

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

**SOME ASPECTS OF MORPHOLOGICAL AND PHONOLOGICAL
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GOMOA AND IGUAE SUBDIALECTS OF FANTE**

**A Thesis in the Department of APPLIED LINGUISTICS Faculty of LANGUAGES
EDUCATION submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, University of
Education, Winneba in partial fulfillment of the requirements for award of the
Master of Philosophy (Applied Linguistics) Degree**

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DECLARATION

I, OWUSU-BAAH KATE AKOSUA declare that except for references quotations to works which have been cited and acknowledged, this thesis is the result of my original research, and that it has neither in whole or in part been presented for another degree elsewhere.

.....

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SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of Thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

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Kate A. Owusu-Baah.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the OWUSU-BAAH family for their support and patience in making this work a success.



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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS DEFINED

C	-	Consonant
V	-	Vowel
1SG	-	1 st Person Singular
2SG	-	2 nd Person Singular
3SG	-	3 rd Person Singular
1PL	-	1 st Person Plural
2PL	-	2 nd Person Plural
3PL	-	3 rd Person Plural
PROG	-	Progressive
FUT	-	Future
H	-	High tone
H1	-	1 st High
H2	-	2 nd High
!H	-	down stepped High Tone
L	-	Low Tone
V1	-	First Vowel
V2	-	Second Vowel
C1	-	First Consonant
C2	-	Second Consonant
TBU	-	Tone Bearing Unit
NEG	-	Negative

PERF	-	Perfect
IMP	-	Imperative
DET	-	Determiner
#	-	Word Boundary
.	-	Syllable Boundary
DEF	-	Definite
UR	-	Underlying Representation



ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on some aspects of morphological and phonological differences between Gomoa and Iguae subdialects of the Fante dialect of the Akan language. It is a comparative study modeled within the framework of generative phonology. The data used for the study come from recorded speeches and conversations in Gomoa and Iguae subdialects of Fante. The work talks about the ethnographic linguistic Akan and language in general. On morphological differences, the study compares some affixes between the subdialects under study. The discussion on phonological difference deals with the description of the Fante vowels with vowel sequences and some aspects of vowel harmony. Some syllable types and vowel insertion, vowel elision, consonant deletion and also tone, which play a vital role in Akan language, are also discussed. The focus of tonal alternation is on habitual, perfect, progressive and past tense.



CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

Most speakers of various subdialects of Fante frown upon speakers of the so-called 'typical' Gomoa subdialect during occasions such as marriage ceremonies and church services. Abakah (1978), in his analysis of dialectal differences between Iguae Fante and Bɔ̀rbɔ̀r Fantse emphasizes that people consider Gomoa subdialect inferior. It is in line with this that the researcher wanted to find out some of the differences between Gomoa and Iguae subdialects of the Fante dialect.

This study is primarily based on recorded speeches including folktales, conversations and speeches at occasions such as marriage ceremonies, festivals and funerals. The recording of Gomoa was done in the following towns and villages: Aboso, Antseadze, Ansaful, Mpota, Dawurampong, Lome and that of

Iguae was also done in Cape Coast. The research done among the Gomoa and Iguae speakers, especially, those who have received formal education and those who have not received formal education is to find out whether or not formal education has any influence either directly or indirectly on Gomoa and Iguae subdialects of the Fante dialect of the Akan language.

The aim of this study is to analyze some verbs and nouns in Gomoa and Iguae with respect to morphology and phonology. Specifically, it looks at the (Gomoa) verbs and nouns because of scanty literature. The study looks at some verbal roots and other elements - tense, aspect, affixes, negation markers as well as differences between the two subdialects. It also seeks to describe the phonemic inventory – vowels of the subdialects and their distribution. The syllable structure is also discussed as well as tonal differences.

1.1 Statement of the problem

Research in language is essential because it helps with human understanding and language learning. Inter-language study outnumbers intralingual study. Intralingual research (study of dialects within a language) is crucial since it helps us to understand what is happening within the language. The study of subdialects in Fante has received little attention. Gomoa, a subdialect a Fante is classified as ‘heavy’ and inferior dialect among the dialects of Fante and for this reason, most literate Gomoa speakers feel uneasy to speak their dialects when they meet speakers of other Fante subdialects. The existing literature makes no attempt at a

deeper analysis of the morphology and phonology of the Gomoa subdialect. Since people feel shy to speak the Gomoa subdialect especially the literate speakers of the subdialect. The fear is that the existence of the literature of the Gomoa subdialect may be in danger some years to come. And this study may serve as reference material for those who may like to research into the Gomoa subdialect of Fante. This is why the writer wants to research into morphological and phonological differences between Gomoa and the subdialect which most Fante speakers appreciate - the Iguae subdialect.

1.2 Objective of the Study

The purpose of this research is to identify the interaction between morphology and phonology in word-formation processes in Gomoa and Iguae. It also seeks to examine the internal structure of verbs and nouns of Gomoa and Iguae and how sound pattern in the two subdialects occur. Again, the study aims at contributing to the descriptive and comparative analysis of the two subdialects. The linguistic description of morphophonology in Gomoa is scant. The research done in other subdialects of Fante are many including Stewart (1962), Abakah (1978), Essilfie (1977), Adjeye (1989) etc. Sersah (1998) discusses proverb use among the youth in contemporary Akan society and used Gomoa speakers as a case study.

The study attempts to answer these questions:

- 1 .What are the morphological differences between Gomoa and Iguae subdialects of Fante?

2. What are the phonological differences between Gomoa and Iguae subdialects of Fante?

1.3 Methodology

Data for this research were collected mainly from speeches and conversations. Publications such as books and journal articles that are related to the research were also consulted. Many research works have involved the use of questionnaire as a means of eliciting primary information to support an analysis. In this thesis however, interaction with people and recording were used. This is because the questionnaire method is not capable of bringing out the complete and correct pronunciation especially when dealing with sounds. For intuitive data, it is over-restrictive because it does not flow naturally. The researcher who is a native speaker of Gomoa also used her intuition where necessary but not as the only source of data.

1.3.1 The data

The data comprise recorded conversations, speeches at occasions such as festivals, marriage ceremonies etc. Some of the illustrations came from her because she is a native speaker of Gomoa. The writer transcribed some examples phonetically to show the differences that exist between the literary Fante, Iguae and Gomoa. The recorded data helped the writer to know the sounds of the language and how the sounds behave in word-formation. The data covered the young and the old, the literate and non-literate.

1.3.2 Method of Collection

The data for Gomoa were collected from the Gomoa speaking towns and villages, e.g. Aboso, Lome, and that of Iguae were also collected from Cape Coast. The writer visited several schools in the locality and recorded folktales from children and conversation between teachers and pupils. Data was collected through primary source. The primary data involved direct interaction with people. In all, sixty-five people were chosen based on age, education and sex. Forty people (40) of the total population representing 61% were aged between fifteen and thirty years. This percentage was given to the youth because they outnumber the aged (elderly) who were thirty-one years and above. The aged were used to determine the group of people who speak 'pure' Gomoa subdialects. The youth group were divided into two equal parts of males and females, that is (50%) each. (15) out of the (25) people were aged group representing (60%) were males and (10) of them representing (40%) were females. At least half of each group was literates and the other half illiterates. The reason is to find out whether or not formal education can alter speaking of the Gomoa subdialect.

All the recordings were done by the writer using phone and tape recorders. After recordings, the writer transcribed and glossed the data. The writer ensured that every participant is a native of either Gomoa or Iguae subdialect and again, the participant had spent his or her infancy in the Gomoa community or at Cape Coast.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

The framework within which this thesis is done is Generative Phonology. In the description of morphological and phonological processes, the generative approach is used as described by Chomsky and Halle (1968), Kenstowicz (1994), Durand (1990), Goldsmith (1976), Katamba & Stonham (2006) and Spencer (1991).

1.4.1 Generative Phonology

The Generative phonology theory was first developed by Chomsky and Halle (1968) in the Sound Pattern of English (SPE). Phonology in this perspective is a part of theory of language called Generative Grammar with the basic aim of producing and understanding the general patterns of language structure. According to Chomsky & Halle (ibid), the grammar here refers to the competency of the speaker of a particular language, that is how the individual is able to construct words and sentences correctly following certain rules and principles. This theory of transformational generative grammar propose certain universal principles regarding the kinds of rules that can appear in grammar as well as the kinds of structures on which they may operate and the conditions under these rules may apply. The establishment of language universal principles presupposes that all human languages operate from the same set of rules. The primary objective of generative grammar is to model a speaker's linguistic knowledge.

The theory also seeks to provide tools for describing properties that exist in a particular language and these tools are set of rules and principles used to form

words and sentences. Some of these rules and principles include; transformational rules, the phrase structure rules, and phonological rules.

1.4.1.1 Phonological Rule (P-Rules)

This rule gives the exact conditions under which a phonological process takes place (Schane 1973:62). This means that changes occur in the utterances by the individual in every language and phonological rules explain such changes and represent the utterance into phonetic representation.

For example:

$$V \rightarrow [+nasal] / - [+nasal] \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$$

This rule states that a vowel is nasalized if it is followed by a nasal consonant.

1.4.1.2 Distinctive Features

These are basic phonological ingredients which phonemes are made of. The appropriate features are expected to perform the following functions: description of systematic phonetics, differentiate lexical items and define natural classes (Schane 1973).

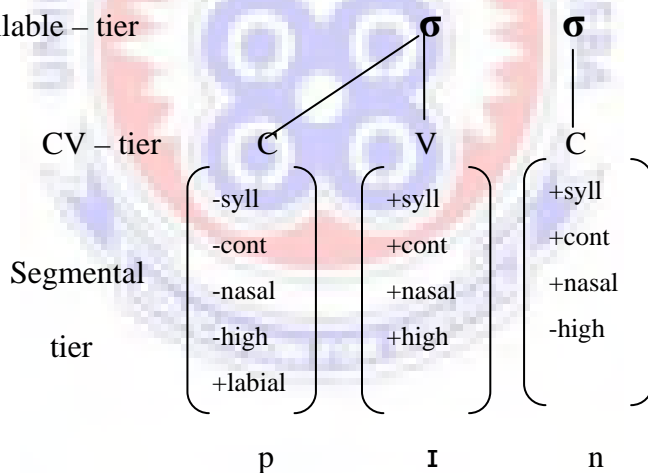
In distinctive features, sounds that behave in similar way are put together into a natural class, and this is characterized by a $[\pm]$ value. To indicate the presence or absence of a feature, $[+]$ or $[-]$ value is used respectively. Composed of a sequence

of units and each specifies the values for a universally fixed set of features which is [+] and [-].

The representation of syllable structure which is purely phonological must follow certain rules. The generative CV phonology model of syllable structure according to Clements and Keyser (183) in Katamba (1989) must state universal principles governing syllable structure, define the range within which syllable structure may vary from language to language and state language specific rules governing syllable structure.

Illustration -pl n - 'to agree'

(1.4) Syllable – tier

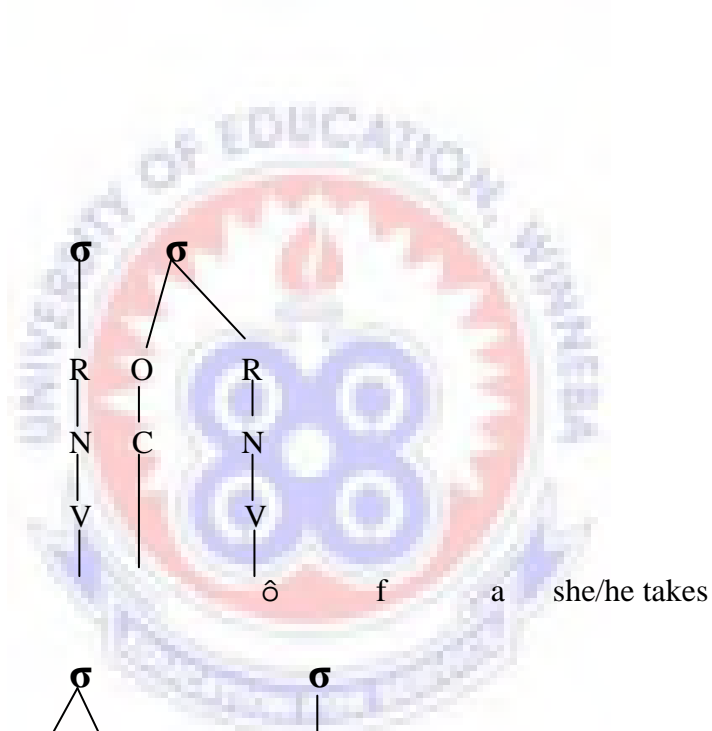


From the above, the V presents a syllable nucleus which is the peak of sonority and a C element represents the onset or margin.

