuonyam-mu-nimuonyamfoɔ ‘The most dignified among dignitaries’
v. Tumi + mu + tumigyefoɔ ‘power’ + ‘in’ + ‘power-holder’	Tumimutumigyefoɔ ‘All-powerful’

The sub-lexical rule that can derive these nominals is formulated as:

$$(69) \quad N \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Noun}_{\text{base}}\text{-Postp-Noun}_{\text{base}}.$$

The following have been taken from table 4.10 (i&ii) to shed more light on how the derivation occurs.



The word structure in (70a) reveals that the noun base forms *ahene* ‘kings’ and *ehene* ‘king’ compounded with the postposition *mu* ‘in’ to derive the nominal *Ahenemuhene* ‘king of kings’. In (70b) also, the noun *awura* ‘lords’ occurs at both word-initial and word-final positions which then juxtapose with the postposition *mu* to realize the surface structure *Awuramuawura* ‘lord of lords’. The names constituting Noun + Postposition + Noun compounds conceptualize the supremacy or uniqueness of God as seen in table (4.10) above. For example, in ‘i’ above, the name *Ahenemuhene* suggests that God is the mightier or paramount among all kings. He thus wields extraordinary powers which make him unique.

We showed in (4.2.3) that some compounds may be isolative, combinative or hyphenated. We have discussed the derivation of AHTN-G in combinative style. In other words, the constituents making up the nominals remain open in the resultant names. We devote the next sub-section to analyse the compound names which are in isolative style.

4.2.3.7 Deriving AHTN-G from Noun + Noun open compounds

There are instances where the data collected for the study showed the derivation of the names from N-N compounds which remain open in the resultant nominals. There is no much difference between this type and the one in combinative style as in (4.2.3.1). Except that those in section (4.2.3.1) are

flipped together or written as one whereas those that fall within the current category are open even in the surface form. We show examples below:

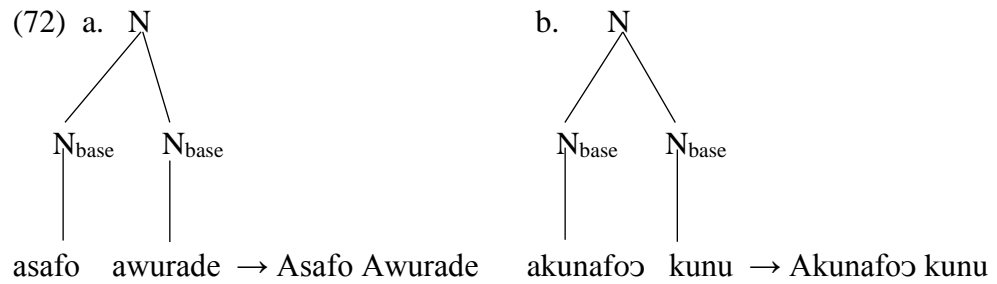
Table 4.11 AHTN-G Derived from N-N open compounds

Base Forms	Derived Form
i. asafo + Awurade 'army' + 'Lord'	Asafo Awurade 'Warlord'
ii. kwankyɛn + dunsini 'roadside' + 'stump'	Kwankyɛn Dunsini 'Helper'
iii. honhom + kronkron 'spirit' + 'holy'	Honhom Kronkron 'Holy Spirit'
iv. akunafoɔ + kunu 'widows' + 'husband'	Akunafoɔ Kunu 'Widows' husband'
v. Nsenkyerɛnne + Nyankopɔn 'miracles' + 'God'	Nsenkyerɛnne Nyankopɔn 'God of miracles'
vi. ankonam + boafɔɔ 'one who walks alone' + 'helper'	ankonam + boafɔɔ 'one who walks alone' + 'helper'
vii. awisiaa + agya 'orphan' + 'father'	Awisiaa Agya 'Father of orphans'
viii. onnibie + adamfo 'the poor' + 'friend'	Onnibie Adamfo 'The friend of the poor'

The data in (4.11) above illustrates the AHTN-G nominalized through the agglutination of two distinct base nouns where the first noun (N1) pre-modifies the second noun (N2), the head noun. This phenomenon is termed as *apposition*. Here, the head noun and its qualifier remain open as could be seen in (4.11) above. The sub-lexical rule for this derivation is a repetition of the one in N-N compounding in combinative style, i.e.

$$(71) \quad N \rightarrow \text{Noun}_{\text{base}}\text{-Noun}_{\text{base}}$$

Below are examples from 4.11 (i&ii) depicting the (word) structural representation of this morphological pattern:



In (72a), the noun *asafɔ* ‘army’ amalgamated with another noun *Awurade* ‘lord’ to yield the surface form *Asafɔ Awurade* ‘warlord/army commander’. Similarly, in (72b), the base forms which fused together to derive the surface form *Awisiaa Agya* ‘father of the orphan’ are *awisiaa* ‘orphan’ and *agya* ‘father’. It is explicit from this derivations that the nominalized forms remain open. Again, the underlying constituents put together in the surface structure may either be a common or proper, abstract or non-abstract. Having said this, a close look at the names also clearly shows that some of them are in possessive forms. It is observed that the N1 possesses N2 which implies that the former is the possessor whereas the latter is the possessed. Example, in ‘iv’, *akunafoɔ* is the possessor while *kunu* is the possessed. In this light, God is seen in terms of human image, that is, a husband of a widow.

4.2.3.8 Deriving AHTN-G with more than two constituents

The names that have been considered so far under compounding process are those featuring two major word classes and postposition (N-P-N). In this subsection, we consider those with more than two constituent parts. In chapter two, we reviewed some works in various languages (such as Ewe, Dangme, Yoruba, among others) which point to the fact that the morphological structure or phenomenon under discussion is cross-linguistic. We reiterate here that in Akan, works such as Boadi (1989), Anyidoho (1991), Appah (2003, 2013), Abakah

(2004, 2006), Obeng (2001), Owu-Ewie (2014), Agyekum (2017), Agyekum (2018, 2019) etc. attest to the fact that sometimes compound nominals including proper names are derived from at least three underlying constituents or base forms. These nominals could therefore be considered more complex than those with two bases. A critical observation of these nominals brings to bear that their nominalization sometimes even involves a fusion of a whole or parts of a sentence or clause, hence, their complexity nature which could sometimes distort their meanings. It is for this reason why their internal morphological structures must be analysed. Moreover, though they occur post-lexically (in clauses or sentences), they have morphological implications; their outputs are not clauses but nominals. Akan speakers nominalize clauses for word economy; the nominalized parts supposedly provides economic way of demonstrating the meaning of the whole clause (Mensah, 2003 cited in Appah, 2003) The morphological structures that derive the names under this category correspond to that of the traditional sentence in Akan including simple, compound and complex sentences. The sentential compound names and their morphological structures deriving them have been discussed below.

4.2.3.8.1 Deriving AHTN-G from simple sentences

This is where the compound names are deduced through the nominalization of simple sentences. Here, the nominals are usually derived by dropping the subject of the sentence and combining all the remaining elements into one lexical unit in the surface form (see also Obeng, 2001; Appah, 2003). Some of the nominals in the process of their derivation involve affixation. Below are illustrations of these constructions and their morphological structures that derive them.

(73) AHTN-G derived from simple sentence

i.	Pfx	V	N	V	→	Nominal	
	ɔ-	de	bɔne	kye	→	ɔdebɔnekye	
	Nom	take	sin	give		'one who forgives sins'	
ii.	Pfx	V	N	Adj	→	Nominal	
	ɔ-	yɛ	adeɛ	yie	→	ɔyɛadeɛyie	
	Nom	do	thing	good		'Repairer'	
iii.	N		V	Adv	→	Nominal	
	Nyansa		boa	kwa	→	Nyansaboakwa	
	Wisdom		help	freely		'one who gives wisdom freely'	
iv.	V	PostP.	V		→	Nominal	
	Da	ase	brɛ		→	Daasebrɛ	
	Lie	under	tired			'Benevolent'	
v.	Pfx	V	N	N	→	Nominal	
	ɔ-	te	ananka	nnuro	→	ɔteanankannuro	
	Nom	pluck	snake	herbs		'snakebite herbalist'	
vi.	Pfx	V	N	V	N	→	Nominal
	a-	si	ɔhene	tu	ɔhene	→	Asihentuhene
	Nom	install	king	overthrow	king		'one who enthrones and dethrones kings'
vii.	Pfx	V	V	N	→	Nominal	
	ɔ-	ko	foro	ɛbɔɔ	→	ɔkoforobɔɔ	
	Nom	fight	climb	rock		'one who fights on mountainous terrain'	
viii.	Pfx	N	Cop.V	Adj	Sfx	→	Nominal
	ɔ-	koko	yɛ	duru	-foɔ	→	ɔkokɔɔdurufɔɔ ¹⁷
	Nom	chest	is	heavy	Nom		'brave man'

As could be seen from the data above, the derived forms are nominalized sentences or clauses. Here, one thing worthy of note is that in the process of deriving the nominals, the subjects (esp. third person singular [3SG]) in the clauses are covertly expressed (Obeng, 2001). What therefore seems to be subjects in the surface realizations (e.g. singular subject pronoun ɔ-) are rather

¹⁷ The copula verb *yɛ* has been surfaced as [ɔ] (due to the lip position of [o] in the preceding word *koko*) so that *ɔkokoyɛdurufɔɔ* becomes *ɔkokɔɔdurufɔɔ* (see Dolphyne, 1988).

nominalizers. This process is termed as *Subject Dropping* by Appah (2003). The following assertion by Appah (2003: 62) throws more light on this process:

This is the process by which subjects; both lexical and pronominal, are dropped in the process of deriving nouns from clauses... The process of subject dropping may be obscured by the presence of what looks like the pronoun on the derived noun especially when the subject in the clause from which the noun was derived was the third person singular subject pronoun ɔ- 's/he'. The example below will make the point clearer.

- (3-1) a. Papa no ko de foro boɔ - ɔ-koforoboɔ
 man DEF fight.HAB take climb stone
 'the man climbs hills whilst fighting'
- b. ɔ-ko de foro boɔ - ɔ-koforoboɔ
 3SGSUBJ-fight.HAB takes climb stone
 'he climbs hills whilst fighting' 'the mount-climbing warrior'
- c. wo-ko de foro boɔ - ɔ-koforoboɔ
 2SGSUBJ-fight.HAB takes climb stone
 'You climb hills whilst fighting' 'the mount-climbing warrior'
- d. me-ko de foro boɔ - ɔ-koforoboɔ
 1SGSUBJ-fight.HAB takes climb stone
 'I climb hills whilst fighting' 'the mount-climbing warrior'

In the example b above, it looks like it is the subject pronoun [ɔ-] that has remained as part of the derived noun, but that is not the case. The [ɔ-] is just a nominal prefix. As the example a and the following one show, a nominal prefix like that one will be affixed on any noun that is of the same class as the one above even if the syntactic structure from which it was derived did not contain a subject pronoun like that one. Also, the examples in (3-1, c-d) show that even if the pronominal subject marker is any person apart from the third, the derived noun will still have [ɔ-] as the nominal prefix.