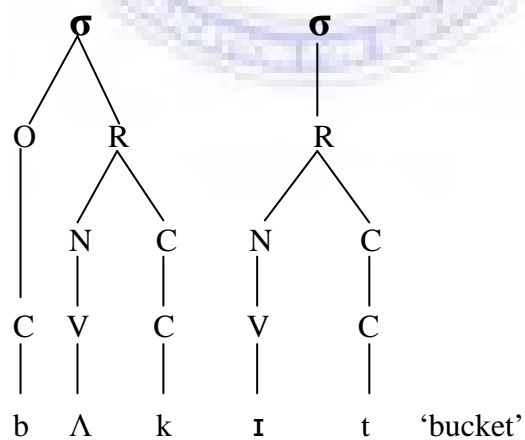
The syllable is assumed to have three-tiered structure and these are the syllable node 'O', a CV – tier and a segmental tier. The segmental tier consists of bundles

of distinctive feature matrices for the individual consonants and vowel segments. Association lines are used to relate the CV – tier to the segmental tier where several tiers are posited, and this is to show how tiers are linked. These association lines are subject to a principle called Wellformedness condition. Here, the V elements are linked to [-cons] segments while C elements are also linked to [+con] segments.

(1.5) a.



b.



The diagram (a) above indicates that ‘ôfa’ in the Fante dialect and (b) ‘bAkIt’ in English.

The universal grammar as it has been stated earlier consists of a number of modules and these modules are interrelated. Morphology and lexicon as part of the Universal Grammar module serve as a bridge that links the other modules of the grammar. This is because morphology interacts with phonology, syntax and semantics. For this reason, morphology can be studied by considering the phonological, syntactic and semantic dimensions of words (Katamba and Stonham, 2006).

1.5 Limitation of the Study.##

The study does not deal with everything about morphology and phonology of the Gomoa and Iguae subdialects. It deals with some aspects of the differences between the said subdialects. On morphology, it discusses some nominal and pronominal affixes. The discussion on syntax is on Yes/No question. The phonological differences deal with the syllable structure, vowel harmony and tone. Tone can be used to show the differences in the semantics of verbal modifiers, verbs and grammar of verbal expressions. In this discussion, the differences in tone are focused on the habitual, perfect and progressive.

1.6 Significance of the Study

There is no literature on the comparative and linguistic study of Gomoa and Iguae subdialects of Fante, hence, the need for research on morphological and

phonological differences between the two subdialects, as the present study seeks to fill this vacuum. Again, it is hoped that the study will contribute to our knowledge of morphology and phonology of the two subdialects. It will also serve as a reference material for those who would like to do further research into the grammatical component of the two subdialects.

1.7 Organization of the Work

The study has been divided into five chapters. Chapter one which is the introductory chapter focuses on the aims and objectives, the theoretical framework and methodology of the study. Chapter Two is the literature review. In chapter Three, some morphological differences between Gomoa and Iguae subdialects are discussed. It looks at affixation and some syntactic differences with Yes/No questions. Chapter Four deals with some phonological differences: the syllable structure, tone and some other phonological differences. The summary and concluding chapter is chapter Five.

1.8 Background of the Study (Historical)

Fantes were among Ghanaians who migrated from Ancient Sudan. They settled at Kong in the northern part of present Ghana (Crayner, 1989). They again moved to Gyaaman where they stayed for some time and moved again to Techiman because of wars. They stayed at Techiman for a long period and increased in numbers. The people of Techiman wanted to rule them but the immigrants refused because of their numerical strength and rather wanted to dominate the indigenous Techimans.

When the Fantes saw that this was not possible, they continued their journey which they started years ago. They were led by three warriors towards the coast from Techiman in April 1400 (AD). These great warriors were Oburmankoma, Odapagyan and Oson. The Fantes divided themselves into three groups led by Kurentsir, Gomoa and Asankoma. They first settled at Mankessim. Gomoa and his people couldn't stay at Mankessim because they saw that the town was surrounded by a river so they moved into a forest area and settled there. The name of the leader 'Gomoa' was given to his people. Gomoa now occupies a very vast area in the Central Region of Ghana.

The name Iguae, a subdialect of Fante came about as a result of intensive trading activities by people from different Fanteland. For their trading activities to go on smoothly, traders started to build structures for their trading activities and finally settled there. This business centre was named 'Oguaa' which means market and the British who came to Oguaa, Gold Coast by then, also named the place 'Cape Coast'. The type of Fante spoken by the people of Cape Coast is Iguae. Since Cape Coast was a business centre, many people, especially Fante speakers who settled there developed a common subdialect and named it Iguae.

1.8.1 The Gomoa and Iguae (Linguistics)

The Fante linguistic community includes Agona, Gomoa, Ekumfi, Nkusukum, Enyan, Asebu, Abora, Oguaa, Secondi Takoradi and its neighbouring towns. Fante is now dominating some of the non – Akan languages and it serves as a second language. According to Welmers (1973:11), Efutu which was originally

the spoken language of the people of the Coastal town of Winneba has almost totally disappeared in favour of Fante. The Efutu, Senya, Awutu (the southern Guans), Ahanta, Nzema, Sehwi, Aowin use Fante as their second language. Gomoa, a subdialect of Fante has two traditional councils – Ajumako Traditional Council with Ajumako as its capital and Assin as capital of the Akyempim Traditional Council in the Central Region. The suburban communities include Mamford, Dago, Ankamu, Ahyiamu, Dawurampong, Tarkwar, Mankessim, Musano and Ada Ngyiresi. Apam is the district capital of the Gomoa Community. Gomoa shares boundary with the following districts: Agona on the northern part, Mfantseman on the East, Awutu Efutu Senya on the west and the southern part, there is the Gulf of Guinea.

Cape coast shares border with the following suburbs: Nkanfowa on the north, Pedu and Abora on the Northwestern and Apewosika and Kakomdo on the southwestern. Linguistically, these suburbs are different from Cape Coast since they speak different language, that is Fetu, but now politically, they are part of Cape Coast.

Iguae speakers have something unique about them. They always mix the English language with their subdialect during conversation. This kind of Fante spoken by the people of Cape Coast seems to be the most prestigious to them and some ‘educated’ Fante speakers. During gatherings and other social functions, the Fante speakers who have received formal education use Iguae Fante as a medium of communication instead of their own mother tongue (other subdialects of Fante).



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter talks about the Akan people and the language. It looks at what some authors have said about the language and its dialects. It also talks about language and dialect in particular. There is also an introduction of Phonology and Morphology in this chapter.

2.1 What Is Language?

According to Finocchiaro (1964) in Brown (1980), language is a system of arbitrary, vocal symbols which permit all people in a given culture to communicate or to interact.

Language is a form of human communication by means of a system of symbols principally transmitted by vocal sounds (Poole 1999). From the definition above, we can say that, language is a set of arbitrary symbols and those symbols are primarily vocal but may also be visual. Again, language is used for communication and it operates in a speech community. No matter how shallow or deep the definitions above might be, they contain properties which make human language distinct and good for communication. For instance, the Ewes use Ewe, the Nzemas use Nzema and the Akans use Akan (Fante and Twi) to communicate in Ghana. We can also say that language refers to a particular medium of communication like English, French, Arabic, Akan etc. It forms part of the culture of the society which is a set of conventions shared by a speech community.

2.1.1 What Is A Dialect?

A dialect is variation of a given language spoken in a particular place or by a particular group of people. In this case, we can conclude that Fante, Asante Twi and Akuapim Twi are all dialects of Akan.

Crystal (2007:136) views dialect to be “a regionally or a socially distinctive variety of language, identified by a particular set of words and grammatical structures”. From the definition it is assumed that any language with a large population of speakers will develop dialects and that one dialect may predominate as the official or standard form of the language which is the variety that comes to be written. Does it mean that a dialect can become a language? Yes, when it is spoken by a large group of speakers of a language it often acquires prestige. The definition indicates that everybody speaks a variety of his or her language.

Dialects exist in continuum in which adjacent dialects are mutually intelligible yet with increasing isolation between non-contiguous dialects; differences may accumulate to the point of mutual unintelligibility. For example, in Akan speech community there is a continuous area of intelligibility, from Fante to Asante and Akuapim Twi. From the discussion so far, it is evident that dialects are subdivisions of language.

2.1.2 Differences Between Language And Dialect

It is important to draw the differences between language and dialect. Hudson (1993) establishes the differences using ‘size and prestige’. Hudson asserts that

language contains more items than dialect and that language contains the sum total of all its dialects. The second difference is 'prestige'; a language has prestige which a dialect lacks. Whether a variety is considered to be a language or a dialect depends on how much prestige one thinks it has. Although the distinction is subjective, we can look at two criteria that can be used to distinguish between language and dialect.

- i) Linguistic Criteria:** The overlapping sets of linguistic conventions associated with two different communities, for example Fante and Twi or American English and British English. One way by which we can make the choice is the degree of overlap (Gasser 2007). How similar are the vocabulary, the pronunciation, the grammar and the usage. It is not simple to measure the overlap but we can use mutual intelligibility. This is the extent to which speakers of the two or more speech communities understood each other. On the basis of this explanation, Fante and Twi can be said to be dialects of Akan.
- ii) Social or Political Criteria:** Politics play a role in deciding what dialect will be called a language. According to Childs (2004), powerful or historically significant groups have 'languages' and smaller or weaker ones have dialects'. Sometimes, the status of a speech community can be arbitrarily determined by an individual or a government.

From the discussion it is clear that language is a continuum of dialects, dialect is not substandard and that everyone speaks a dialect.

2.2 The Akan People and The language

The use of the term Akan in some existing literature sometimes create confusion. There are some discrepancies in the linguistic use of Akan by some early authors such as Christaller (1875, 1881), Delafosse (1904), Acquah (1939), Manoukian (1964), Akrofi (1965) and Dolphyne (1965).

Christaller (1875, 1881) classifies Akan as Fante, Akuapem, Asante, Akyem, Wassa, Akwamu and Brong. Delafosse (1904) also views Akan to comprise of Awutu, Fante, Akwamu, Anum, Asante and Bono. For Acquah (1939), Akan is Fante, Asante, Akuapem, Akyem, Akwamu, Kwahu, Assin, Agona, Wassa and Bono. According to Manoukian (1964), it is Asante, Brong, Akyem, Akuapim, Kwahu, Asen-Twifo, Wassa, Fante-Agona, Nzema-Evalue, Ahanta, Afema, Sehwi-Bahuri-Aowin and Chakosi that make up Akan. Akrofi (1965) views Akan to be Asante, Brong, Fante and Kwahu and according to Dolphyne (1965), Akan is Akuapim, Asante, Fante, Akyem, Kwahu, Brong, Wassa and Agona.

Christaller uses Twi as well as Akan as labels for one and the same language. He does not settle on one name for the language since he at times refers to the same language as 'Twi and Fante Language'.

Manoukian divided Akan into two major groups under Twi which comprises Fante, Asante, Akyem and Akuapim; and Anyi-Baule made up of Ahanta, Nzema and Sefwi. This is an overstatement because the Ahanta and Nzema speak Ahanta and Nzema respectively and not the Akan although they speak Akan as their

second language. And again, Fante can never be classified under Twi since each of them has its own dialect and orthography. Awutu and Anum as stated by Christaller as dialects of Akan are coastal and eastern Guans respectively and not Akan despite the fact that they can speak Akan. Manoukian's definition for Akan creates confusion. Nzema also can not be considered as Akan.

Welmers (1973) confirms this by saying that Fante has dominated the Efutu spoken language found at the coastal town of Winneba. For Acquah, Akrofi and Dolphyne, there is meaning and similarities in their label of the languages listed under Akan. That is to say, they are all mutually intelligible.

From the above discussion so far, it is evident that the authors identify different numbers of dialects for the same Akan language and this creates confusion about the language at stake. This confusion can be cleared up by looking at the differences between the Akan people and Akan Language. The two should not be considered the same.

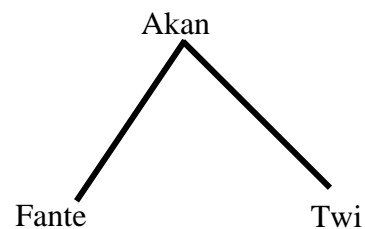
2.2.1 The Ethnographic Akan

The ethnographic Akans refer to the ethnic groups who speak Akan. This means Akan may be their second language and may share some similar traits that make them unique from other ethnic groups. For instance, they may have a large number of lexical items in the languages they speak which are closely related to Akan.