Following this assertion, we contend that all the prefixes especially [ɔ-] in the derived names are nominalizing prefixes which often coincide with singular subject pronoun marker [ɔ-] (see Kambon, 2012: 240 for similar argument). Further, in this process, the structure SVO is compressed to VO. The subject could, however, be overtly expressed when attempt is made to reconstruct the sentences by highlighting their full forms as has been exemplified by Appah (2003) in '3-1' above.

4.2.3.8.2 Deriving AHTN-G from complex sentences

This is where the nominals are derived from complex sentences; clauses featuring main and subordinate clauses. The names in this category can be subdivided into conditional and relative (compound names) based on their syntactic

structures. The conditional and relative clauses through which some of the names are derived are discussed in the sub-sections below.

4.2.3.8.2.1 Conditional Compounds

This is where the clauses nominalized to derive the names are conditional. In (73) above, it was found out that in deriving the nominals, the subjects are dropped by default and then the elements that remain in the clause are juxtaposed to realize the surface structure representation. Here, a different case is however observed. In deriving the nominals under this category, other elements (non-core) together with the subject in the deep structure are usually dropped in the output level. The nominals may or may not go through affixation. The following exemplifies this Word Formation Process.

(74) AHTN-G derived from conditional compounds

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------|---------|---------|------|--------|---|--|
| i. | Pfx | V | N | V | → | Nominal | |
| | ɔ- | se | adeɛ | yɛ | → | ɔseadeɛyɛ | |
| | Nom | say | thing | do | | ‘one who fulfils his promise’ | |
| ii. | Pfx | V | Pfx | V | N | → | Nominal |
| | a- | hunu | a- | nya | nkwa | → | Ahunuanyankwa |
| | Nom | see | Nom | get | life | | ‘one at the sight of him you live/Saviour’ |
| iii. | N | V | Pfx | V | Postp. | → | Nominal |
| | ɔkwan | si | a- | fa | mu | → | Kwansiafamu |
| | way | block | Nom | pass | in | | ‘one who is able to penetrate through a blocked road/path’ |
| iv. | V | N | Mot.Pfx | V | → | Nominal | |
| | Nya | amane | kɔ- | se | → | Nyaamanekɔse | |
| | Get | problem | go | tell | | ‘one called upon in difficult moments’ | |
| v. | Pfx | V | Pfx | V | → | Nominal | |
| | a- | hunta | a- | hunu | → | Ahuntahunu | |
| | Nom | hide | Nom | see | | ‘one who is able to see things from a hidden place’ | |

- vi. V N Pfx Neg V → Nominal
 Ka ntam a- n to → Kantamanto
 Say oath Nom not violate ‘one who does not violate his
 promise or oath’
- vii. V Pfx Neg V → Nominal
 Kukuru a n tumi → (O)Kukurantumi
 Lift Nom not able ‘one you are unable to
 carry/Impregnable’
- viii. V N Pfx V N Pfx V Pro N → Nominal
 Pata ko a- gye ko a- bo ne bo → Patakoagyekoabonebo
 Separate war Nom take war Nom put his chest ‘one who fights for the
 weak’¹⁸

As could be seen from (74) above, the whole compound is deduced from a sentence comprising two clauses; a conditional clause and a main clause. We observe that the conditional marker is dropped during the nominalization process. Thus in this category, it is not only the subject which undergo the dropping but also the conditional marker ‘a’ and some other underlying units which may not be useful in the derivational process. For example, the form *Ahunuanyankwa* in ‘ii’ can be a truncated or composite form of the clause:

- (75) **Wo-hunu no a, wo-nya nkwa**
 You-see him COND you-get life
 ‘If you see him, you get life’

As said earlier, it could be seen from the above clause that the highlighted elements including the second person singular subject *wo* ‘you’, the third person singular marker *no* ‘him’ and the conditional marker *a* are covert in the derived nominal. The selection of the obligatory elements in the clause therefore yields; *hunu+nya+nkwa* (i.e. concatenation of the elements which have not been highlighted). This structure therefore undergoes affixation process to derive the

¹⁸ This title can also be glossed as ‘The one who intercedes in a battle between two parties and ends up being a fighter on one side’ (Agyekum, 2003)

form *a-hunu-a-nya-nkwa* ~ *Ahunuanyankwa* above. Here, the nominal prefix *a-* is noted to occur on both of the verbs *hunu* and *nya* simultaneously. In this light, Kambon (2012) argues that during the nominalization of clause chaining serial constructions (as in ‘74’) in Akan, the nominalizing marker *a-* is sometimes applied simultaneously on the verbs in the construction. The reason Kambon (2012) assigns to this is that two separate markers of perfective and nominalization cannot co-occur in that regard. They are thus said to be in complementary distribution. We take the following examples from his study to support this claim. He derives *Atoapem* and *Abisansuamansa* as follows:

- (76) a. a to a pem
 +NOM encounter +NOM collide
 SVN: *Atoapem* ‘unsurpassable point or thing’
 (Obadele, 2012: 253)
- b. a bisa nsu a ma nsa
 +NOM ask water +NOM give liquor
 SVN: *abisansuamansa* ‘liberal, generous, bountiful, munificent’
 (Kambon, 2012: 235)

In ‘76a’ above, it could be seen that the nominalizer *a-* is applied on the verbs *to* and *pem* respectively. Similarly, in ‘76b’ the nominalizer *a-* has again, been respectively applied on the verbs *bisa* and *ma* simultaneously.

Further, Agyekum (2019: 358) also points out that the nominal *ahunuawu* ‘seeing and dying’ is derived as:

- (77) [Pref V Pref V] → Nominal word
 [a- hunu a- wu] → Ahunuawu
 [Pref see Pref die] ‘powerful/fearful/dangerous/dreadful one’

Here too the nominalizer *a-* has been applied on the base verbs *hunu* and *wu* concurrently. Following these authors, it can be argued that here, the prefix *a-*

applied on the verbs simultaneously, are nominalizers rather than being seen as a performer of perfective function at first glance.

4.2.3.8.3.2 Relative Compounds

This is the last aspect under compounding as a morphological process. It has to do with nominals that are derived from a relative clause. A nominal under this category is a product of a noun (head NP) and a relative clause (embedded in this noun phrase) modifying NP rightwardly. Aziaku (2016) observes that in deriving Ewe animal names from a relative clause, the relative marker or pronoun which always follows its head nouns can be covertly expressed when surfaced. According to him, the animal name *xe-do-a-ameku* ‘African wood owl’ is for instance, derived from the relative construction below:

- (78) *xe* *si* *do-a* *ame* *fe* *ku*
 bird REL plant.HAB man Poss death
 bird that wishes humans’ death
 ‘African wood owl’ (Aziaku, 2016: 94)

We could see from the above construction that the relative marker *si* was covert in the process of deriving the name. Similarly, in Akan, the relative marker in relative constructions together with other non-core elements can drop in the nominalization process as has been exemplified in (79) below:

(79) AHTN-G derived from Relative compounds

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|------|------|------|---|------------------------------------|
| i. | N | Pfx | Foc | V | → | Nominal |
| | Adom | a | nko | ma | → | Ɔdomankoma |
| | Grace | Nom | only | give | | ‘Gracious one’ |
| | | | | | | |
| ii. | V | N | Neg | V | → | Nominal |
| | Twere | dua | m | pon | → | (O)Twereduampon/Tweaduampon |
| | Lean | tree | not | fall | | ‘the one you lean without falling’ |

In this study, there are only two nominals that are analysed under this process.

A close look at the dataset (79) above reveals that the nominal may or may not

involve linear order inversion or transposition. It can be noted here that some of the nominalized forms do not stick to their linear order in the underlying representations. That is, some of the elements swapped positions during the nominalization process. For example, the form *Otwereduampɔn* can be reconstructed to have the full relative construction:

- (80) **Dua a wo-twere no a wo-m-pɔn**
 Tree REL you-lean it COND you-not-fall
 The tree you lean without falling
 ‘Dependable’

In the process of nominalizing this clause, the obligatory elements (unhighlighted elements) must combine to produce the form *dua-twere-m-pɔn*. The verb or VP *twere* is fronted or switch positions with the NP *dua* (object) and then merged with the remaining elements *m-pɔn* yielding the form *Otwereduampɔn* also written as *Tweaduampɔn*. Here too, we see subject deletion (i.e. *wo*) which makes its derivation similar to that of (74) above.

Aziaku (2016) again, asserts that such linguistic swapping probably makes the patient (object) more topical than the subject NP and also to cause a suppression to the non-core units of the structure. The process under discussion has been termed as *Object Fronting* by Appah (2013) and *Head-Dependent Inversion* by Appah (2009). We, however, observe that the derivation of the nominal in ‘79i’ does not follow this process; the linear order remains in the surface form. For instance, *ɔdomankoma* is taken through the following processes during its production. We first write the full form as:

- (81) **Adom a ɔno nko ma**
 Grace REL him alone give
 ‘The grace he alone gives/the ever-gracious one’

The obligatory elements *adom*, *nko*, and *ma* are first concatenated (i.e. *adom-nko-ma*) and with the help of the nominalizing affixes *ɔ-* and *a-* realized as

Ɔdomankoma. We reiterate here that the choice of these affixes are motivated by the semantic class of the referent (i.e. +human). Here too, the relative clause marker ‘a’ is in complementary distribution with the nominalizing prefix *a-* marked on the last unit of the name, that is, *nkoma*. We therefore do not subscribe to the derivation of Ɔdomankoma by Appah (2003) which shows that the relative marker is overt in the surface structure. We tentatively argue that if it were the relative marker ‘a’ which is retained in the output level, it would have been raised or lengthened to have the form [aa] or [â] which is prototypical of relative constructions (Saah, 2010; McCracken, 2013; Abrefa, 2016).

The foregoing discussion has focused on compounding as a word formation process involved in the nominalization of AHTN-G. The sub-section that follows discusses AHTN-G characterising the process of reduplication.

4.2.4 Reduplication in AHTN-G

In chapter two of the study, we explained that reduplication is generally considered as a morphological process. It was also revealed that reduplication is of two types; partial or full, where the former has to do with a repetition of part of a stem and the latter, a complete repetition of a stem or a base. A close look at the data collected for this study also reveals such morphological properties as illustrated in (4.12) below:

Table 4.12 AHTN-G associated with Reduplication

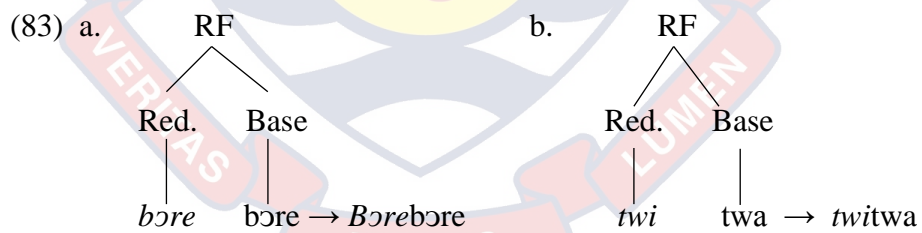
Pfx	Base forms	Gloss	Sfx	Derived form	Gloss
i. -	<i>bɔrebɔre</i>	dig	-	<i>Bɔrebɔre</i>	Originator
ii. ɔ-	<i>kyerɛkyerɛ</i>	Teach	-foɔ	<i>Ɔkyerɛkyerɛfo</i>	Teacher
iii. -	<i>tutu + kɔtwere</i>	uproot + lean	-	<i>Tutukɔtwere</i>	Depend- able
iv. a-	<i>bubu + mmabaa</i>	break + sticks	-	<i>Abubummabaa</i>	Caterpillar/ Moth

v. o-	<i>twitwa</i> + <i>gye</i>	cut + save	-foɔ	Otwitwagyefo	Intercessor
vi. -	<i>hyeberɛ</i> + <i>sesa</i>	destiny + change	-foɔ	Hyeberɛsesafo	Destiny changer
vii. a-	<i>ɛban</i> + <i>denden</i>	wall + hard	-	Abandenden	Strong /hard wall
viii. ɔ-	<i>sorosoro</i> + <i>ɔhene</i>	heavens + king	-	ɔsorosorohene	King of heavens
ix. ɔ-	<i>kronkron</i>	Holy	-ni	ɔkronkronni	The Holy one

It could be seen from the data above that the underlying constituents that contain the italic forms are the reduplicated stems; those that have been italicized are the reduplicants (copies) whereas those that have not been italicized are the original stems or bases that have been reduplicated. It can therefore be structured as:

$$(82) \text{ RF} \rightarrow \text{CONSTITUENT1}_{\text{reduplicant}}\text{-CONSTITUENT2}_{\text{base.}}$$

That is, the reduplicated form (RF) contains the constituents one (C1) and two (C2) denoting the reduplicant (Red.) and the base form respectively as has been exemplified in (83) below:



It can be seen from (83a) that the base form has undergone a complete reduplication. That is, the base form *bore*, a verb, has been reduplicated to be surfaced as *Borebore* ‘dig repeatedly’ converted to imply an originator. Here, the copy (reduplicant) serves as a (nominal) prefix to the verb base (see Adomako, 2012). Also, in (83b) the first compound element has been partially reduplicated. That is, the verb base *twa* ‘cut’ has been reduplicated to derive the form *twitwa* ‘cut repeatedly’. In this light, the first syllables *twi* similarly serves

as prefix to the base forms *twa* (Adomako, 2012). From this analysis, we could observe both partial (incomplete) and complete reduplications occurring in the nominals. However, those that undergo incomplete reduplication are only two (v & vi). The rest of the data have been fully reduplicated. Moreover, ‘i-vi’ constitute reduplicated verb nominals or nominals derived from reduplicated verbs; ‘vii’ depicts reduplicated adjective nominal. The rest (viii-ix) also highlight reduplicated nouns. Further, it can be seen from the data above that in the process of the nominalization, some forms may or may not take any nominalizing affixes and so the derived forms in this category could go through affixation or not. In ‘i’ for instance, the nominalizing affixes are covert whilst the ones (affixes) in ‘ii’ are overt in the composite form. Consequently, the verbs reduplicated in the nominals designate repeated actions and those which have reduplicated adjectives denote a degree of intensity. Finally, nouns reduplicated may mark number (singular/plural). The reduplicated nominals here are marking singularity. In this sub-section, we have considered reduplication as a morphological process employed in the formation of AHTN-G. The next sub-section is geared towards AHTN-G that have been borrowed from other languages.

4.2.5 Deriving AHTN-G through borrowing

Borrowing as said earlier is one of the productive ways through which a language increases its stock of vocabulary. In language, borrowing is the process of adding a word or a morpheme from one language (donor) into another (borrowing language) as mentioned in chapter two. The data for the study also reveals some borrowed names that refer to God in Akan as has been exemplified in (4.13) below:

Table 4.13 AHTN-G derived through borrowing

Borrowed Name	Gloss	Source Language
i. Yahwe (Exo. 6:3)	Lord/Father	Hebrew
ii. Yahwe Nisi (Exo. 17:15)	Lord of victory	Hebrew
iii. Yahwe Salom (Judg. 6:24)	Lord of Peace	Hebrew
iv. Yahwe Yir'e (Gen. 22:14)	Lord the provider	Hebrew
v. Aba (Mk 14:36)	Father	Hebrew
vi. Lɔya (panin)	Lawyer	English
vii. Gyɛɛgye (panin)	Judge	English
viii. Dɔkota (panin)	Doctor	English
ix. Alpha ne Omega (Rev. 22:13)	Beginning and the End	Greek

The data (4.13) above contains some Akan borrowed names and the various languages from which the names were borrowed as address terms for God. Those with the quotations are specifically extracted from the Asante-Twi Bible (ATB). It is interesting to note that some of the names that fall within this category are honorific names and attributes that originally refer to God in the source languages especially those sourced from Hebrew. However, some of them especially the English lexical items, borrowed into Akan have been semantically or metaphorically extended to God as in table 4.13 above. This means that the names are not originally meant for God but base on how the Akan experience this God decide to represent Him in human terms. For example, the Akan conceptualize God as a lawyer (as seen in 'vi') which implies that He is believed to perform functions similar to that of a lawyer (i.e. advocate, mediator, intercessor, consultant etc.). Further, it is observed that there are instances where in God's appellations, the Akan Christians select a personal name in the Bible and use them as qualifiers (appositives/pre-modifiers) to an indigenous name of God in Akan. Such names can also be referred to as Possessive Open Compounds where the borrowed name is the possessor and the indigenous

name, the possessed. This statement can therefore be constructed as *X possesses Y*, where ‘X’ is the borrowed name (the Possessor) and ‘Y’ being the indigenous name (the Possessed). These names have been exemplified in (4.14) below to make this discussion more practicable.

Table 4.14 Some borrowed AHTN-G derived from possessive open compounds

Borrowed name (X)		Indigenous name (Y)	Derived form	Gloss
i. Abraham	+	Nyankopɔn/ Nyame	Abraham Nyankopɔn/Nyame	God of Abraham
ii. Isak	+	Nyankopɔn/ Nyame	Isak Nyankopɔn/Nyame	God of Isaac
iii. Yakob	+	Nyankopɔn/ Nyame	Yakob Nyankopɔn/Nyame	God of Jacob
iv. Dawid	+	Nyankopɔn/ Nyame	Dawid Nyankopɔn/Nyame	God of David
v. Mose	+	Nyankopɔn/ Nyame	Mose Nyankopɔn/Nyame	God of Moses

As could be seen from (4.14) above, the names in ‘X’ are Hebrew personal names borrowed into Akan and those under ‘Y’ are Akan indigenous honorific names for God. In this light, they have been used as possessors possessing the entity in ‘Y’ (i.e. God). One of the reasons for this linguistic phenomenon is to pragmatically show how these Patriarchs experienced God in their time and hence expecting same from the Supreme God. It is therefore a kind of Biblical allusions by a subject. In other words, praising God with such names or appellations projects the pragmatic view and belief that as God interceded for or delivered those Patriarchs from troubles, so should He respectively act for the speaker in that regard. Illustratively, in the Asante-Twi Bible, we see how long Abraham and Sarah thirsted for a child but with the help of God, had multitude descendants which Christians even believe that the current generation forms part (see Gen. 21:1ff). A subject who is thirst of a child can also make reference to

this Biblical allusion during prayers and supplications to God so that He will equally provide for that speaker. Again, some of the names in both (4.13) and (4.14) above may be synonymous to those (local names) which already exist in the language's lexicon. Some speakers nevertheless, prefer these borrowed names to the traditional ones which is probably for simplicity and prestige. This type of borrowing is mostly employed by Akan Christian religious groups during worship.

The discussion so far has focused on the morphological properties embedded in AHTN-G. The process considered here included affixation, compounding, reduplication and borrowing. Since this study focuses on both morphological and phonological processes, the next sub-sections are devoted for the analysis of the phonological processes the names undergo.

4.3 Phonological analysis of AHTN-G

In chapter two of this study, we noted that phonology is not only concerned with how speech sounds of a language are produced but also the possible combination of these sound units in a word (or even in a phrase). Our aim here, is therefore, to look at the phonological rules or factors that actually account for how structures built by the morphology or Word Formation Rules (WFRs) are phonetically realized. Some of the phonological processes that the names undergo to finally become well-formed include elision, homorganic nasal assimilation (HNA), nasalization of voiced plosives and affricates (Vd-NA), and vowel harmony (VH). It is important to note that the data that are presented under this section are all phonetically or phonemically represented. We first consider elision as a phonological process.

4.3.1 Elision in AHTN-G

Elision, as established in chapter two, has to do with the process of causing sound segments, either a vowel, a consonant or even a stretch of a syllable to delete in the output form. Following Abakah (2004), it is observed that the names that undergo elision occur in the following phonetic environments; word-initial, word or morpheme boundary and word-final. In (4.15) below, the AHTN-G and the respective segments which undergo the elision in the process of realizing the nominals phonetically have been outlined.

Table 4.15 AHTN-G that undergo elision

Base forms	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
i. ɔsa + ɔhɪnɪ	war + king	ɔsahɪnɪ	Warlord
ii. pata + esu	console + cry	pætæsu	Consoler
iii. amansai + ɔhɪnɪ	many + king	amansaiɪnɪ	King of the Universe
iv. akɔ + ɔtæm	wars + shield	akɔtæm	War shield
v. dʒɪ + ɔmaɪ	save + nation	adʒɪmaɪ	Saviour of nations
vi. bɔ + etire	tie + head	abotire	crown
vii. tumi + ɔwura	power + lord	tumiwura	The power wielder
viii. (ɔ-) yarɪɛ + sa (-fɔ)	sickness + heal	ɔyarɪsafɔ	Healer
ix. ɛbɔɔ + tai + tim	rock + parent + unshake	ɔbotartim	The Everlasting rock
x. ɔhɪnɪ + kɛsɪɛ	king + big	ɔhɪnkɛsɪɛ	The Great king
xi. ɪkwadʒɪɛ + ɔbotai	salvation + rock	ɪkwadʒɪbotai	Rock of salvation

xii. dua + esini	tree + a fraction	<i>du<u>z</u>sini</i> ¹⁹	The stump /Helper
xiii. ayeyie + owura	praises + lord	ayeyiwura	Lord of praise
xiv. ɲkɔnimdie + ɔhɪnɪ	victory + king	ɲkɔnimdihɪnɪ	King of victory
xv. (o-) æduro + yɛ (-fɔɔ)	herb + maker	oduyɛfɔ	Herbalist
xvi. etire + padza (-fɔɔ)	head + lifter	tipadzafɔɔ	Promoter
xvii. anɔ + kwari (-fɔɔ)	mouth + one	ɔnɔkwafɔ	Faithful
xviii. ɔbaataɪ + papa	parent + good	ɔbaatampa	Good parent
xix. nufɔ + tɪntɪn	breast + long	nufɔtɪn	Long breast

In (4.15) above, the underlying segments that have been highlighted are the elided segments in the surface form. The examination of the data at our disposal reveals three kinds of elision based on the phonetic environments they occur. These are, vowel elision (as in ‘i-x’); a simultaneous elision of two vowels (as in ‘xi-xiv’) and syllable elision (as in ‘xv-xix’). The following paragraphs throw more light on these kinds of elision regarding AHTN-G.