The Akan speaking people include: the Baule, the Aowin, the Sefwi, the Ahanta, the Nzema, Wassa, Fante, Akuapim, Akwamu, Denkyira, Kwahu, Assin, Akyem, Asante and Brong. According to Abakah (2003), most of the inhabitants found between the Volta River in the eastern part of Ghana and Bandama River in Cote D'Ivoire also call themselves Akans. Considering the classification of the earlier linguists like Delafosse (1904), Manoukian (1964) and others, the term Akan is used for the languages above, but as stated earlier, people may speak Akan but it may be their second language.

2.2.2 The (Linguistics) Akan Language

Akan is a language which is spoken by majority of the people of Ghana as their native language and many others as their second language. Akan consists of Fante, Asante, Kwahu, Akyem, Wassa, Assin, Akuapim, Akwamu, Denkyira and Brong. These dialects are spoken in the Central, Western, Eastern, Brong Ahafo, Ashante and part of Volta Regions. In all these areas, apart from Nzema speaking areas, Akan is taught in schools and also used as a medium of instruction from Kindergarten up to Basic three even in non-Akan linguistic areas. Akan language is spoken in churches, social functions as well as in trade. The dialects of Akan can be grouped into two main dialects – Fante and Twi.



Some people also consider Fante and Twi as two languages since each of them has its own orthography although they are mutually intelligible. In this discussion however, Fante is considered as dialect of the Akan language.

Abakah (2003) classified Akan into two main groups – the Coastal and Interior Akan dialects. The Coastal Akan dialects are Iguae, Boka, Anee, Agona and Breman and they are all Fante sub dialects. He uses Iguae as the centre for his discussion hence, the Boka - East and Anee - West. The inland Akan (Twi) dialects include Asante, Akuapim, Wassa, Bono, Kwahu etc.

Literary Twi has two main sub-dialects being taught at schools and these are Asante Twi and Akuapim Twi, whereas Fante has only one common literary dialect.

2.3 Phonology

Phonology is the branch of linguistics which investigates the ways in which speech sounds are used in utterances (Katamba 1993). The use of these speech sounds to form words and sentences differ from language to language and are governed by set of rules. There are no two languages that have exactly the same inventory of phonemes which are realized by the set allophones. Again, no two languages have the same phonological rules regulating the use of these sounds. Despite these facts languages also show other phonological similarities.

Dolphyne (1988) dicusses and asserts that the [æ] sound exist in some subdialect of Fante but occurs only after /i/ and /u/ vowels. Abakah (2003) affirm the

assertion by Dolphyne (1988) by saying that the [æ] sound exist in Gomoa subdialect of Fante, it does not only occur after /i/ and /u/ as described by Dolphyne but also as an autonomous phoneme.

O'keefe (2008) however, is of the view that /æ/ does not exist in Fante. He further explains that /æ/ is a variant of /a/ and many linguists treat it when occurs as variant of /a/. Lomotey (2007) in her analysis of Akan vowel asserts that [æ] is more towards the centre of the vowel space. She agrees with Dolphyne (1988) on the phonetic status of [æ] in Fante only when compared with the vowel quality [â] in the vowel space.

In Gomoa however, the sound which comes after advanced vowels as described by Dolphyne and Abakah should be /â/ and not /æ/. The existence of this controversial sound /æ/ in Gomoa is questionable.

Example

<u>Gomoa</u>		<u>Gloss</u>
i. âkumâ	-	axe
ii. âhum	-	wind
iii. âdzibar	-	food

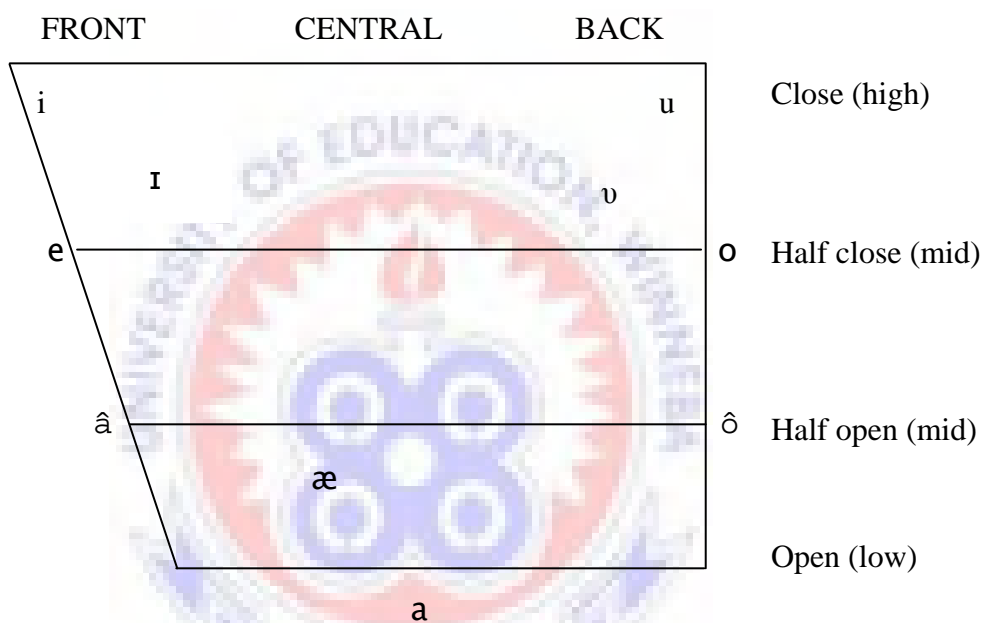
The above data agrees with Lomotey that the sound is /â/ instead of [æ] pointed out by some linguists.

2.3.1 Phonetic Description of Fante Vowels

The description of the Fante vowels is based on that of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

The Fante Vowel Chart

Figure 1



Adapted from Dolphyne (1988)

The following is the description of Fante (Gomoa) vowels:

(2.1) /i/ close, unrounded, front, advanced vowel as in

fi [fi] ‘go out’

fi [fɪ] ‘dirt’

/i/ close, unrounded, front, unadvanced vowel as in

se [si] ‘to tell’

se [sɪ] ‘teeth’

/e/ mid, unrounded, front, advanced, vowel as in

ebufuw [ebuf^wuw] ‘anger’

ker [ker] ‘weigh’

/ɛ/ mid, unrounded, front, unadvanced vowel as in

twɛr [tɕ^hɛr] ‘a nock’

pɛr [p^jɛr] ‘only/just’

/a/ low, unrounded, central vowel as in

fa [fa] ‘take’

fã [fã] ‘half’

/ɔ/ mid, rounded, back, unadvanced vowel as in

[kɔ] ‘go’

[k^wɔv] ‘neck’

/o/ mid rounded back advanced vowel as in

[okura] ‘mouse’

[bom] ‘nock’

/ʊ/ high, rounded, back unadvanced vowel as in

[f^wʊ] ‘climb’

[fũnũũ] ‘swish oven’

/u/ high, rounded, back, advanced vowel as in


kur [k^wur] ‘sore’

hu [hũ] ‘fear’

From the above description, it is clear that there are ten autonomous vowel phonemes in Fante.

2.3.2 Nasal vowels

In the production of nasal vowels some of the air comes out through the nose. A nasal vowel is the one that is specified for nasality and occurs in phonological representations. There is a difference between a nasal vowel and its counterpart oral vowel. The examples below are phonemic based on their nasality.



(2.2) i)	/ka/	‘to be left behind’	iv)	/fa/	‘take’
	/kã/	‘say/drive’		/fã/	‘half’
ii)	/tu/	‘place/put’	v)	/sũ/	‘weep’
	/tu /	‘bake’		/su/	‘form/nature’
iii)	/sɪ/	‘say’	vi)	/otwâ/	‘epilepsy’
	/sĩ/	‘tooth’		/otwâ /	‘scare’
			vii)	/kyir/	‘dislike’
				/kyi /	‘squeeze’

2.4 Phonological Processes

When morphemes are combined to form words, the segments of the neighboring morphemes become juxtaposed and sometimes undergo changes; these changes are referred to as phonological processes (Schane, 1973:49). These processes include: Assimilation, Vowel harmony, Syllable structure processes etc. There are

a number of phonological processes but concentration would be based on the syllable structure processes and vowel harmony.

Syllable structure process is a phonological process that explains the phonetic realizations of syllables. It concerns itself with the distribution of vowel and consonant segments within stems. There will be discussion on some of the syllable structure processes and some differences between Gomoa and Iguae. Some of the issues that will be discussed include syllable types, vowel elision, vowel insertion, consonant deletion, metathesis and coalescence.

Dolphyne (1988) discusses the sound and tonal structure of Akan, Twi and Fante. She explains the relationship between the sound systems of the three dialects: Twi, Fante and Akwapim. In discussing the syllable in Akan, she states that there is no VC or CVC syllable type in Akan, thus, Akan does not have close syllables. And again, every vowel and each vowel in a vowel sequence must belong to a different syllable.

Akanlig-Pare (2005:86) talks about vowel elision in compounding and points out that, during compounding in Buli, long vowel and diphthongs in the first stem undergo a reduction. He further explains that while long vowels are shortened, diphthongs are simplified in normal speech.

Example:

biak	+	duok	-	[baduok]
dog		male		
tue	+	bu:ra	-	[tubu:ra]
beans		species		bean seeds

In Akan, either the last vowel of the first stem or the first vowel of the second is deleted. Elision in Fante involves a deletion of a vowel, a consonant and a syllable. Example of vowel elision:

sikâ + âdur → sikâdur (money got out of rituals)

asantsi + ɔhrɛn → asantsihɛn (King of the Ashante)

akukɔ + ɔbir → akukɔbir (hen)

Ofori (2001) also discusses verbs in Larteh and points out that the present tense in Larteh is marked from the past tense by a tone contrast and that the future /bɛ/ is added to the stem depending on the vowel harmony rule. In Fante, the future, ingressive and progressive are all attached to the stem according to the vowel harmony rule.

Underlying Representaion	Fante		Gomoa/ Iguae
mɪ + rɪ + ba	mɪrɪba	-	mɪrɪba
1SG PROG come			'I am coming'
mɪ + rɪ + kɔ + tɔ	mɪrɪkɔtɔ	-	mɪrɪkɔtɔ
1SG PROG go buy			'I am going to buy'

Ofori further asserts that the subject pronoun is to be in harmony with the vowels in the attached stem. He again says that there is the elision of /b/ from the future marker /bɛ/ which in turn produces another vowel /ɔ/. This happens when constructing the future **wɔ + bɛ** in Larteh.

wɔ b̂a na → wôna
 2SG FUT walk You will walk

In Gomoa and Iguae when /b/ of the future marker / bɛ / is deleted, the vowel /ɛ/ is linked to the first person pronoun. The vowel in the subject pronoun - / mɪ / is finally deleted.

mɪ + bɛ + yɛ - mɪbɛ yɛ - mɛyɛ
 1SG FUT do ‘I will do (it).

2.4.1 Vowel Harmony

Vowel harmony according to Kramer (2003:3) is “a phenomenon where potentially all vowels in adjacent moras or syllables within a domain like the phonological or morphological word systematically agree with each other with regard to one or more articulatory features.”

The distribution of vowels in Fante depends mainly on the [+ATR] and [-ATR] with few exceptions. [+ATR] means advanced tongue root and [-ATR] means unadvanced tongue root. The [+ATR] means drawing the root of the tongue forward, thus enlarging the pharyngeal cavity as well as raising the body of the tongue. These vowels are /i, o, æ, e and u/. In the articulation of [-ATR] vowels on other hand, the pharyngeal cavity is narrowed and these vowels are [ɪ, ɔ, ɛ, ʊ and a]. In Akan however, vowels within a morpheme must be from the same group of [ATR] that is, either advanced or unadvanced. Personal pronouns affixes for instance, must be harmonized with the vowels in the stem. Another variety of

harmony in Akan is the lip rounding (O’Keefe 2008). The vowels [u, ʊ, o and ɔ] are back vowels as well as rounded vowels, and all other vowels are unrounded. Dolphyne (1988) asserts that vowel harmony in Akan is with respect to both tongue root position and lip rounding. Every Akan noun has a nominal prefix and the nominal prefix agrees with the initial vowel of the noun stem in vowel quality.