To start with, in Akan, when a word that ends in a vowel (V1) is followed by another that begins with a vowel (V2) in the same environment, one of the vowels of the composite V1#V2 sequence formed at the word boundary is elided (Abakah, 2004). From (4.15), there are two different environments the deletion occurs. One, in the nominals, if the first compound member ends in a vowel (V1) and the second compound member’s word-initial segment is also a vowel (V2) specified for the tongue height feature (-Low), the V2 in the sequence V1#V2 deletes by default. This kind of elision is termed as *aphesis* (omission

¹⁹ There is an insertion of /n/ at morpheme boundary as has been italicised and underlined to probably ease pronunciation.

of initial vowel). In ‘i-vii’, we see such kind of deletion. This process can therefore be captured by the rule:

(84) [-low, +syll, -cons] → Ø / V#___ (i.e. delete word-initial vowel (V2) at word boundary)

Two, there are cases where the V2 of V1#V2 is covert in the underlying representation. In such situation, the V1, usually suffixes, are by default omitted in the output form (as seen in ‘viii-x’). According to dataset (4.15), the word-final vowels are also specified as [-Low]. That is, here, when the preceding unit of the compounding ends in a vowel and the following unit has no vowel beginning it, the vowel ending the first word automatically deletes at word boundary. This process can also be schematized as:

(85) [-low, +syll, -cons] → Ø / ___#V (i.e. delete word-final vowel (V1) at word boundary).

Aside from the elision sub-processes discussed above, there are some of the names which also undergo (simultaneous) elision of two vowels at the word boundary (i.e. highlighted segments in ‘xi-xiv’). Such names constitute N-N compounds in the study (except ‘xii’, which is N-Adj). In this light, both V1 and V2 of V1#V2 undergo deletion when they are all specified as [-Low] and the V1, [-Round] whilst V2, [+Round]. So generally, when two free forms (N-N) combine to form the name and the first element ends in a vowel whereas the following element begins with another vowel, they (V1+V2) get dropped at word boundary on condition that:

- the V1 and V2 are all [-Low];
- the V1# is [-Round] and;
- the #V2 is [+Round].

In this regard, the phonological rule that surfaces the names can be formulated as:

(86) [-low, +syll, -cons] → Ø /#___# (i.e. delete vowels before and after word boundary).

The following examples have been taken from (4.15) above to illustrate and/or summarize what has been discussed so far by throwing more light on how the various phonological rules formulated above apply to the dataset (4.15) above.

The demonstration of vowel(s) segment elision is illustrated in (87) below:

(87) Vowel(s) elision:

‘Commander’	‘Healer’	‘King of victory’	Gloss
/ɔsa-ɔhɪnɪ/	/(ɔ-) yarɪɛ-sa (-fɔ̃)/	/ɲkɔnimdiɛ-ɔhɪnɪ/	UR
ɔ	-	-	#V2 eln (rule (84))
-	ɛ	-	V1# eln (rule (85))
-	-	e, ɔ	V1#V2 eln (rule (86))
[ɔsahɪnɪ]	[ɔyarɪsafɔ̃]	[ɲkɔnimdihɪnɪ]	PR

It can be seen from (87) that in the first column, when *ɔsa* ‘war’ and *ɔhɪnɪ* ‘king’ merged, the V2 [ɔ-] at morpheme boundary (i.e. a vowel prefix in *ɔhɪnɪ*) which is [-Low] obligatorily elided to derive *ɔsahɪnɪ* ‘warlord’ in the phonetic representation (PR). This clearly depicts the application of #V2 rule in (84) above. Also, in the second column, the nominal *ɔyanɪsafɔ̃* (ɔ) ‘healer’ is a merger of the free forms *yarɪɛ* ‘sickness’ and *sa* ‘heal’ being nominalized by resorting to the agentive affixes ɔ- and -fɔ̃. It can be seen that the suffix -ɛ in the base form *yarɪɛ* dropped in the output level. This is also an indication that it is the V1 of V1#V2 that elided and, therefore, subscribe to the phonological rule (85) above. In column three, the suffix -e (V1#) in *ɲkɔnimdiɛ* ‘victory’ and the prefix ɔ- (#V2) in *ɔhɪnɪ* ‘king’ in the underlying representation simultaneously elided

to realize the phonetic form *ɲkonimdihunu* ‘king of victory’. This illustration is also a true reflection of the phonological rule (86) above.

The last aspect under elision is anchored on syllable elision, another elision process that some of the names subscribe to. Vowel(s) deletion has been accounted for in the above paragraphs and therefore we currently look at some of the names which are observed to involve a wholesale elision of an entire syllable as highlighted in ‘xv-xix’. In examples ‘xv-xvii’, the lexical categories underlying the elision are nouns which have been compounded with verbs (xv & xvi) or a noun (xvii) to realize the outputs. A look at these names reveals that when two free forms agglutinate to form the compound name, and the first element (except in ‘xvii’ where the second element undergo the elision) is a noun whose last syllable is a CV, this whole syllable is often deleted in the resultant name. The deletion usually occurs on condition that:

- the C of the final syllable is specified as [+Sonorant];
- the V is [-Low]

The rule that can be adopted here is, therefore, given as:

(88) $CV \rightarrow \emptyset / ___\#$ (i.e. delete the final CV syllable at morpheme boundary)

Another deletion here occurs in reduplicated adjectives occurring as a second compound member in the underlying representation. Part of reduplicated adjectives are noted to undergo the elision when combined with other components (nouns) to produce their phonetic forms. This also involves elision of stem-initial candidates (a copy prefixed to the base) at morpheme boundary. Further, the syllables dropped here are either monosyllabic or disyllabic. From (‘xviii-xix’), it can be seen that the second components in the base forms are

adjectival stems being truncated to yield the structures in the derived forms. This can also resort to the formula below:

(89) CV/CVC → Ø /+ #___ (i.e. delete the monosyllabic/disyllabic segments at morpheme boundary).

We explicitly show how the syllable elision occurs in the illustrations below:

(90) Syllable elision:

‘Promoter’	‘Long breast’	Gloss
/(e)tire-padza(-fʊɔ)	/nufʊ-tɪntɪn/	UR
re	-	CV# eln (rule (88))
-	tn	#CVC eln (rule (89))
[tipadʒafʊɔ]	[nufʊtɪn]	PR

The first column in (90) above, exemplifies the deletion of CV syllable. Here, the final syllable *re* (CV) in *etire* ‘head’ got deleted in the output level (i.e. *tipadʒafʊɔ*), because, the sonorant /r/ and the [-Low] vowel /e/ occurred in the same neighbourhood. This is an instance of rule (88) application. Additionally, in (90), it can be observed from the second column that the reduplicated adjectival stem *tɪntɪn* which is a CVCCVC becomes *tn*, a CVC, when combined with the preceding element *nufʊ* ‘breast’ to produce the form *nufʊtɪn* ‘long breast’ in the phonetic form. This development has therefore caused a reduction of syllables from four (i.e. tɪ.n.tɪ.n) in the underlying representation to two in the phonetic representation (i.e. tɪ.n). Rule (89) above is observed to underpin this derivation. This sub-section has focused on names that undergo elision process. The following sub-section is geared towards the exploration of the names under homorganic nasal assimilation (HNA).

4.3.2 Homorganic nasal assimilation in AHTN-G

With this process, a speech sound takes on the place of articulation of its adjacent sound. HNA is thus a phonological process whereby a nasal takes on the place of articulation of the consonant in its neighbourhood (see chapter two). The names under this category further provide the evidence that Akan HNA occurs regressively as seen in (4.16) below. It can be observed from the names that undergo this process that a stem-final nasal in a preceding unit of the compound is replaced with nasals which are homorganic with the stem-initial consonant in the following compound unit. The following examples illustrate this kind of phonological process.

Table 4.16 HNA in AHTN-G

	Base forms	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
i.	εban + kesie	wall + big	abaηkesi(ε)	The great wall
ii.	ɔhɪni + kesie	king + big	ɔhɪηkesie	Great king
iii.	ɔbaatan + pa	parent + good	ɔbaatampa	Good parent
iv.	ɔhɪni + pɔn	king + great	ɔhɪmpɔn	Mighty king
v.	εban + bɔ (-fɔɔ)	protection + keep	ɔbambɔfɔɔ	Guard
vi.	aten + bua (-fɔɔ)	judgement + pass	otembuaɔfɔɔ ²⁰	The Judge

From (4.16) above, the highlighted final nasal segments in the preceding compound members undergo the regressive assimilation. That is, in all the examples above, it can be noticed that the nasals in the preceding base forms have undergone the process of assimilation. We formulate the phonological rule that surfaces the nominals here and thereafter, demonstrate how it works below:

²⁰ This form is still ill-formed; it has to further undergo progressive assimilation as has been elaborated under voiced-to-nasal assimilation.

(91) HNA: N → N / ___ C
 [αPlace] [αPlace]

(92) HNA:

‘Great wall’	‘Great king’	‘the Powerful one’	Gloss
/ɛban-kɛsɪɛ/	/ɔhɪmɪ-pɔn /	/o-tumi-fɔɔ/	UR
ɲ	m	-	/n/ assimilation
-	-	ɲ	/m/ assimilation
[abaŋkɛsɪɛ]	[ɔhɪmpɔn]	[otumfɔɔ]	PR

In (92), the first illustration, a final nasal /n/ in *ɛban* is assimilated into /ɲ/ in the phonetic representation so that it will be homorganic with the velar sound /k/ in *kɛsɪɛ* which occurs in its neighbourhood thereby deriving the output form *abaŋkɛsɪɛ* ‘great wall’. In the second example, the bilabial sound /p/ at the stem-initial of the second compound element, that is, *pɔn* ‘great’ regressively assimilated the final nasal /n/ in the first compound component (i.e. *ɔhɪmɪ*) to /m/ in order to have a common place of articulation at the phonetic level. It is discernible from the above that before the assimilation takes place, all the interfering segments (usually vowels), if any, are deleted to ease the process. That is, the stem-final vowel /ɪ/ in *ɔhɪmɪ* first elided (as in *ɔhɪm-pɔn*) to pave way for the process to be effected. When the HNA occurring in compound names are put aside, some of the names which also undergo this process are those with single stems. Here, a stem featuring final nasals are merged with the agentive suffix *-fɔɔ* to obtain the surface forms conforming to this rule as seen in the third column of our illustrations. That is, in the form *otumfɔɔ*, the labiodental segment /f/ in the suffix *-fɔɔ* underlyingly influenced /m/, a bilabial sound in the stem *tumi* to be manifested as /ɲ/ in the output form. Other examples of such

nominals which undergo this process include: ɔ-dom-fɔɔ [ɔdomfɔɔ], ɔwɛmfɔɔ [ɔwɛmfɔɔ], etc.

4.3.3 Voiced-to-nasal assimilation in AHTN-G

Another phonological process which some of the names subscribe to is nasalization of voiced plosives and affricates. Under this process, an oral stop or plosive specified as [+voice] assimilates into a nasal before a nasal prefix in a stem or after a stem-final nasal in a preceding word regarding compound nominals. Unlike HNA, voiced-to-nasal assimilation (Vd-NA) is progressive and involves manner of articulation as discussed in chapter two. The names that undergo this kind of process have been exemplified below:

Table 4.17 Vd-NA in AHTN-G

Base forms	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
i. (o-) atɛn + bua (-fɔɔ)	judgement + pass	otemmuafɔɔ	Judge
ii. n-dɔbaa + owura	foodstuffs + lord	nnɔbæɛwura	Owner of foodstuffs, Magnificent
iii. (a-) bubu + m-babaa	break + sticks	æbubummabaa	Caterpillar/ moth
iv. (ɔ-) tɪ + anaŋka + n- ɖuro	pluck + snake + herbs	ɔtɪanaŋkannuro	Snakebite herbalist
v. (æ-) kum + a-n-ɖi+ æwu	kill + does not commit + murder	ækumænniæwu	He who kills without committing a crime
vi. obi + a-m-bɔ + wɔ	Sm'body + did not create + you	obiammɔwɔ	Ancient of days

The segments which have been highlighted in (4.17) are the segments which have undergone the assimilation. It is also noted from the data that with the exception of ‘i’ which involved word boundary assimilation, all the other nominals involved word-internal (in stems) assimilation. Furthermore, from the data, the nasal prefixes or assimilators mark a grammatical function such as number as in ‘ii-iv’, and negation as seen in ‘v-vi’. The phonological rule that captures this assimilatory process is given by:

(93) Vd-NA: C → N / N____
 [+Voiced]

In (94) below, we provide more insights into the way the nominals under this category are phonetically realized by adopting rule (93) above.

(94) Vd-NA:			
	‘Foodstuffs provider’	‘Judge’	Gloss
	/n-dɔbaa-owura/	/(o-) tɛm-bua (-fo)/	UR
	-	m	/b/ assimilation
	n	-	/d/ assimilation
	[nnɔbææwura]	[otemmaufɔɔ]	PR

In example one, it can be seen that the nasal prefix /n/ marking plurality in *ndɔbaa* has influenced the voiced plosive /d/ to become /n/ in the surface form yielding *nnɔbaa* instead of *ndɔbaa*. The progressive nature of this process is evident in the example shown above. More so, the second column shows that sometimes before a name undergoes this process, HNA must occur. This process is therefore, a bi-directional assimilation (Katamba, 1989). Thus, in *Otemmuafɔɔ*, the final /n/ of *aten* was first assimilated into /m/ in order to be homorganic with the stem-initial consonant /b/ in *bua* to produce the form *atembua*, after which the Vd-NA applies to it to be realized as *atemmua*. This form then takes the agentive affixes o- and -foɔ to be truly outputted as *otemmaufɔɔ*. Again, the vowel harmony is observed to cause the underlying /ɛ/

[-ATR] to become /e/ [+ATR] in the phonetic form. Three phonological processes have thus far been explored. The last phonological process that the names undergo is the Vowel harmony principle discussed in the next subsection.

4.3.4 Vowel harmony in AHTN-G

Vowel harmony is a phonological process aimed at restricting a set of vowels that occur in a stem and sometimes compound nominals. In chapter two, it was noticed that Akan vowels can be classified into two sets based on the tongue root harmony. Set I are advanced [+ATR] which are [i e o u æ] and Set II are unadvanced [-ATR] which are [ɪ ɛ ɔ ʊ a]. Therefore, when only one set of vowels are distributed lexically or post-lexically, we say the process of vowel harmony has occurred (see chapter two for more). We observe that although vowel harmony is productive in Akan, it is seemingly less productive as far as the AHTN-G is concerned. We nevertheless, discuss the names that undergo this ATR harmony rule and make comments where necessary. Some exceptions which make it less productive will also be dealt with later in this session.

A close look at the data at our disposal shows that in combining two or more free forms to derive the nominal, vowels in preceding units usually adopt the [ATR] specification of the vowels in the following units at the phonetic level. Like HNA, vowel harmony is equally a regressive rule (Dolphyne, 1988; Adomako, 2008). In (4.18) below, we show examples of the names that undergo this process and demonstrate its occurrence thereafter.

Table 4.18 Vowel (ATR) harmony in AHTN-G

Base forms	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
i. kukuru + a-ntumi	lift + not able to carry	(o)kukurætumi	Unable to carry, impregnable
ii. kum + anini	kill + men	okumænini	Killer of men, a great warrior
iii. bɔ + etire	tie + head	abotire	Crown
iv. toturo + bɔ + nsuo	Fall (repeatedly) + create + water	(o)toturobonsu	One who makes water overflow and makes rain fall copiously
v. (a-) hunta + (a-) hunu	hide + see	æhuntæhunu	Omnipresent
vi. kɔntɔnkrɔn + owia	curve/round + sun	kontonkurowi	The luminous circle/halo
vii. kata + atɛi	cover + back	kætætɛie	Valiant
viii. pata + esu	console + cry	pætæsu	Consoler

In the base forms in (4.18), it could be realised that both [-ATR] and [+ATR] vowels have mixed up but in the output form, the [+ATR] vowels have regressively assimilated the [-ATR] vowels (in order to ensure that all the vowels become +ATR ones) into [+ATR] vowels. It can be stated that the VH has taken place in that respect. The phonological rule that yields these nominals can be formulated as:

$$(95) \text{ VH: } \begin{matrix} V_{\text{BASE}} \\ [-\text{ATR}] \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} [+ATR] \\ [+ATR] \end{matrix} / \text{ ______ } \begin{matrix} V_{\text{BASE}} \\ [+ATR] \end{matrix}$$

The illustration below also shows the application of this rule.

(96) VH:

‘Crown’	‘Killer of men’	Gloss
/abɔ-tire/	/okum-anini/	UR
o	æ	[+ATR] spreading/assimi.
[abotire]	[okumænini]	PR

It could be seen from (96) that the advanced vowels in the following stems have assimilated the unadvanced vowels in the preceding compound elements to also take the +ATR feature. In the first column, it is evident that in *abotire*, the unadvanced /ɔ/ in *bɔ* has been assimilated into /o/ [+advance] due to the influence of the advanced vowels /e/ and /i/ in *etire*. In other words, /e, i/ spread to change /ɔ/ [-ATR] into /o/ [+ATR] so as to ensure that the vowels in the nominal will come from only one set (Set I) and at the long run obtain the harmony. In the second column, the prefix *a-* in the second element has been assimilated into *æ* in order to obtain the +ATR feature of the vowel /i/, in the stem *nini* to be surfaced as *okumænini* instead of *okumanini*.

Notwithstanding this, there are instances where the harmony is distorted. There are thus, cases where both sets of the vowels occur in a nominal at the output level and this violates the rule. Some of the exceptions to the VH process in the names are illustrated in (4.19) below. The agentive suffix *-foɔ* which is one of the violators of VH (Dolphyne, 1988) is consistently featured in most of the names thereby causing the disharmony as seen in the data below:

Table 4.19 Vowel disharmony in AHTN-G

Base forms	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss	Ill-form
i. aduro + yɛ (-fo)	herb + make	oduɣɛfo	Herbalist	*ɔduɣɛfo
ii. tutu + kɔ-tɛɣiri	uproot + go lean	tutukɔtɛɣiri	Dependable	*totokɔtɛɣiri
iii. tumi + owura	power + lord	tumiwura	Power wielder	*tumiwuræ
iv. dua + pɔn	tree + big	odupɔn	Great tree	*ɔdupɔn

In the above table, it can be observed that always, when [+ATR] vowels precede [-ATR] vowels, the rule is violated as the former usually resist the latter's influence or spreading in the regressive manner. This is further exemplified in (97) below:

(97) VH:

'Great tree'	'Power wielder'	Gloss
/odu-pɔn/	/tumi-wura/	UR
-	æ	[+ATR] assimilation (progressive)
ɔ, ɒ	-	[+ATR] assimilation (regressive)
*[ɔdɔpɔn]	*[tumiwuraɛ]	PR

In *odupɔn*, the [-ATR] vowel /ɔ/ as in *pɔn* could not regressively assimilate the vowels /o/ and /u/ in the preceding element which are [+ATR] vowels. That is, at the phonetic level, the form *ɔdɔpɔn* was derived which is ungrammatical in Akan. Also, /a/ as in *owura* has violated the rule because it occurs after [+ATR] vowels /i, o, u/ in the stems *tumi* and *owura* respectively. That is, always when [-ATR] vowels come after [+ATR] ones in nominals, the vowel harmony rule does not apply and if it is forced to apply (progressively), it will yield ill-formedness as seen in the last row (PR).

In this chapter, we have in separate manner, discussed the morphological as well as phonological processes underlying the names. In this sub-section below, we interleave both morphological and phonological properties in the names in a single framework known as Lexical Phonology (LP).

4.4 Formalization of the analysis

We have discussed both morphological and phonological properties underlying the names in the previous sections. We now formalize the analysis through the

lens of Lexical Phonology, a theory which seeks to merge both morphological and phonological processes outlined in the thesis. That is, LP has to do with the interface of morphology and phonology in a single framework (Kiparsky, 1982; Mohanan, 1982; Pulleyblank, 1986). Here, we show how the word formation rules (WFRs) underlying the names which have been described in (4.2) above interact with some respective phonological rules (in 4.3) prior to the true realization of the names in the surface form. We straightforwardly highlight our (local) rules which will be useful here and refer readers to chapter two for a full discussion on LP. The following word formation (morphological) rules formulated in sub-section 4.2 are repeated here for the illustrations:

Table 4.20 Some word formation (morphological) rules in AHTN-G

WFR	Form
i, Noun _{base} -Noun _{base}	→ N
ii, (Pfx)-Noun _{base} -Adj _{base}	→ N
iii, (Pfx)-Noun _{base} -Verb _{base} -(Sfx)	→ N
iv, (Pfx)-Verb _{base} -Noun _{base}	→ N

The above rules established are only morphological and as the form *morphophonemic* in the title of this study suggests, before the nominals derived through the WFRs or morphological processes are phonetically considered well-formedness, there are corresponding phonological rules which must further apply. In (4.21) below, the various phonological rules (as formulated in 4.3) that must also apply after the application of the WFRs (as in 4.20) have been recaptured.

Table 4.21 Some phonological rules in AHTN-G
Phonological Rules (Ph.R)

- a) Eln: i, [-low, +syll, -cons] → Ø / V#___
- ii, [-low, +syll, -cons] → Ø / ___#V

- iii, $CV \rightarrow \emptyset / __\#$
- iv, $[-low, +syll, -cons] \rightarrow \emptyset / \# __\#$
- v, $CVC \rightarrow \emptyset / \# ___$
- b) HNA:
$$\begin{array}{ccc} N & \rightarrow & N / ___ C \\ [\alpha Place] & & [\alpha Place] \end{array}$$
- c) Vd-NA:
$$\begin{array}{ccc} C & \rightarrow & N / N ___ \\ [+Voiced] & & \end{array}$$
- d) VH:
$$\begin{array}{ccc} V_{BASE} & \rightarrow & [+ATR] / ___ V_{BASE} \\ [-ATR] & & [+ATR] \end{array}$$

The above are rules which are phonologically conditioned to occur and when interleaved with the WFRs, derive well-formed lexical representations. The intermingling of morphological and phonological properties in the names can be sketched as:

Figure 4.1



In the sketch above, the right-left arrow \longleftrightarrow between the WFR and phonological rule symbolizes the interconnectedness between the morphological and phonological rules thereby aptly dealing with our morphophonemic concerns. The examples below demonstrate how the morphological and phonological rules (Ph.Rs) come together into a single frame to realize the true output forms.