2.4.2 Pitch

There is a difference between pitch and tone and it is important to distinguish them when discussing tone. The difference is that pitch is a phonetic concept and tone is a phonological concept (Obeng 1987:137). Ladefoged (1982:168) defines pitch as “that auditory property that enables a listener to place it on a scale going from low to high...” The rate at which the vocal cords vibrate determines the type of pitch to be produced. There is the realization of high pitch when there is greater number of vibrations in the vocal cords. Thin vocal cords vibrate faster and produce higher pitch whereas thick vocal cord vibrates slower and produce lower pitch.

2.4.3 Tone

Tone is ‘a feature of the lexicon being described in terms of prescribed pitches for syllables or sequences of pitch for morphemes or words’ (Cruttenden 1986:8 in Clark & Yallop 1990:289). The type of pitch being described here is not the absolute one but relative pitch.

Pike (1948:4) in his submission states that “it is even immaterial, on this level of analysis (but not in the analysis of the linguistic expression of emotion) to know

the weight of a specific syllable in proportion to the general average pitch which the speaker uses since it is the relative pitch of syllable within the immediate context that constitutes the essence of taxomic contrast.” A tone therefore can be said to be high when its pitch is relatively high and vice versa. In this discussion (´) or (H) represents a high tone and (˘) or (L) represents a low tone. Tone bearing units in Fante are – every vowel (V), every nasal consonant that occurs in word initial position before another consonant and all final syllabic consonants.

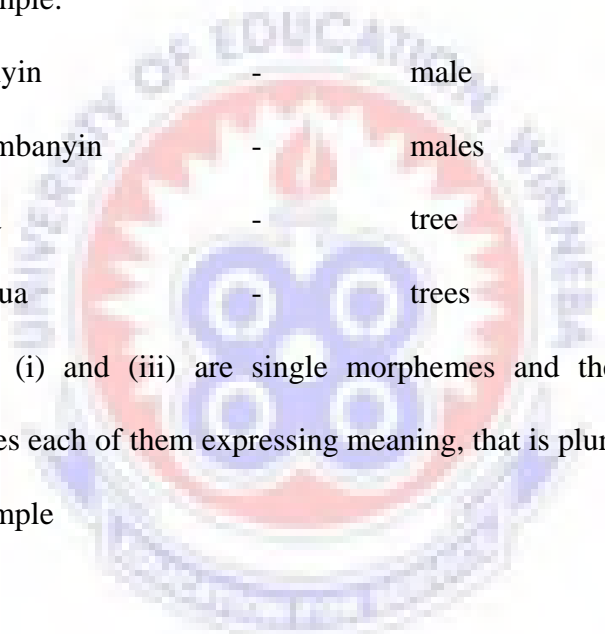
2.5 Morphology

Morphology is subfield of linguistics that is concerned with analysis of word structure. Nida (1949:1) defines morphology as “the study of morphemes and their arrangement in forming words”. O’Grady et al (1996) also defines morphology to be “the system of categories and rules involved in word formation and interpretation”. Katamba (1993) simply defines it as the study of word structure.

From the definitions discussed, the focus is on the analysis of word and its structure. The word which is the root or stem has other parts which can be analysed and these parts are known as morphemes. Morpheme according to Katamba and Stonham (2006) is the smallest difference in the shape of a word that correlates with the smallest difference in word or sentence meaning or in grammatical structure. Nida (1949) also states that “morphemes are the minimal meaningful units which may constitute word or parts of word”.

The definition above means that a morpheme may occur as a word with meaning or attached to a word and this also has a meaning. The definition above also indicates that morphemes cannot be segmented into further smaller units but must have meaning. Again, they all come into conclusion that a morpheme is a word or part of a word. For example, in English 'books' can be analysed as two morphemes, that is 'book' which is the root word and '-s' which has the grammatical meaning as a plural marker.

(2.1) Example:

- 
- i. banyin - male
 - ii. m-mbanyin - males
 - iii. dua - tree
 - iv. n-dua - trees

Examples (i) and (iii) are single morphemes and the (ii) and (iv) are two morphemes each of them expressing meaning, that is plurality $[-m]$ and $[n]$.

(2.2) Example

Word

- i. ôrekasa ɔ rɪ kasa
 3SG PROG talk
 s/he is talking

- ii. ôresaw ɔ rɪ saw
 3SG PROG dance
 s/he is dancing

The examples above have three morphemes. The first and second morphemes are $[\hat{o}]$ and $[-rɪ]$ are third person singular and progressive marker respectively and

they are attached to the verb stem. The stem is a free morpheme whereas the first and second morphemes are bound morphemes. They are meaningful only when they are attached to the root or stem. In other words, morphology is how morphemes are put together to form words and this is governed by rules. These rules are referred to as morphological processes. These processes include: derivation, reduplication, compounding, abbreviation, borrowing, affixation etc. Morphology is divided into two main fields: the study of inflections (inflectional morphology) and word-formation (lexical or derivational morphology). Our discussion will be based on affixation. Affixation is the morphological process whereby an affix is attached to a root or stem. (Crystal, 2007). We can say that the process of adding an affix to a root word or the formation of a word by means of an affix is termed affixation. According to O'Grady, et.al, (1996), an affix is a bound morpheme that modifies the meaning and/or syntactic (sub) category of the stem in some way is already discussed. Affixes are classified into three main types depending on their position in relation to the stem or root of the word.

These are:

- | | | |
|----------|---|------------------------------|
| Prefixes | - | at the beginning of the word |
| Infixes | - | between the word |
| Suffixes | - | at the end of the word |

The most common ones in Ghanaian Language are prefixes and suffixes.

Example:

- | | | |
|--------|---|-----------------|
| | | ɔ dɔkon |
| ɔdɔkon | - | prefix – kenkey |

onyimpa-	-	o	nyimpa	
			prefix	– human being
enuanom-	-	e	nua	nom
			prefix	siblings suffix (plural)

Boadi (2005) discusses morphology of nominals in Akan. According to him, although many of the Akan noun prefixes have lost their semantic function, they feature in important phonological rules. Boadi further classifies the nouns and their prefixes into concrete and abstract, postpositions, quantifiers, personal pronouns and partitives. In his classification, he distinguished between simple quantifiers and possessive noun phrase, our discussion however, will be based on the differences between Iguae and Gomoa noun prefixes and verbal prefixes.

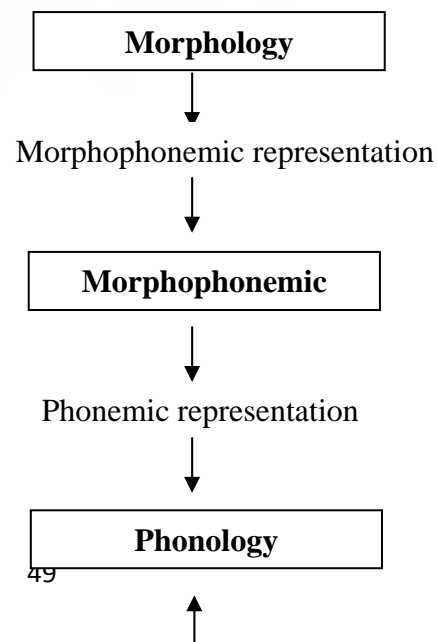
Osam (1998) discusses major word classes in Akan and asserts that affixation is an important morphological feature in Akan nouns, and that most of the Akan nouns have prefixes and suffixes. Osam categorised the prefixes into singular and plural and explained that the vowels used as singular prefixes are /e, â, a, ô, and o/. He further says /i/ and /ɪ/ are also used in some Fante subdialects as prefixes.

Osam demonstrated that for nouns which have /e/ as the prefix in Fante, the Twi dialect use /a/ which is the low, central advanced vowel and the pronunciation is close to [æ] in English language. Osam further points out that /m/ and /n/ are also used as plural prefixes. Accordingly, these nasal consonants are preceded by a nominal prefix of a vocalic segment that is deleted optionally at the phonetic surface. This means that these nasals are constituent of the stem.

One other work that is relevant to this work is Katamba (1993). He made a detailed analysis of the morpheme and in general on a cross-linguistic basis. The study defines a morpheme as the smallest difference in shape of a word that collaborates with the smallest differences in word or sentence meaning or in grammatical structure (Katamba 1993:24). He also discusses some morphological processes which will be relevant in this discussion.

2.5.1 Morphology and other Subfields

It is very important for the individual to have knowledge about word structure which is also the central aspect of linguistic competence. Morphology can be studied by considering the phonological, syntactic and semantic dimension of words. Below is the module of morphology outlined and adapted from Katamba and Stonham (2006).



Phonetic representation

According to Katamba and Stonham (ibid), areas of morphology include: Morphology–phonology interaction, morphology–syntax interaction, morphology–semantic interface and the lexicon.

The morphology and phonology interaction states that the selection of the form that manifests a given morpheme may be influenced by the sounds that realize neighboring morphemes. In morphology – syntax interaction, the semantic construction may affect or change the form of the word. For instance, in English Language, ‘eat’ as a verb has many forms like: eat, eats, ate and eaten. The morphology–semantic interface however connects morphology and the lexicon together with the meaning. It concerns itself with meaning of words and morphemes. Finally, the lexicon must store certain formation which when applied to syntactic and phonological rules become relevant in meaning.

CHAPTER THREE

MORPHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

3.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with some aspects of morphological differences and focuses on affixation – nominal and pronominal. There is also a discussion of some aspect of syntax on interrogation – Yes/No questions.

3.1 Nominal Prefixes

Noun Prefixes

(3.1)

	<u>Gomoa</u>	<u>Iguae</u>	<u>English</u>
i.	okotoo	kotoo	coward
ii.	ɔkwasa	kwasaɾa	foolish
iii.	okotoboɲi	kotoboɲi	moron
iv.	ɔkwar	kwan	road
v.	otwâ	twar	epilepsy
vi.	otwâ	twã	scar
vii.	ɔɖɛnkyɛm	ɖɛnkyɛm	crocodile
viii.	osisifɔ	sisifɔ	cheat
ix.	onunsinyi	nunsinyi	herbalist
x.	ɔsɔfɔ	sɔfɔ	priest
xi.	okusi	kusi	rat
xii.	osuanyi	suanyi	disciple/student

The data above have the same phonological form but morphologically, they differ in terms of the prefixes. Gomoa has almost all the nouns prefixed with either /ɔ/ or /o/ whereas Iguae speakers especially the literates often choose to ignore the prefixes although they are available.

3.2 Pronominal Prefixes

The second person singular – subject

Fante has the vowels /i/or/ɪ/ as pronominal for second person singular but Iguae as well as the ‘Twi’ have /ɛ/ in addition whereas Gomoa maintains the vowels /i/ and /ɪ/.

(3.2)

	Word	Gomoa	Iguae	English
i.	tɔn	Itɔv	ɛtɔn	you sell
ii	da	ɪda	ɛda	you sleep
iii	dwen	ɪdʒ ^w ɪn	ɛdʒ ^w ɪn	you think
iv.	dzi	idzi	idzi	you eat
v.	su	isu	isu	you weep
vi.	sian	isiaɪ	isian	you descend

When the first vowel in the verb stem is /i/ or /u/, both subdialects use /i/ as second person singular pronoun in the subject position.

3.2.1 The second person singular – Object

(3.3)

Gomoa

Iguae

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| i. | wô bâ sra a
3PL FUT visit 2SG
They will visit you | wô bâ sra wu
3PL FUT visit 2SG
They will visit will |
| ii. | mɪ dzɪ ma a
1SG hold give 2SG
I give it to you | mɪdzɪ ma wu
1SG hold give 2SG
I give it to you |
| iii. | ama bo susu u
Ama FUT measure 2SG
Ama will take your
measurement | ama bo susu wu
Ama FUT measure you
Ama will take your
measurement |
| iv. | ô bâ frô ô
3SG FUT call 2SG
she/he/it will call you | ô bâ frâ wu
3SG FUT call 2SG
she/he/it will call you |
| v. | Kofi dzɪ bâ brô ô
Kofi hold FUT give 2SG
Kofi will bring it to you | Kofi dzɪ bâ brâ wu
Kofi hold FUT bring you
Kofi will bring it to you |
| vi. | ô fɔm wu
3SG mistake 2SG
She/he/it offends you | ô fɔm wu
3SG mistake 2SG
she/he offends you |
| vii. | o ker w
3SG weigh 2SG
She/he/it weighs you | o ker wu
3SG weigh 2SG
she/he/it weighs you |

It could be deduced from the above examples that the second person singular in object position here has different realizations in Gomoa whereas Iguae maintains it as it is. The pronoun depends on the final vowel in the verb in Gomoa. This object pronoun is realized as /ɔ/ if the final vowel in the verb is half – open /ɛ/. In examples (iv and v) in Gomoa, the verbs are ‘frâ’ and ‘brâ’ respectively but the object pronoun ‘wo’ changes the vowels in the verbs. In another instance, if the last vowel is unadvanced half – close ie /ɪ/ or advanced half – close /e / or / o /, the realization is /w/. The rest of the vowels from the examples are realized as identical vowels of the final vowels in the verb - / u /, / a / and /ɔ/.

3.2.2 The second person plural

The second person plural pronoun for Fante is (hum) ‘you’. In Gomoa it is (‘mv’). This is the same as one of the allomorphs for first person singular. The Iguae subdialect also has two pronouns – [wɔ] and [hɔn].

(3.4a)		
Gomoa	Iguae	Gloss
mɔda	wɔda	you sleep
mɔtwɪ	wɔtwɪ	you pull
mɔfa	wɔfa	you take (it)
mɔtɔw	wɔtɔw	you fry
mɔkɔm	wɔkɔm	you chant

From the examples, the vowels of the second person as well as the vowels in the stem are in the same [ATR] group and this conforms to the vowel harmony rule. In Fante however, [mʊ] and [wɔ] are variants of first person singular and third person plural respectively. Again, Gomoa using [mʊ], a first person singular has to be harmonized with certain verbs. For instance verbs that have [ô and ʊ] as first vowels in the verb stem as well as when there is [w] preceding the vowel [a] in a verb stem.

Example:

(3.4b)

Word	Gomoa	Gloss
i. moso	musʊ	I am fat
ii. modô no	m ʊ dô nu	I love him
iii. mokwan	mukwar	I paddle (canoe)

The use of /mʊ/ as second person plural can take any verb, with the exception of [u] being the first vowel in the verb stem. See example (3.4)

3.2.3 The second person plural and future tense prefix (bɛ)

Unlike the first person singular and future construction where the future marker and the pronoun come together to produce one sound, the second person plural pronoun and the future prefix do not change in sound. The second person plural in both subdialects are different from that of other subdialects of Fante /hʊm/.

(3.5)

Gomoa

mɔ bɛ da
2PL FUT sleep
You will sleep

mɔ bɔ kɔ
2PL FUT go
You will go

mɔ be hiâ
2PL FUT need
You will need it

Iguae

wɔ bɛ da
2PL FUT sleep
You will sleep

wɔ bɔ kɔ
2PL FUT go
You will go

wɔ be hia
2PL FUT need
You will need it

3.2.4 The future tense prefix and the first person singular pronoun

The future tense marker has four allomorphs and the use of any of them is phonologically conditioned. When first person singular is used with the future tense, there is a coalescence in Gomoa as well as the Iguae subdialects of Fante.

(3.6)

Fante

Gomoa

Iguae

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| i. | mɪ bɛ tsɪna
1SG FUT stay | mɛtsɪna
I will stay | mɛtsɪna
I will stay |
| ii. | mɪ bɛ fa
1SG FUT take | mɛfa
I will take | mɛfa
I will take |
| iii. | mu bɔ hu
1SG FUT see | mɔhu
I will see | mɔhu
I will see |
| iv. | mɪ be dzi
1SG FUT eat | mɛdzi
I will eat | mɛdzi
I will eat |

Examples **iii** and **iv** in Iguae have the same form as habitual tense. The difference is that, in habitual tense, the tonal sequence is high-low and high-high in future tense. The habitual tense will be discussed in chapter four.

3.2.5 The second person singular and future tense

marker

The second person singular pronoun in Fante is /i/ and / ɪ / and Iguae has an addition of /ε/ as already stated. In this construction, the future marker is realized in full.

(3.7)

	Gomoa	Iguae
i.	I bε tsɪna 2SG FUT stay You will stay	ε bε tsɪna 2SG FUT stay You will stay
ii.	i bo tu 2SG FUT fly You will fly	i bu tu 2SG FUT fly You will fly
iii.	i be yi 2SG FUT take You will take	i bi yi 2SG FUT take you will take
iv.	I bε ma 2SG FUT give You will give	ε bε ma 2SG FUT give You will give

When the second person singular precedes a verb that has advanced vowels [u] and [i] to be the first vowel in the verb stem in Iguae, the vowel has influence on the future marker. Same vowel are found in the future marker in Iguae subdialect, examples (ii) and (iii).

3.2.6 Animate and inanimate pronoun and perfect tense

Pronoun for animate and inanimate in Fante is ‘ɔ’ and ‘o’. Taking perfect tense into consideration, Iguae uses the same animate pronoun for inanimate objects as well. The pronouns ‘ô’ and ‘o’ are changed to /w/ and the perfect marker is lengthened in both subdialects in this construction.

Animate

(3.8)

Gomoa

Iguae

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| i. | w a a ka
3SG PERF leave behind
S/he/ it is left behind | w a a ka
3SG PERF leave behind
S/he/ it is left behind |
| ii | w a a sɛɛ
3SG PERF spoil | w a a seɪ
3SG PERF spoilt she/he/it spoilt.
she/he/it spoilt. |
| ii | w e e nyii
3SG PERF grow
she/he/it grown | w e e nyin
3SG PERF grow
she/he/it grown. |

Inanimate

(3.9)

Gomoa

Iguae

Gloss

- | | | |
|------------|---------|------------------------------|
| I. asa | waasa | It is finished |
| ii. anar | waanar | It is melted (sheer butter) |
| iii. ahyɾw | waahyɾw | It is bent |
| iv. epɪi | weepɪn | It is grown |

From the data, Gomoa maintains the verb in the perfect tense without bringing the pronoun prefix to the verb when using inanimate objects in the construction of sentences.

3.3 Syntax

Generally, Fante has two types of interrogative sentences which corresponds to yes/no question and wh-question in English. The emphasis will be on the differences in yes/no question between Gomoa and Iguae subdialects of the Fante dialect.

3.3.1 The Interrogation – Yes/No Questions

(3.10)

<u>Gomoa</u>	<u>Iguae</u>
i. \tilde{a} esi bɔkɔ bi? Will Esi go?	esi bɔkɔ bi a?
ii. \tilde{a} kwamɪ na pɛ tsii? Does Kwamena like tea?	kwamɪ na pɛ tsii a?
iii. \tilde{a} kofi bedzi? Will Kofi eat it?	kofi bedzi a?
iv. \tilde{a} afei bɛyɛ? Will you do it?	afei bɛyɛ a?
v. \tilde{a} afa sikâ n? Have you taken the money?	afa sika nu a?
vi. obiara nyîm maa? Does everybody know it?	ibiara nyim a?
vii. Araba dzɪ ama wu maa? Has Araba given it to you?	Araba dzɪ ama wua?

The ‘ \tilde{a} ’ in Gomoa is the short form of ‘ana’ which is ‘either’ in English. ‘Either’.....or’ in English is ana.....anaa’ in Fante but Gomoa uses ‘ \tilde{a} ’ whereas Iguae prefers ‘a’. From the examples above, it is clear that the ‘ \tilde{a} ’ by Gomoa

speakers is at sentence initial and 'a' is also used at sentence final by the Iguae speakers. The 'ã' is often used by the elderly. In another instance, the 'mãã' in Gomoa which is at sentence final position is often used by the elderly and the illiterate Gomoa speakers. The 'mãã' here is derived from the phrase 'mo tãã?' which literally means 'am I lying?' In example, (iv) and (v) there is no subject in the sentence for Gomoa, and this means the sentence is in reference to second person singular pronoun.

3.4 Summary

There is no doubt that Gomoa speakers always have /o/ or /ɔ/ as prefix to most of the nouns. The discussion depicts that Iguae has an additional pronoun for the second person singular - /ɛ/ just like the 'Twi' dialect and Gomoa maintains only the /i/ and the /ɪ/ as subject pronoun. Whereas Iguae retains the second person singular /wɔ/ in the object position, Gomoa replaces it with /ɔ/, /w/ or identical vowels of the final vowels in the verb. Again in Iguae subdialect, the second person plural pronoun is /wɔ/ and /hɔn/, and Gomoa - /mɔ/. In the construction of perfect tense and inanimate objects, Gomoa just maintains the verb in the perfect tense but Iguae uses the same animate prefixes for inanimate objects.

CHAPTER FOUR
PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GOMOA AND IGUAE
SUBDIALECTS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the phonological differences between Gomoa and Iguae subdialects of Fante. It has been divided into two sections. Section one talks about differences in vowel, vowel sequence, vowel harmony, syllable structure processes and section two deals with tonal differences between Gomoa and Iguae subdialects.

SECTION ONE

4.1 Differences in vowel

4.1.1(a) Morpheme internal /â/ realization

(i) *Beginning of a word: e → â*

(4.1)	Gomoa	Iguae	English
i.	âguâ	egua	chair
ii.	âdzâ	edza	father
iii.	âsi	esi	proper noun
iv.	âtɔ̃ir	etɔ̃ir	back/behind
v.	âdzinambua	edzinambuwa	cat
vi.	âsusoo	esusuow	rainy season

4.1.2 (b) *Ending of a word: a → â*

(4.2)	Gomoa	Iguae	English
i.	sikâ	sika	money
ii.	duâ	dua	tree
iii.	muâ	mua	squeeze/whole
iv.	piâ	pia	push
v.	sũâ	sũa	learn
vi.	âtɕimâ	etɕima	roaming about

There are differences in vowels of the above data. Where there is /e/ being the vowel initial or /a/ a final vowel of a word in Iguae, they are replaced by /â/ in Gomoa subdialect. Although most of the words have /i/ or /u/ occurring before and after the /â/ sound, it is an autonomous vowel, that is, it can be at any position within the stem.

Consider the data below

(4.3)	Gomoa	Iguae	English
i.	âdɕâ	edɕa	father
ii.	odɕâ	dɕa	fire
iii.	otwã	twã	scare
iv.	otwâ	twa	epilepsy

v. âburow eburow maize

4.1.3 (c) Across word boundary: a → â

(4.4)	Gomoa	Iguae	English
i.	mpo â...	mpo a...	even if ...
ii.	iyi â...	iyi a...	this thing that...
iii.	oyi â...	oyi a...	this person who...
iv.	âburow â...	eburow a...	maize that...
v.	duâ â...	dua a...	a tree which...
vi.	kyeefuâ â...	kyirefuwa a...	an egg that is...

The data above exhibit some differences in the vowels that are across word boundary. When there is /a/ vowel across word boundary and these vowels /i, u, o/ are final or before the final vowel of the word in Iguae, the /a/ changes to /â/ in Gomoa.

4.2 Vowel sequence in Fante

Vowel sequence is a situation where two or more vowels occur successively within words or across word boundaries in sentences or phrases.

Examples of words in which the above vowel sequences generally occur in Fante are as follows:

(4.5)

- i. /ii/ as in *pîi* ‘many’
- ii. /ie/ as in *fîe* ‘home’

iii.	/ia/	as in <i>ob^jiara</i>	‘everybody’
iv.	/io/	as in <i>b^jio</i>	‘again’
v.	/iu/	as in <i>p^jiu</i>	‘thick’
vi.	/ɪ/	as in <i>hwɪ</i>	‘nothing’
vii.	/ɛ/	as in <i>b^jɛn</i>	‘closer’
viii.	/ɪa/	as in <i>p^jɪa</i>	‘chamber’
ix.	/ee/	as in <i>petee</i>	‘openly’
x.	/eu/	as in <i>keu</i>	‘saltpetre’
xi.	/ei/	as in <i>sɛɪ</i>	‘to destroy’
xii.	/ɛɛ/	as in <i>pɛɛ</i>	‘exactly’
xiii.	/ɔ/	as in <i>bɔɪ</i>	‘broke’
xiv.	/ɔɔ/	as in <i>kɔ^wk^wɔɔ</i>	‘red’
xv.	/vɪ/	as in <i>ɔk^wvɪ</i>	‘s/he fought’
xvi.	/ue/	as in <i>p^wue</i>	‘come out’
xvii.	/ui/	as in <i>bui</i>	‘fell down (tree)’
xviii.	/oo/	as in <i>epoo</i>	‘to threaten’
xix.	xxi. /uo/	as in <i>eduonum</i>	‘fifty’
xx.	xxii. /aɪ/	as in <i>kaɪ</i>	‘to read’
xxi.	xxiii. /vʊ/	as in <i>fvʊnvʊ</i>	‘oven’
xxii.	xxiv. /va/	as in <i>k^wva</i>	‘to bend’
xxiii.	xxv. /oi/	as in <i>oboi</i>	‘exclamation’

It is realized that the above examples of vowel sequences occur within the stem and at morpheme boundaries. Again, the past tense is distinguished from the habitual tense by a tone contrast as well as morpheme segment.