4.4.1 Formalization of elision in AHTN-G

Based on phonetic environment, four types of deletion will be illustrated here. These are stem-initial (aphesis), stem-final (apocope), stem-initial cum stem-final and syllable elision all occurring at morpheme (word) boundary (i.e. #). In (4.22) below, we show examples in each case and make comments thereafter.

Table 4.22 Illustration of vowel elision in AHTN-G

lexicon			
'power wielder' /tumi + owura/ tumiowura	'rock of salvation' /ɲkwadziɛ + ɔbotai/ ɲkwadziɛɔbotai	'healer' /(ɔ-) yariɛ + sa (-fɔ)/ - ɔyariɛsafɔ	Gloss UR Compounding: <i>WFRi</i> Compounding plus affixation: <i>WFRiii</i>
-	-	-	#V2 eln: <i>Ph.Ri</i>
tumiwura	-	-	#V2 eln: <i>Ph.Ri</i>
-	ɲkwadziɔbotai	-	V1#V2 eln: <i>Ph.Riv</i>
-	-	ɔyariɛsafɔ	V1# eln: <i>Ph.Rii</i>
[tumiwura]	[ɲkwadziɔbotai]	[ɔyariɛsafɔ]	PR

Here, we assume that the structure (4.22) above is our lexicon (mental faculty) in which the nominals are derived. It could be seen from the above data that the highlighted segments respectively undergo the elision in the process of realizing the phonetic forms. In the first column of (4.22) above, the *WFRi* derived the nominal *tumiowura* from the constituents, *tumi* plus *owura*. To obtain the phonetic form, segment elision rule *Ph.Ri* then applies to the deletion of /o-/ (i.e. stem-initial prefix) at formative word boundary so that *tumiowura* becomes *tumiwura*. There is yet another elision occurring at word boundary which involves the elision of both word-final and word-initial segments simultaneously as in column two of our lexicon above. Here, the *WFRi* first applied to have the nominalized form *ɲkwadziɛɔbotai* from the underlying constituents, *ɲkwadziɛ* and *ɔbotai*. Through *Ph.Riv*, both /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ co-occurring at word boundary automatically delete further to be phonetically realized as *ɲkwadziɔbotai*. Also, in

(4.22), column three, the *WFRiii* applied to yield the form *ɔyariɛsafʊ(ɔ)*. The *Ph.Rii* then applied further to drop the (stem) final vowel /ɛ/ in the preceding compound element *yariɛ* to yield a complete phonetic form *ɔyarisafʊ(ɔ)*. The elision sub-processes exemplified so far do not include syllable elision. The illustration below also exemplifies syllable elision.

Table 4.23 Illustration of syllable elision in AHTN-G

lexicon		
‘promoter’ /etire + padza (-fʊɔ)/ etirepadzafʊɔ/	‘long breast’ /nufʊ + tɪntɪn/ - nufʊtɪntɪn	Gloss UR Compounding plus affixation: <i>WFRiii</i> Compounding: <i>WFRii</i>
tipadzafʊɔ	- nufʊtɪn	CV# eln: <i>Ph.Riii</i> #CVC eln: <i>Ph.Rv</i>
[tipadzafʊɔ]	[nufʊtɪn]	PR

In (4.23), it is observed that the free forms *etire* and *padza* merged with the suffix *-fʊɔ* to derive *etirepadzafʊɔ* under *WFRiii*. To produce the well-formed nominal, *Ph.Riii* then applied in the process of realizing the lexical representation of this form where the entire CV syllable, *re* deleted yielding the form *tipagyafʊɔ*. In the second column of our lexicon, the *WFRii* occurred to obtain *nufʊtɪntɪn*. To realize the phonetic form, *Ph.Rv* further applied to it to surface as *nufʊtɪn*. It is important to state that though the vowels or single segments deleted could also constitute syllables, we decided to analyse them under single elision since they involve only one segment but not two as seen in (4.23) above.

4.4.2 Formalization of HNA in AHTN-G

In demonstrating how the name *ḡhumpḡn* is phonetically ascertained, first, *WFRii* must occur which then sends it to the *Ph.Rb* (HNA) for its complete account in the phonetic representation as in (4.24) below:

Table 4.24 Illustration of HNA in AHTN-G

lexicon	
'great king'	Gloss
/ḡhɪnɪ + pḡn/	UR
ḡhɪnpḡn	Compounding: <i>WFRii</i>
ḡhumpḡn	HNA: <i>Ph.Rb</i>
[ḡhumpḡn]	PR

Here, we assume that the structure is our lexicon (mental faculty) in which the nominal is derived. In the data above, it is observed that the forms *ḡhɪnɪ* and *pḡn* combined to derive a new form *ḡhɪnpḡn* under the *WFRii*. In this light, the nominal has only undergone a morphological process (i.e. agglutination of constituents) which is then altered by going through a phonological process HNA (*Ph.Rb*) to yield the full phonetic form *ḡhumpḡn* where /n/ is assimilated into /m/ under the influence of /p/, a bilabial sound in its neighbourhood.

4.4.3 Formalization of Vd-NA in AHTN-G

Again, the morphophonemic process underlying the name *æbubummabaa* is illustrated in (4.25) below:

Table 4.25 Illustration of Vd-NA in AHTN-G

lexicon	
‘caterpillar’	Gloss
/æbubu + mbabaa/	UR
æbubumbabaa	Compounding and affixation: <i>WFRiv</i>
æbubummabaa	Vd-NA: <i>Ph.Rc</i>
[æbubummabaa]	PR

It could be seen from (4.25) above that the free forms *bubu* and *mbabaa* concatenated to derive *abubumbabaa* after going through the first phase (i.e. applying *WFRiv*). The *Vd-NA* is then applied to this form to produce the right phonetic form *æbubummabaa*, where the plural marker /m/ assimilated /b/, its adjacent segment to also become a nasal /m/ as has been highlighted in the nominal above.

4.4.4 Formalization of vowel harmony in AHTN-G

In phonetically realising the form ‘abotire’, we apply *WFRiv* and *Ph.Rd* (VH) as has been seen in (4.26) below:

Table 4. 26 Illustration of vowel harmony in AHTN-G

lexicon	
‘Crown’	Gloss
/bɔ + etire/	UR
abɔtire	Compounding and affixation: <i>WFRiv</i>
abotire	VH: <i>Ph.Rd</i>
[abotire]	PR

Through *WFRiv*, the new word *abɔtire* is derived by adjoining the underlying constituents *bɔ* and *etire* with the assistance of the nominal prefix *a-*. To obtain a true lexical representation of the new word formed, a phonological operation

VH then applies so that the segment /ɔ/ as highlighted in *bɔ* becomes /o/ (as seen in *abotire*) under the influence of the ATR specification of the vowels in the second element of the constituents (i.e. +ATR). In other words, we see that the segments /e, i/ in *etire* have spread regressively to dissociate the [-ATR] feature in *bɔ* to be surfaced as /o/ so as to be like them (i.e. +ATR vowels). There are nevertheless, cases where the process fails to work. We therefore show the exceptions to this rule in (4.27) below:

Table 4.27 Illustration of exceptions to VH in AHTN-G

	lexicon
‘great tree’ /dua + pɔn/ odupɔn	Gloss UR Compounding and affixation: <i>WFRii</i>
ɔdupɔn	VH: <i>Ph.Rd</i> (regressive)
*[ɔdupɔn]	PR

It is observed in (4.27) above that at step one of our derivation, the free forms *dua* and *pɔn* combined to produce the form *odupɔn* (by attaching the nominalizer *o-* through the *WFRii*. It is seen that when attempt was made for the [-ATR] vowel /ɔ/ in *pɔn* to regressively spread to /u, o/ so that they will drop their [+ATR] quality to be surfaced as [ɔ/ɔ], we obtained ill-formedness as indicated by the asterisk. The study therefore provides more evidence that in Akan, [-ATR] vowels cannot influence [+ATR] vowels and that the otherwise is the case; [+ATR] vowels always assimilate [-ATR] vowels in regressive manner (Dolphyne, 1988; Bodomo & Marfo, 2006).

4.4.5 Formalization of multiple undergoers

There are instances where some of the names are observed to undergo more than one of the morphophonemic rules before the true lexical item is obtained. This case is exemplified in (4.28) below:

Table 4.28 Illustration of multiple processes in AHTN-G

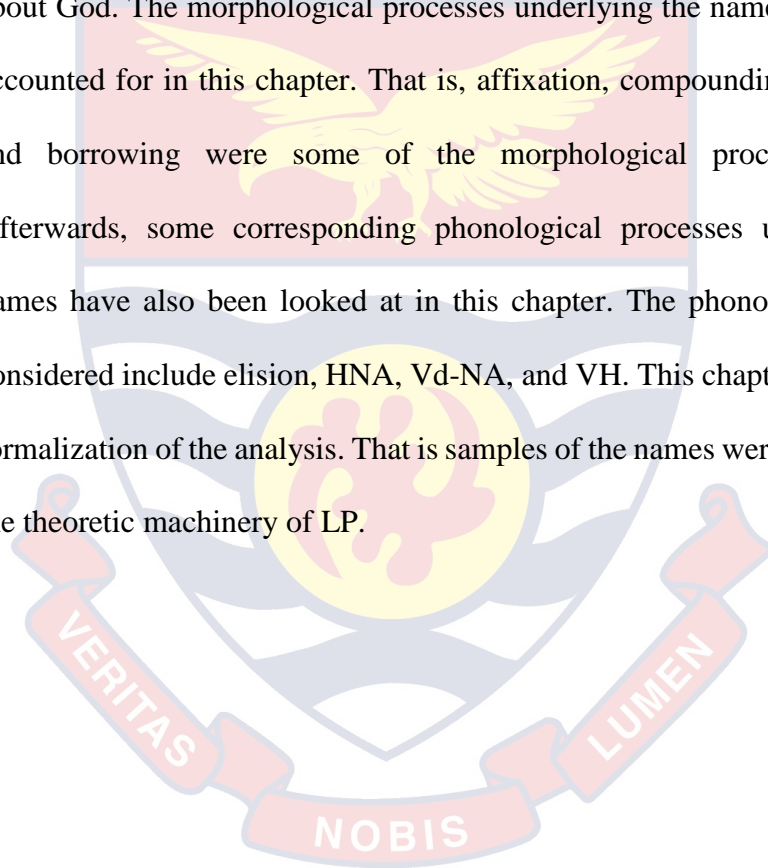
lexicon	
‘judge’	Gloss
/(ɔ-) atɛn + bua (-fɔɔ)/	UR
ɔtɛnbuaɔfɔɔ	Compounding plus affixation: <i>WFRiii</i>
ɔtɛmbuaɔfɔɔ	HNA: /n/ assimilation
ɔtɛmmuaɔfɔɔ	Vd-NA: /b/ assimilation
otɛmmuaɔfɔɔ	VH: [+ATR] assimilation
[otɛmmuaɔfɔɔ]	PR

At the morphological stage (*WFRiii*), we see that the free forms *atɛn*, and *bua* together with the suffix *-fɔɔ* and prefix *o-* derived the new form *ɔtɛnbuaɔfɔɔ*. At this stage, no phonological rule is applied yet which incompletes the production of the nominal in surface representation. HNA therefore applied afterwards to yield *ɔtɛmbuaɔfɔɔ*, where the highlighted segment /n/ underwent assimilation by the influence of /b/. Although the name has undergone HNA, the form ascertained is still not right in phonetic form and hence the application of Vd-NA to further deduce the form *ɔtɛmmuaɔfɔɔ* where the highlighted segment constitutes the assimilated segment (b→m). This new form finally went through the VH rule to surface /ɛ, ɔ/ [-ATR] as /e, o/ [+ATR] respectively under the influence of /u/ in *bua* to have a true phonetic form *otɛmmuaɔfɔɔ*. In spite of this observation, the VH rule is still violated because the distribution of the vowels

in the nominal has not been restricted; both advanced and unadvanced vowels (in the suffix -fɔɔ) are co-occurring in the nominal even in the phonetic form.