Example:

4.2.1 i. **Within stem**

(4.6)	Gomoa	Iguae	Gloss
i.	ohiâ	ihia	'poverty'
ii.	sɛɛ	sɛɪ	'to destroy/spoil'
iii.	tuâ	tua	'to pay'
iv.	bɪɛɪ	bɪɛn	'closer'
v.	obiara	ibiara	'everybody'

4.2.2 ii. **Across stem**

(4.7)						
i.	ɔ	+	tɔ	+	ɪ	ɔtɔɪ
	S/h	e	buy	past		s/he bought it
ii.	o	+	tu	+	i	otui
	S/he		uproot	past		s/he uprooted
iii.	ɔ	+	tɕere	+	ɪ	ɔtɕirɛɪ
	S/he		show	past		S/he showed it
	ɔ	+	ba	+	ɪ	ɔbar
	S/he		come	past		S/he came

From the data above, it is realized that vowel sequences that occur across morpheme boundaries are the past tense forms with the suffixes /i/ and /ɪ/. In Fante, these suffixes are added to the verbs.

4.2.3 Across word boundary

In Fante, when there are two words forming a word and the first word ends with a vowel, there is a vowel sequence between them. Grammatically, each word is made up of two words each from different grammatical relation. The V_2 of the $V_1 \# V_2$ sequence across a word boundary is deleted when it is [-ATR], that is, Unadvanced tongue root.

Example:

(4.8)

	Gomoa		Iguae
i.	okusi + ôbir rat female	-	okusibir female rat
			kusi ibir - kusibir
ii.	asantsɪ + ôhin Ashante king	-	asantsihɪn king of Ashante
			asantsɪ ehɪn – asantsɪhɪn
iii.	sikâ + âdur money medicine	-	sikâdur money got from rituals
			sika edur - sikadur
iv.	ɔhɔhu + ɔdaɪ visitor room	-	ahɔhudai guest room
			hɔhu edan - ahɔhudan

The pronunciation of words in both Gomoa and Iguae shows that the V_2 of the $V_1 \# V_2$ is naturally deleted although the vowels in question may differ in both subdialects. In another instance where the initial vowel of the second word is

[₋ATR] or [₋ATR] the # V₂ spreads to the preceding V₁# to delete it. This happens when a pronoun and a noun come together.

(4.9) Example

Gomoa

Iguae

(ii) wɔ+âduwâ → wâduwâ
2SG beans
'your beans'

wɔ+eduwa → weduwa
2SG beans
'your beans'

(iv) mɪ+âdzibaɪ → mâdzibaɪ
1SG food food
'my food'

mɪ+edziban → medziban
1SG food food
'my food'

4.3 Vowel Harmony

The quality of vowel prefix of a word is also conditioned by the vowel in the main stem. These prefixes can be nominal or pronominal prefix. (See chapter Two) for vowel harmony.

(4.10) Example:

	Word	Gloss	
i.	ɔkv	war	[₋ ATR]
ii.	okun	husband	[₊ ATR]
iii.	itsir	head	[₊ ATR]
iv.	ɔfa	s/he takes	[₋ ATR]
v.	osu	s/he cries	[₊ ATR]

The above examples show that the vowels in the stem are in the same [ATR] group, [+ATR] or [-ATR]. The suffix morphemes that are in harmony with the stem on the next page are mainly past tense and verbs that have been changed into adjectives.

(4.11a)

	Word	Past Tense
i.	putɔw to mash	putɔwìì mashed
ii.	kɔ to go	kɔrìì went
iii.	tɕir to catch	tɕirìì caught
iv.	siw pound	siwii pounded

From the above examples, it is realized that vowel sequences that occur across morpheme boundaries are the past tense forms with the suffixes /i/ and /I/.

(4.12b)

	Verb	Noun	Adjective
i.	Pu tɔ w	dɔ kún	dɔ kúnputɔwii
ii.	mash	kenkey	mashed kenkey
iii.	síw	èbùrów	èbùrówsíwíí
iv.	pound	maize	refined maize

The differences in the suffixes - past tense and adjectives above have the same forms but differences in tone. It is the tone that distinguishes the past tense from the adjective and not by a morpheme segment.

4.3.1 Verbal Prefix and Vowel Harmony

In Fante, prefixes of verbs generally agree with the vowel in the stem according to the type of [ATR] that the verb belongs to – either [+ATR] or [-ATR], rounded or unrounded.

Progressive - re-, ru-, ro-, ri

Future – be-, bɛ-, bo-, bɔ

Going ingressive – ke-, kɛ, ko-, kɔ-

When the vowel in the verb stem is advanced in Iguae, the vowels in the prefixes /be, bo, ke, ko, re and ro/ change to vowels from the same [+ATR] group in the verb that is /i and u/ whereas prefixes in Gomoa remain the same. On the other hand, if the vowel in the verb stem is [-ATR], both subdialects have the same prefixes.

4.3.1.1 The Progressive Prefix and Vowel Harmony

The vowel in the progressive prefix always agrees with the vowel in pronominal prefix. In both Gomoa and Iguae, the /ɾ/ in the progressive prefix is not pronounced but the vowel in the pronominal assimilates the vowel in the progressive prefix.

(4.13)

Underlying	Gomoa	Iguae	Gloss
Representation			
i. mi + ri + dzi 1SG Prog eat	miidzi	miidzi	I am eating
ii. wo + ru + tu 3PL Prog fly	wootu	wuutu	they are flying
iii. wo + ru + su 3PL Prog cry	woosu	wuusu	they are crying

From the examples above, the (ii) - /wuutu/ and (iii) - /wuusu/ in Iguae have advanced group vowels although they differ from Gomoa. That is, whereas the vowels in the pronominal prefix take on the vowels in the progressive prefix in Gomoa, it is the vowels in the stem that take on the vowels in the pronoun prefix in Iguae. The main concern is that they must be in the same group of vowel harmony.

4.3.1.2 The Future Tense Prefix [bɛ] And Vowel Harmony

(3.14)

Underlying	Gomoa	Iguae	Gloss
Representation			
i. ɔ + bɔ + kum 3SG FUT bend	ɔbɔkum	ɔbukum	s/he will bend
ii. o + bo + du 3SG FUT arrive	obodu	obudur	s/he will arrive

- iii. o + be + yi obeyi obiyi s/he will take (it)
3SG FUT take

The above examples confirm the vowel harmony rule of verbal prefixes. Vowels in the prefixes are in harmony with the vowels in the verb stem. In the future construction, when the vowel in the verb stem is /i/, /u/ or /ʊ/, the future marker takes the same vowel quality in the Iguae subdialect, when the vowel is the final sound of the verb.

4.3.1.3 Nominal Prefix and Vowel Harmony

The distribution of vowels in nominal prefixes in Gomoa often varies from that of Iguae. Almost every noun in Gomoa Mfantse has a vowel initial prefix. In Iguae however, some of the nominal prefixes are unconsciously deleted and also /ɔ/ initials in Gomoa are sometimes replaced with /ɛ/ in Iguae.

(4.15a)

	Gomoa	Iguae	Gloss
i.	ɔdaɪ	ɛdan	building
ii.	ɔkʊ	ɛkʊ	war
iii.	ɔtaa	ɛtaɪ	persecution
iv.	ɔhin	ɛhin	king
v.	ɔpʊʊ	âpʊn	a table
vi.	iŋgo	âŋgʊ	oil
vii.	ôʂôfʊ	sôfʊ	priest

The data can be represented as:

$$G \left[\hat{o} \right] \rightarrow \left\{ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\hat{a}] \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\} \right\} I. / \text{---} + C \left(\begin{array}{l} + \text{vocalic} \\ - \text{Advanced} \end{array} \right)$$

This explains that $[\hat{o}]$ as nominal prefix in Gomoa is $[\hat{a}]$ or $[\emptyset]$ in Iguae when the vowel preceding the initial consonant is unadvanced.

The type of nominal prefix to use in Akan, as it has already been said, depends on the quality of the stem vowel, whether advanced or unadvanced. This is with exceptions in Gomoa. All the vowels can be used as vowel initial for prefixes with the exception of /u/ and /v/. Most of the nominal prefixes in Gomoa are either /ɔ/ or /o/.

(4.15b)

	Gomoa	Iguae	Gloss
i.	opete	petɛ	vulture
ii.	ohiâ	ihia	poverty
iii.	okun	ikun	husband
iv.	owu	iwu	death
v.	ogyâ	igya	fire
vi.	odwou	dwon	type of tree

The data can be represented as:

$$G \left[\hat{o} \right] \rightarrow \left\{ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [i] \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\} \right\} I. / \text{---} + C \left(\begin{array}{l} + \text{vocalic} \\ + \text{Advanced} \end{array} \right)$$

This means that [o] in Gomoa as nominal prefix corresponds to [i] or [Ø] in Iguae subdialect.

Table 4.1

The Fante vowel sequences chart.

	i	I	e	ε	æ	a	ɔ	o	ʊ	u
i	ii		Ie			ia	iɔ	io		iu
I		II	Ie			Ia				
e	ei		ee							
ε				εε						
æ										
a						aa				
ɔ							ɔɔ			
o	oi							oo		ou
ʊ				ʊε		ʊa			ʊʊ	
u	ui		ue			ua		ʊo		

4.4 The Consonant Chart in Fante.

Table 4.2

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Pre-palatal/palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p		t		k kw	
	b		d		g gu	
Affricate			ts	[tʃ]		
			dz	[dʒ]		
				[dʒʰ]		
				[ɲ]	n [ŋ]	
Nasal	m	ɱ	n	[ɲʰ]	[ŋw]	
Lateral			l			
Trill			r			
Fricative		f	s	[ç]		h
				[çʰ]		
Approximant	w			[j]	(w)	
Glide	w[jʰ]			j		

(Dolpyne 1988)

4.4. The Syllable

4.4.1 The V only syllable

(4.16)

	Gomoa	Iguae	English
i.	<u>ɪ</u> .na.ɪ	ɛ.nan	Leg
ii.	<u>ɪ</u> .pʊ	ɛ.pʊ	Sea
iii.	<u>â</u> .kú.tu	ɛ.ku.tu	Orange
iv.	<u>â</u> .po.o	ɛ.po.o	Cheat
v.	<u>ɔ</u> .tu	ɪ.tu.r	Gun
vi.	<u>ɔ</u> .tu	ɪ.tu	Hole
vii.	<u>â</u> .gu.â	ɛ.gu.a	Chair
viii.	<u>â</u> .dwu.mâ	ɛ.dwu.ma	Work

Where there is /e/ being the vowel initial of the word in Iguae, Gomoa substitutes /â/ for it. Again when there is /i/ as initial vowel in Iguae and the vowel in the second syllable is back and rounded, Gomoa substitutes /i/ with /o/. For /ɛ/ as initial vowel in Iguae, Gomoa also has /ɪ/ since they are all unadvanced vowels as well as the immediate vowel in the stem.

When there is a CVCV syllable, one unconsciously deletes the C₂ and as a result of this the V₂ becomes an unsettled syllable if V₁ and V₂ are of the same vowel quality.

(4.17)

i. kò.dzuó - kòó 'proper name'

- ii. má.mà - máà 'mother'
- iii. papa - pàá 'father'

4.4.2. CVN

(a) /n/ endings in Iguae replaced with /ɪ/ in Gomoa

(4.18)

i.	Gomoa	Iguae	English
ii.	(ɔ) mar	(ɛ) man	country
iii.	(ɔ) dar	dan	building
iv.	(ɔ)kwar	kwan	road
v.	(ɔ) tar	tan	hatred
vi.	mar	nan	leg
vii.	nar	nan	melt

When final vowel in the stem is [-ATR] unrounded, central unadvanced that is, /a/ is followed by a nasal consonant /n/ in Iguae as final consonant, the /n/ is replaced with /ɪ/ which is also a [-ATR] vowel in Gomoa.

(b) /n/ endings in Iguae replaced by /ʊ/ in Gomoa.

(4.19)

	Gomoa	Iguae	English
i.	pʊʊ	pʊn	table
ii.	fɔʊ	fɔn	to grow lean
iii.	sɔʊ	sɔn	to sieve
iv.	bɔʊ	bɔn	to stinge
v.	tɔʊ	tɔn	to sell
vi.	hʊʊ	hʊn	to swell/dissolve
vii.	kɔʊ	kɔn	neck
viii.	sʊʊ	sʊn	snuff

The final /n/ in Iguae is realized as /ʊ/ in Gomoa if the vowel of the CVN is rounded.

(c) /n/ endings in Iguae replaced by /i/ in Gomoa
(4.20)

	Gomoa	Iguae	English
i.	pʰii	pʰin	draw closer
ii.	sʰii	sin	short/not full
iii.	kyii	kyin	roaming about
iv.	nyii	nyin	mature/grow

The /n/ ending of the CVN in Iguae is realized as a high vowel /i/ in Gomoa when the vowel in the CVN is high, that is /i/. In effect the high vowel is lengthened.

(d) /n/ endings in Iguae replaced by /u/ in Gomoa
(4.21)

	Gomoa	Iguae	English
i.	puu	pun	inhale (medicine)
ii.	fuu	fun	corpse
iii.	huu	hun	naught
iv	suu	sun	push

The final N of CVN stem which is alveolar nasal is retained in Iguae but realized as nasalized vowel towards a high vowel which is /i/, or /ɪ / if the vowel of the CVN is unrounded in Gomoa. /u/ or /ʊ/ is also used to replace the final /n/ if the vowel in the stem is rounded in Iguae. The data above in Gomoa depict the true citation forms.

4.4.3. CVW

(4.22)

	Gomoa	Iguae	English
i.	pɔɔ	pɔw	knot
ii.	dɔɔ	dɔw	to weed
iii.	hɔɔ	hɔw	to smoke
iv.	fɔɔ	fɔw	to climb
v.	sɔɔ	sɔw	to bear fruit
vi.	tɔɔ	tɔw	throw

The CVw structures in Iguae are different from that of Gomoa. In Gomoa however, the /w/ is replaced by the same vowel quality of the stem and the CVW

structure becomes CVv. However, if the vowel of the stem (CVW) is /i/, /I/ and /e/ which are front vowels, the final /w/ is retained in Gomoa.

4.4.4. CVr

The differences in CVr between Gomoa and Iguae is that sometimes the final /r/ is replaced with the glottal stop /ʔ/ in Gomoa. The glottal stop is often used by the elderly and the illiterates in citation as well as when the CVr is at sentence final.

(4.24)

	Gomoa	Iguae	English
i.	tsiʔ	tsir	head
ii.	pɛʔ	pɛr	only
iii.	kvʔ	kor	one
iv.	haʔ	har	light
v.	yrʔ	yr	wife

4.4.5 CVCV

(4.25)

	Gomoa	Iguae	English
i.	furâ	fura	cover with cloth
ii.	numâ	numa	to baptize
iii.	burâ	bura	well
iv.	sikâ	sika	money
v.	gyinâ	gyina	to disperse

- vi. sumâ suma to stand

The only difference here is that the /a/ endings are replaced with /â/ in Gomoa and this is because they occur after advanced vowels /i/ and /u/.

Again, since [a] is [-ATR] and at word final position in Iguae, Gomoa must also be replaced with another [-ATR] vowel at word final position. Finally, /â/ as discussed already can be found anywhere within the stem. The words in the data are examples of exceptions in [+ATR] groups.

There has been an observation that when the consonant /d/ is in the word initial or medial position in standard Fante as well as Iguae, Gomoa often substitutes it with /l/ and it becomes free variant of /d/ example.

(4.26)

	Word	Gomoa	Iguae	English
i.	dɔkon	ôlôkɔn	dɔkɔn	kenkey
ii.	adadɛɪr	aladɛɪr	adadɛɪr	leisure
iii.	dɔkɔta	lôkɔta	dɔkɔta	a

doctor

The /l/ variant is mainly used by the illiterate and the elderly Gomoa speakers.

4.4.6 Syllable Structure Process

This section discusses some major syllable structure processes that occur in Fante. These processes may lead to change within the stem word; change of vowel quality, loss of segment, addition of segments and change of major class features.

4.4.6.1 Vowel Elision

Vowel elision is a process whereby a vowel is completely lost from the syllable.

Gomoa

mɪ + âɲimbâ – mâɲimbâ
1SG eye my eye

mɪ + âkutu – mâkutu
1SG orange my orange

Iguae

mɪ + eɲiwa – meɲiwa
1SG eye my eye

mɪ + ekutu – mekutu
1SG orange my orange

From the data the initial vowel in the noun stem, that is #V₂ spreads towards left to delete the V₁# of the pronoun. The #V₂ therefore assimilates the V₁#. This is common in the Akan language.

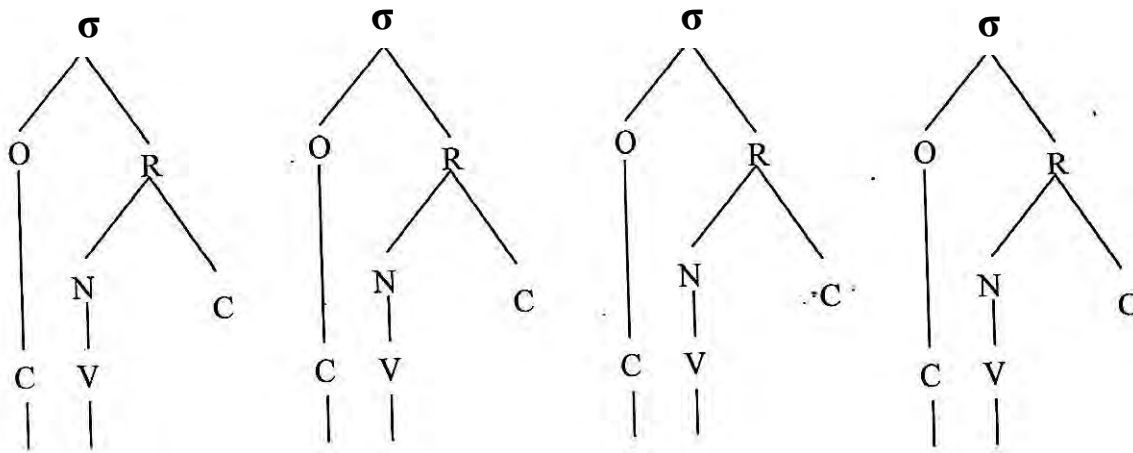
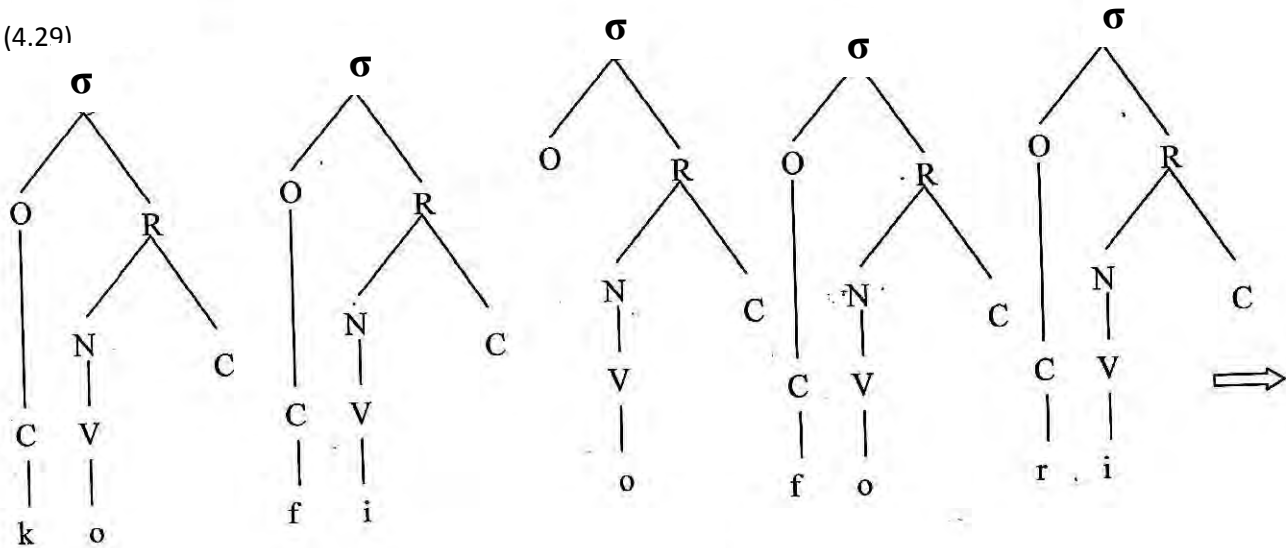
In compound formation, some of the vowels are lost at the morpheme boundary and this can be either the last vowel of the first stem or the first vowel of the second stem. When word that ends in a vowel is followed by another word that begins with a vowel in the same phonological environment, one of the vowels in the sequence created is deleted at the boundary.

(4.27)

	Stem	Stem	Output
i.	nantwi 'cow'	ɔba 'child'	nantwiba 'calf'
ii.	asantsɪ 'Ashante'	ɔhin 'king'	asantsihen 'king of Ashante'
iii.	kofi 'male born on Friday'	ofori 'surname'	kofifori (koofori) 'name of a person'
iv.	ɔhɔhu 'visitor/stranger'	ɔdai 'room'	ahɔhɔdai 'guest room'
v.	ebusua 'family'	ɔpapɪn 'elder'	e busuapapɪn 'family head'

In the examples above, the second vowel in the sequence, that is the initial vowel of the second stem is obliged to be deleted.

(4.29)



(4.30)

The process discussed is common to Akan languages.

Gomoa

Iguae

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|--------|------|-------|
| i. | ɔ | yɛ | nɔ | ɔba | ɔ | yɛ | nɔ | ɛba |
| | 3SG | do | DET | child | 3SG | do | DET | child |
| | ɔyɛ | nɔ | ɔba | ɔyɛ | nɔ | ba | | |
| | he | is | like | a | son | to | him | he |
| | | | | | | | | is |
| | | | | | | | | like |
| | | | | | | | | a |
| | | | | | | | | son |
| | | | | | | | | to |
| | | | | | | | | him |
| ii. | mɪ | âgyâ | onyamɪ | mɪ | egya | onyame | | |
| | 1SG | father | God | 1SG | father | God | | |
| | mâgyâ | onyamɪ | | megya | nyamɪ | | | |
| | God | my | father | God | my | father | | |
| iii. | fa | kô | ofe | fa | kô | ifie | | |
| | fa | kofe | | fa | kôfie | | | |
| | 2IMP | take | go | home | 2IMP | go | home | |
| | Take | it | home | Take | it | home | | |

The examples in (i) and (ii) show that Gomoa maintains the prefixes of the object pronouns in the output but Iguae delete the prefixes. In (iii) Iguae delete the prefix /i/ of the noun 'ifie' but for Gomoa, the prefix /o/ which is {+ART} vowel of the noun 'ofe' assimilates the vowel /ô/ which is [-ATR] vowel of the verb 'kô'. From the data we have at our disposal Gomoa maintains the nominal prefix of all

the nouns whereas Iguae deletes them. In both subdialects, there is deletion of vowel of the first person pronominal in example (ii) *mɪ + eɣya – meɣya*. However, there is a vowel deletion that is peculiar to Gomoa.

(4.35)

	(4.31) Gomoa	Iguae	English
i.	tse	tsie	to listen
ii.	se	sie	to hide/keep
iii.	tɕa	tɕɪa	to bend

From the data it could be deduced that when there is a vowel sequence and the vowel that precedes the final vowel is high, it (that is the high vowel) is deleted in Gomoa but Iguae retains it. In the case of Gomoa, there are few exceptions, that is, sometimes the preceding vowel may be unadvanced instead of advanced for instance, *tsɪa* in Fante is the same as in Iguae but becomes *tsã* -to discipline and *kyɪa – kya* ‘to bend’ in Gomoa.

4.4.6.2 Vowel Insertion

Another feature of the syllable structure process is insertion of another vowel in some derivations. The cause of the insertion in this discussion is the addition of the progressive suffix-‘ri’ to the stem verb.