4.5 Summary of chapter

This chapter concentrated on the analysis and discussions of the data collected for the study. First, we discussed the etymology of some of the names, especially the complex ones in order to gain insights into the Akan's belief and philosophy about God. The morphological processes underlying the names have also been accounted for in this chapter. That is, affixation, compounding, reduplication, and borrowing were some of the morphological processes discussed. Afterwards, some corresponding phonological processes underpinning the names have also been looked at in this chapter. The phonological processes considered include elision, HNA, Vd-NA, and VH. This chapter ended with the formalization of the analysis. That is samples of the names were analysed within the theoretic machinery of LP.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter constitutes the last aspect of the thesis. It comprises three sub-sections which are summary, conclusion and recommendations. The current chapter thus provides a summary and conclusion of the entire study. It also highlights the key findings of the study. It further sheds light on some recommendations for future research. The immediate sub-section points to the summary of the research.

5.1 Summary of research

The study set out to investigate the morphological and phonological processes underlying Akan honorific and title names for God. It briefly discussed the etymology of some of the descriptive or metaphorical names of God in order to make generalizations as to why the Akan coin or attribute such names to God. The following research questions were therefore formulated to guide the study:

1. *What are the etymologies of some of the names of God in Akan?*
2. *What morphological processes account for the derivation of the names of God in Akan?*
3. *What are the phonological processes situated in the names of God in Akan?*

With the above research questions in mind, qualitative research approach was adopted to explore the morphophonemics of the names and to find out why and how some of the names came about. Further, the research was drawn on content

analysis which was motivated by various research methods including the design, sources of data, sample and sampling techniques, the instruments and procedures, among others. The employment of these methods and procedures provided the necessary ground for the research and consequently contributed significantly in conceptualizing the study. Lexical Phonology was the theoretical foundation for the study which helped the researcher to incorporate both morphological and phonological theories identified in the names into a single frame thereby ultimately addressing the morphophonemic concerns in the thesis.

5.2 Key findings of the research

The analysis of the data revealed the following findings:

The study revealed that the names ascribed to God in Akan are not mere labels; they reflect the Akan's philosophy, ideology, belief, worldview and thought about God. This therefore affirms what scholars have posited. The etymological analysis also revealed that *imagery* or *metaphor* is one of the common features of AHTN-G. That is, aside from a few names solely attributed to God, all the others constituting the majority of the data, are attributes or characteristics of creatures (human and non-human) that have been metaphorically extended to God to make the concept of and belief in God more realistic. The names analysed were also observed to fall under *folk etymology* since they are attributed to God based on beliefs.

Under the morphological processes, it was found out that a few of the names are derived from single root morphemes that are, however, observed to be mere arbitrary tags which refer to God in metaphorical sense. The study has moreover

brought to light, the morphological processes including affixation, compounding, reduplication and borrowing that the names undergo. It also brought forth that mostly, the lexical categories from which the names are adduced may be verbs, adjectives, or nouns but not adverbs. Again, it can be deduced from the data analysis that the names are recursive in nature and that some of them were even derived through the nominalization of sentences or clauses which makes such names more complex, especially those under compounding.

Additionally, it has been revealed that the names under compounding may either be in isolative or combinative style. None of the names was observed to be a product of Adj-Noun compounds which further provides the evidence to support the claim by Appah (2013) that such a morphological pattern is not as pervasive in Akan as has been previously described. Regarding sentential names, it was noticed that most of the constructions drop their subjects in the course of nominalizing them and hence changes the SVO structure to a VO.

Moreover, in the study, it has been shown that in nominalizing relative clauses, the subject, the relative marker and other non-obligatory elements together delete in the surface structure representation. The study does not, therefore, subscribe to the claim by Appah (2003) that the relative marker is overt in the derived names. In the study, it has also been argued that some affixes which are seemingly subjects or perfective markers are not, rather, they are nominalizers. The names may also be either compositional or non-compositional.

It is also evident in the study that during supplications to God, the Akan through borrowing make Biblical allusions which is in the form of honorification and

also they borrow for simplicity, prestige and to fill semantic gaps as has already been claimed.

Finally, it was realized that to derive true lexical representations of the names, there are some phonological rules which must further apply after applying the word formation rules or processes. The phonological processes identified in the names, therefore, include elision, homorganic nasal assimilation, voiced-to-nasal assimilation and finally, vowel harmony. Due to some vowel harmony violators such as the agentive suffix -foɔ, most of the names were featured with both [+ATR] and [-ATR] vowels which caused disharmony in most of the nominals making this process unproductive in the current study. Generally, it was also evident or confirmed in the study that the Akan resort to most of these morphophonemic rules for economy of expression.

5.3 Recommendations

Following the analysis of the data and subsequent findings, the following recommendations are made for further studies:

1. Due to time and space, there are other phonological aspects of the names which were not accounted for in this study and therefore recommended for potential researchers to further explore them. They include, tonology or tonal alternations, palatalization, nasalization, labial-palatalization, among others. The morphosyntactic analysis of the names could also be looked into.
2. Also, a comparative study can be conducted to find out the differences and similarities between what pertains in Akan and other languages regarding the morphophonemics of personal names (such as those for

God). For example, any of the Niger-Congo (Kwa group) languages (e.g. Ewe, Ga, Dangme, etc.) can be compared to Akan in that regard.

3. Finally, the study was restricted to morphophonology of honorific and title names for God. Apart from kings (human), it was found out during the fieldwork that some other creatures constituting non-human (plants, animals, waterbodies, etc) also have appellations or honorific and title names. It would, therefore, be interesting for future researchers to undertake a sociolinguistic research regarding the creatures with such names.

5.4 Conclusion

By and large, the discussions in the study have unfolded certain morphological and phonological properties characteristic of Akan personal names, particularly, honorific and title names or appellations ascribed to God. The findings of the study has brought to bear that Akan personal names should not only be studied socially or sociolinguistically but also grammatically as it could significantly inform the meaning of the names to a greater extent and to broaden the literature on onomastics. The study has thus sought to contribute to the grammatical (morphology, phonology, syntax, semantics) study of personal names in Akan and in general.

It is therefore the desire and hope of the researcher that this study would trigger more interests in potential researchers to further explore other grammatical aspects of Akan personal names and by so doing, contribute to knowledge on Akan personal names.

5.5 Summary of chapter

This last chapter of the thesis discussed the summary of the entire research. It also provided the key findings of the study. The conclusion and recommendations for future research were finally discussed in the chapter.



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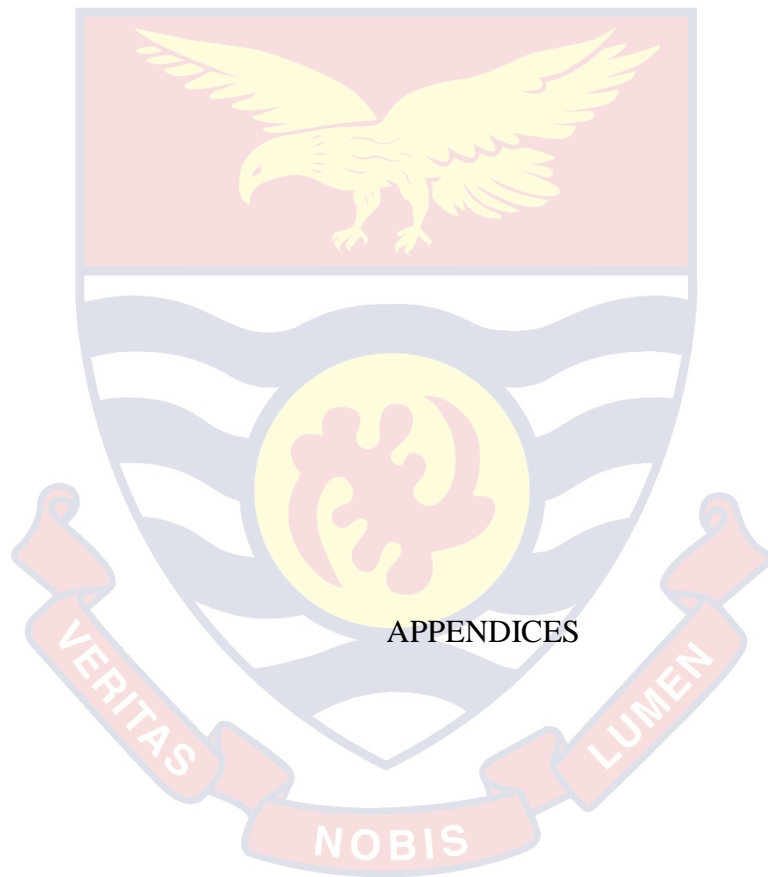
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Sample texts depicting the contextual usage of Akan honorific and title names for God

Text 1:

Onyankopɔn Kwame

Onyankopɔn Kwame a wobɔɔ ɔsoro ne asase,
Onyankopɔn Kwame a wobɔɔ nkwa, bɔɔ ɔwuo,
Wo din de Yehowa—Anyame mu Nyankopɔn,
Ototurobonsu, Ɔbɔadeɛ—Wone Awurade;
Opumpuni, Tweaduampɔn— Woyɛ Ɔdomankoma.

Onyankopɔn Kwame, Asaasewura,
Ɔgo-mee Nyame a yene wo goro a yensu kɔm,
Onyamee Nyame a yenya woa na yeamee,
Ama-osu Ama-owia Nyame a wobɔ owia tɔ nsuo,
Ɔkyɛsoe Nyame a ɔnnim ayɛampam.
Bɔrebɔre Nyame a ɔbɔɔ adeɛ, bɔɔ ne ho,
Ɔnwanwafo Nyame a ɔnim anwene,
Na ɔno ara anwenwene, anwene ne ho ne ne sɛsɔɔ.
Abubummabaa—sɛ wobaeɛ ansa na worenwene o,
Sɛ wonwenee ansa na woreba o, obi nnim.

Onyankopɔn Kwame, Basayiadɔm Berempɔn,
Akorɔbetoe Bekyenebɔɔ; Ɔbotantim a wotim hɔ daa
Tetekwaforamoa Yehowa a wobɔɔ tete.
Wofiri kankyekyere kɔsi daapem yɛ Onyame,
Mmeresantene Nyame—Ɔsoro ne asaase bɛtoo wo.

Aniani mpempem, Asoaso Mpempem,
Birekyihunadeε, Hunatahunu a biribiara nhinta woε,
Kurotwiamansa a wodin ne wo honam σε,
Abε-wo-din-abε-wo-mmrane a mmrane σε woε,
Ototurobonsu, Woyε Opumpuni Nyame ampa.

Ahonya Nyame—Dwetε anaa sika kεkεε?

Dadeboε, abohemaa anaa denkyεmmoε?

Ne nyinaa ye wo nsa ano adwin.

Osoro ne nsromma, εsram ne owia,

εpo ne emu mpataa akεσεε, wo na wobεε.

Se yehwe εsoro 'wia a εhyeren awia,

Anadwo sram ne nsoromma pepeankoma anuonyam,

Abon ne nkoko; bosonpo ne emu apitire akεσεε —

Se εnyiri mmεfa yen, nanso εnwe da a,

Osεadeεyo Nyame, wo nsa ano adwuma ye fe.

Wode fam dεteε nweneε onipa teasefoε,

De wo nkwahome guu ne mu,

Na woama no wiase nyinaa σε εnni so—

Odomankoma Nyame ee, wo mma yi wo aye;

Osorosorohene ee, ye ma wo adwuma-dwuma.

[Source: Adu Darkwa (1973)]

Translated as:

[The Almighty God of Saturday

The Almighty God of Saturday who created heavens and earth,

The Almighty God of Saturday who created life and death,

Your name is Jehovah—You are the Supreme among all supernatural deities,

You are the one who causes rain to fall copiously and makes waters

overflow, the Creator—You are Lord.

The Mighty, Dependable—You are ever-gracious.

The Almighty God of Saturday, Landowner

The satisfying God whom when we are in company with, we do not get hungry,

The get-and-satisfy God whom when we own, we get satisfied,

The rain-and-sunshine-giving God who provides rains and sunshine,

The Generous God who does not discriminate.

God, the Originator who created things including himself,

The Wondrous God who is expert in artistry,

And therefore, has weaved things including Himself and His images,

The Breaker of sticks—For no one knows whether you came before creating things or you created things before coming.

The Almighty God of Saturday,

The great and a mighty hand that rescues crowd,

The one whom we come to meet always, you are hardened like a stone; the everlasting rock that is permanently unshakable,

The Ancient of Days Jehovah who made the antiquity,

Right from the beginning you were God and will continue to be for thousands of years to come,

God of ages—heavens and earth came to meet you.

God of thousands of eyes and thousands of ears,

He who can see from behind, Omnipresent under whose watch nothing hides,

When we mention your name we add titles and praise names; for you deserve to be praised,

The leopard whose name corresponds to his character,

The one who causes rain to fall copiously and make waters overflow,

Truly you are a Great God.

God of riches: silver or gold?
Iron stone, quartz or diamond?
All of these are your handiwork;
Heavens ad stars, moon and sun,
Sea and all kinds of big fishes in it were made by you.

If we look at the sun that brightens in the day,
The night's moon, and a galaxy of stars in glamour,
Valleys and mountains; the sea goddess full of big fishes—which does not
flood to overtake humans' settlement and yet, does not dry up,
The Faithful God, your handiwork is aesthetically excellent.

You made human with dust and breathed into him to become a living being
And you have given him the whole world to control; Gracious God, your
children praise you!
The King of Heavens, we say well-done!]

Text 2:

Ɛfiri Tete

Ɛfiri Tete

Woye Odomankoma Nyame

Se yedi w'asem so a,

Dee yehia nyinaa yen nsa beka,

Se eye fufuo, se eye kɔkɔ

eye Obɔadee : mmɔborɔhunufɔ

Yema wo akye a kudɔnto.

Onyame! Yema wo akye

Nea meresua yi ma menhunu no yie

[Source: Ansong (2012)]

Translated as:

[From time immemorial

The Dependable God

If we all abide by your principles
Then shall we get whatever we want,
Be it white or red.
It is the Creator, the Merciful one.
Good morning to you, dear One
God, we say good morning to you
What I am learning, help me to be successful]



APPENDIX B

Interview Guide

1. Name of respondent.
2. The age of the respondent.
3. The place the respondent hails from and where s/he is currently living.
4. The native language and other languages spoken by the respondent.
5. The respondent's current career/social status.
6. How long the respondent has occupied his status.
7. The respondent's educational background.
8. Whether the respondent has heard about honorific and title names before.
9. Explain to him or her if s/he has not. However, if s/he has, then ask the following questions;
10. What are honorific and title names?
11. Could you give examples?
12. What entities are these names ascribed to?
13. Does it include the Supreme God?
14. Do these names have any significance in the Akan's culture and religion?
15. Why do the Akan attribute some of the titles of creatures to God?
16. Do some of these names have historical backgrounds?
If yes, give examples and the idea behind their coinage.
17. It is noticed that some of these names are descriptive and therefore involves a composition of two or more words. Could you give examples of such names and how they are derived?

18. Is there any additional information you wish to provide?

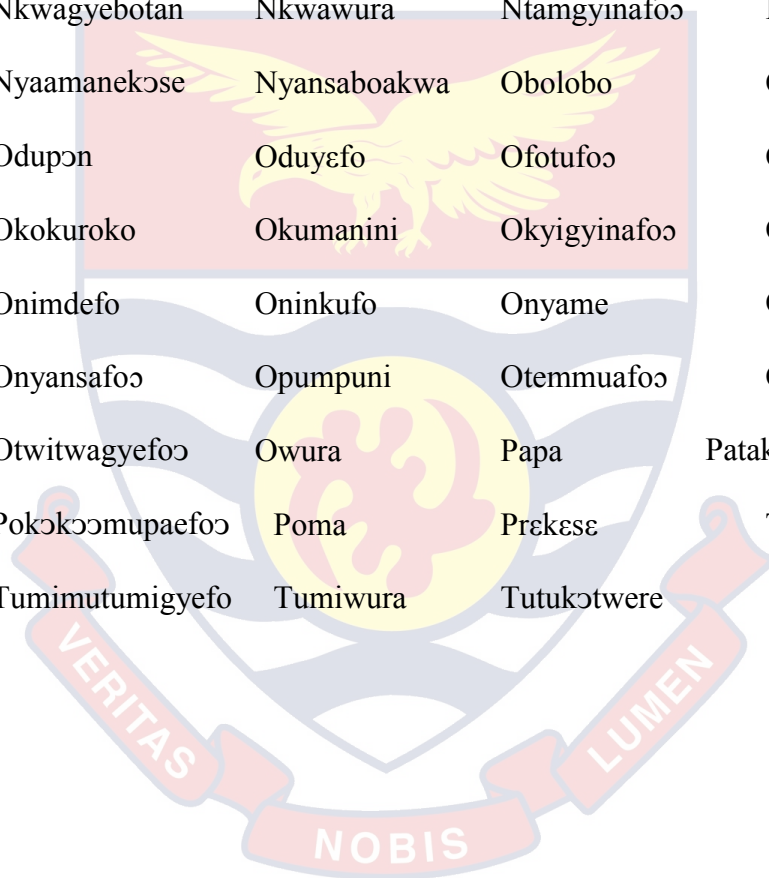


APPENDIX C

Some Akan honorific and title names for God

Abambuafɛ	Abandenden	Abɔdeɛwura	Abotire
Abubummabaa	Adomwura	Agyeman	Agyenkwa
Ahenemuhene	Ahohiamubofo	Ahuntabea	Ahuntahunu
Ahunuanyankwa	Akatamanso	Akokɔbaatan	Akokyɛm
Akorɔbɛto	Akuanniawu	Amaɔmee	Amansanhene
Amosu	Amowia	Anidasɔɔ	Apamkorafɔɔ
Asaasewura	Asihentuhene	Atofokɛsɛɛ	Atokoafɛ
Awuramuawura	Ayeyiwura	Ayebida	Ayɛbofo
Barima	Bɔrebɔre	Berempɔn	Bediako
Bɛkyeneboɔ	Ɔbaatanpa	Ɔbambɔfoɔ	Ɔbɔadeɛ
Ɔbofo	Ɔbofofo	Ɔbodade	Ɔbotantin
Ɔdansefoɔ	Ɔdansifo	Ɔdo	Ɔdebɔnekyɛ
Ɔdeneho	Ɔdomankoma	Ɔdomfoɔ	Ɔdɛfoɔ
Ɔgyefo	Ɔhempɔn	Ɔhempɔporo	Ɔhenkɛsɛɛ
Ɔhoɔdenfoɔ	Ɔhwɛfo	Ɔkakra	Ɔkamafo
Ɔkantanka	Ɔkatakɛye	Ɔkatinka	Ɔkatuafɔɔ
Ɔkofo	Ɔkoforoboɔ	Ɔkokoɔdurufɔɔ	Ɔkorosa
Ɔkotwareasuo	Ɔkronkronni	Ɔkronkronni	Ɔkwankyɛfo
Ɔkyɛkyɛfoɔ	Ɔkyɛadeɛ	Ɔkɛsɛɛ	Ɔmadodoɔ
Ɔnwanwani	Ɔnwonfoɔ	Ɔsabarima	Ɔsagyefo
Ɔseadeɛye	Ɔsorosorohene	Ɔteanankannuro	Ɔteneneeni
Ɔtetennyanka	Ɔwerɛkyɛkyefoɔ	Ɔworɔkawafabatire	Ɔwenfoɔ
Ɔyaresafo	Ɔyɛadeɛyie	Daasebrɛ	Dɔmbarima

Dunsini	Dwanetoahene	Frankaa	Fentenfrem
Gyata	Hann	Hyberesesafoɔ	Ɛseremusee
Kanea	Kantamanto	Katawere	Kokurobeti
Kukurantumi	Kumamperebie	Kurotwiamansa	Kwansiafamu
Mmarahyefoɔ	Mmɔborɔhunufɔɔ	Mmirikisie	Mpaebɔtiefoɔ
Nana	Nkantabisa	Nkatabo	Nkonimdihene
Nkwagyebotan	Nkwawura	Ntamgyinafoɔ	Nufotabraba
Nyaamanekɔse	Nyansaboakwa	Obolobo	Odimafɔ
Odupɔn	Oduyefo	Ofotufɔɔ	Ogyam
Okokuroko	Okumanini	Okyigyinafoɔ	Omintiminim
Onimdefo	Oninkufo	Onyame	Onyankopɔn
Onyansafoɔ	Opumpuni	Otemmuafoɔ	Otumfoɔ
Otwitwagyefɔɔ	Owura	Papa	Patakoagyekoabɔnebo
Pokɔkɔɔmupaefɔɔ	Poma	Prekese	Tipagyafɔɔ
Tumimutumigyefo	Tumiwura	Tutukɔtwere	Tweaduampɔn



APPENDIX D

Some Akan art symbols