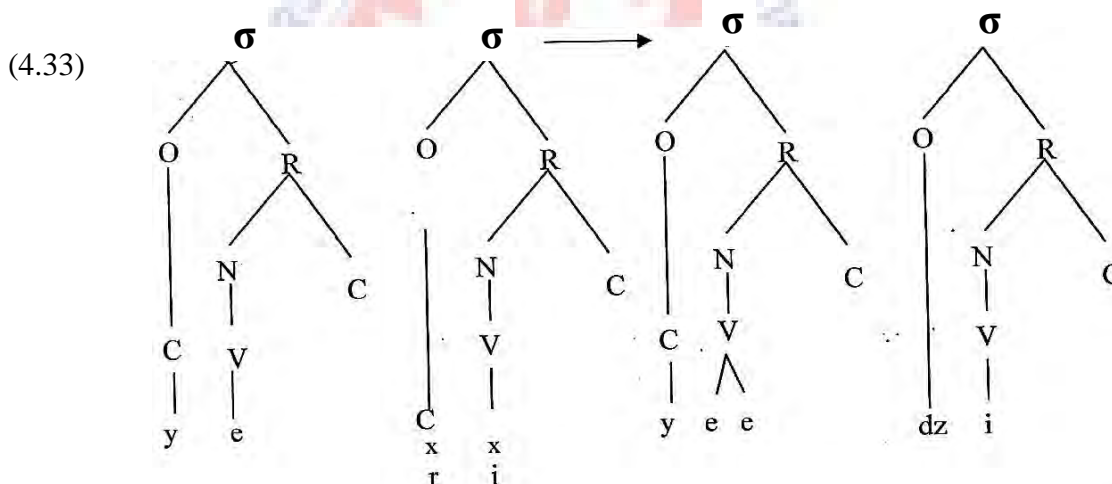
Below are some illustrations.

(4.32)

Pronoun	Progressive	Verb stem	Output	Output
---------	-------------	-----------	--------	--------

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-------|-------|---|---------------------|--------------|
| | | | | | Gomoa | Iguae |
| (i) | mi | + -ri | + dzi | → | miidzi | miidzi |
| | 1SG | PROG | eat | | 'I am eating' | |
| (ii) | ye | + -ri | + dzi | → | yeedzi | yiidzi |
| | 1PL | PROG | eat | | 'We are eating' | |
| (iii) | wo | + -ri | + siw | → | woosiw | woosiw |
| | 3PL | PROG | pound | | 'They are pounding' | |

This is common to both Gomoa and Iguae subdialects. From the examples, both the onset and the nucleus of the second syllable is deleted and the same vowel quality in the first syllable is inserted to fill the gap that has been created due to the deletion.



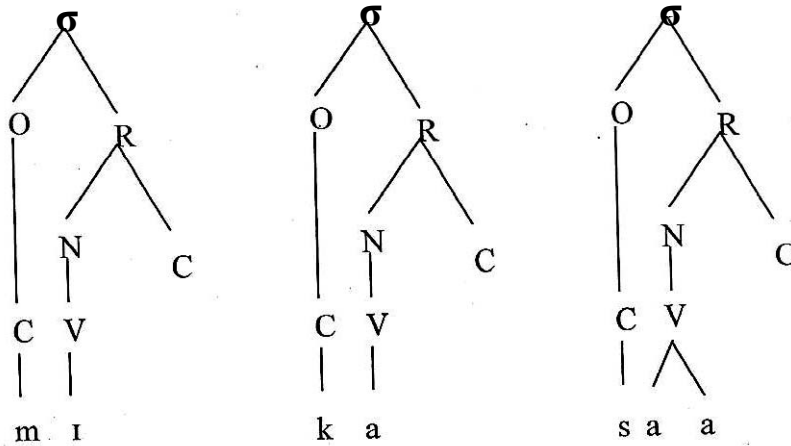
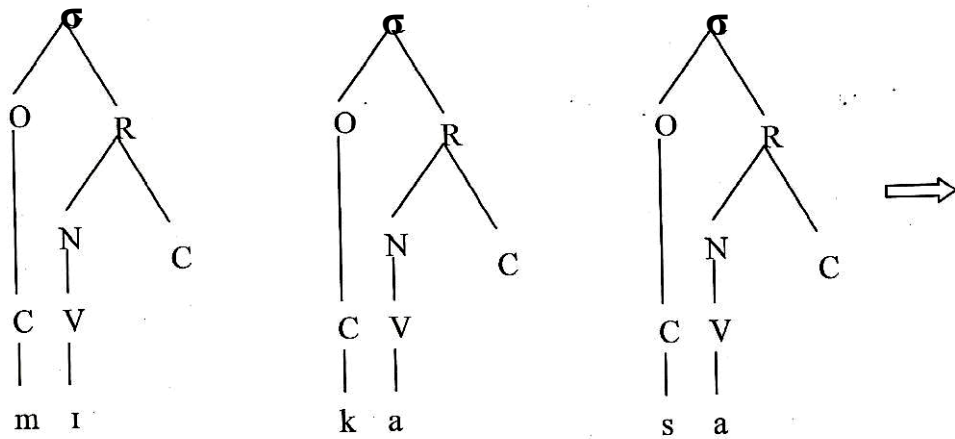
When qualifying possessive adjectives are added to some nouns the final vowels of such nouns - /a/ and /ɪ/ are lengthened, that is there is an insertion of the same vowel quality of the final vowel.

- | | Possessive Adjective | | Noun | | Output |
|---------|-----------------------------|---|-------------|---|---------------|
| (4.34a) | | | | | |
| i. | mi | + | kasa | → | mikasaa |
| | 1SG | | language | | my language |

- ii. me + adaka → madakaa
 1SG box my box
- iii. hɛn + dasɪ → hendasɪɪ
 1PL testimony our testimony

The above data can be represented as:

(4.34b)



When words are borrowed from English language into any Akan language, vowels are inserted to make the pronunciation easier for the non-native speaker of the lending language. Vowels are inserted to break consonant cluster. Another

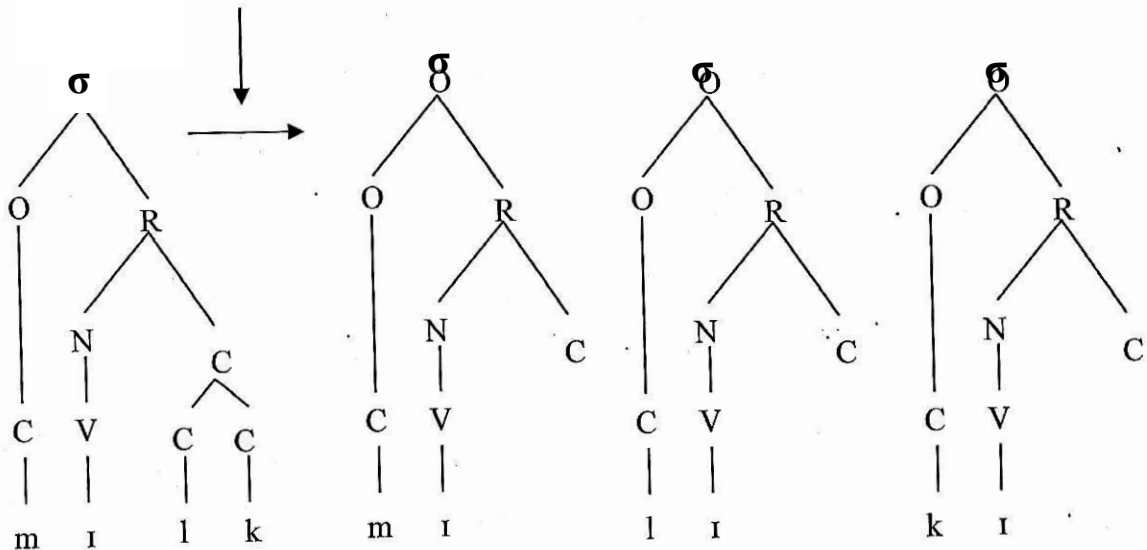
reason for inserting a vowel is to create a CV final syllable so that one syllable can be broken into two or three syllables and this is common to both subdialects.

(4.35)

	Gomoa	Iguae	English
i.	mɪlɪkɪ	mɪlk	mɪlk
	Gomoa	Iguae	English
ii.	bokɪtsɪ	bokɪts	bʌkɪt
iii.	pɪrɛtsɪ	pɪrɛtsɪ	pleɪt
iv.	bʌagɪ	bʌag	bæg
v.	sɔkɪtsɪ	sɔkɪts	saks
vi.	fɪrɪdʒɪ	fɪrɪdʒ	fɪrɪdʒ
vii.	bʊukuu	bʊukuu	bʊk

From the above data, one could easily deduce that the difference between Gomoa and Iguae is that Gomoa always has a vowel at the word final position but it is not always like that in Iguae. Vowel inserted to break consonant cluster and form a CV final syllable.

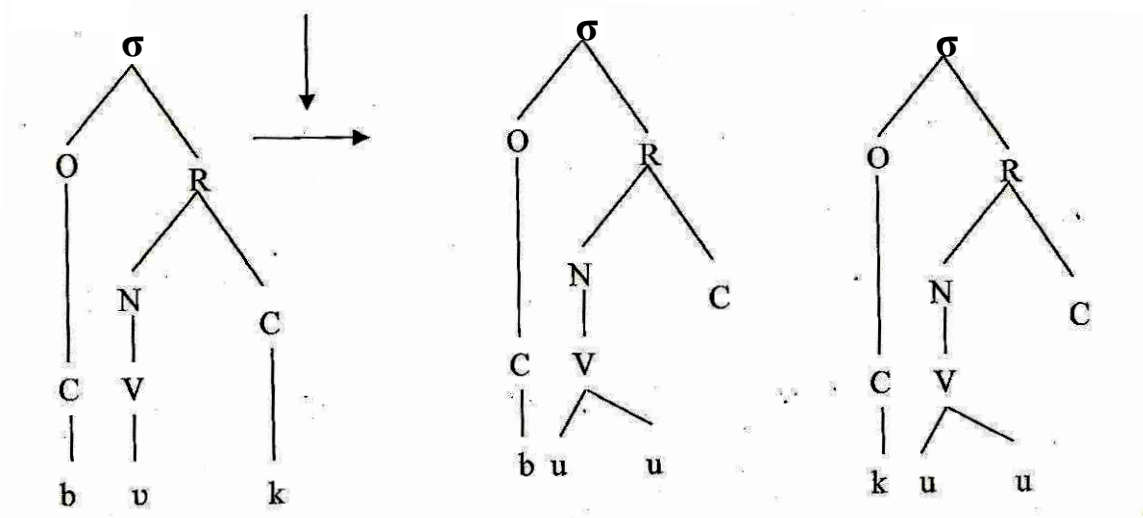
(4.36)



(ii) Vowel inserted to create another syllable for easier pronunciation.

(4.37) *English*

Fante



When, there is /w/ between two vowels in a stem and the second vowel that is the V_2 is the final vowel – $V_2 \#$, and the V_1 is back and rounded, the semi-vowel /w/ is deleted in Gomoa whereas Iguae maintains it. The V_2 which is /a/, unrounded and unadvanced vowel is replaced with another unadvanced vowel /â/ in Gomoa when the V_1 is rounded - /u/ or /v/.

Example:

(4.38)

	Gomoa	Iguae	Gloss
i.	âbuâ	ebuwa	smoking pipe
ii.	kyeefuâ	kyirefuwa	an egg

iii.	abua	abuwa	animal/beast
iv.	âkuâ	ekuwa	proper name
v.	mbuaba	mbuwaba	germs

4.4.6.3 Metathesis

The metathesis in Fante operates in different dimensions in Gomoa and Iguae subdialects. In simple terms, metathesis is a phonological process whereby there is a change in order of sounds in word.

(4. 40)

	Gomoa		Iguae		
(i)	pɪɪ mi →	pɪɪm	pɪn	mi	→ pɪnɪm
	allow 1SG	allow me	allow	1SG	allow me
(ii)	bɔv mi →	bɔɔm	bɔn	mi	→ bɔnɪm
	bad odour 1SG	it stinks	bad odour	1SG	
(iii)	taɪ mi →	taam	tan	mi →	tanɪm
	hate 1SG	hate me	hate	1SG	hate me

The examples show that, the final vowel sounds of /mi/ and /n v /, that is /ɪ/ and /v / change positions with the preceding consonants. This implies that the nasal consonant which was previously an onset has become syllabic without any change in meaning. This is clear in Iguae whereas Gomoa has a change in the vowel quality. Instead of the vowel of the pronoun coming before the consonant, it is replaced with the first vowel in the verb stem. It has already been discussed that

when there is CVN structure in Iguae, the final /n/ which is alveolar nazal is realized as a vowel in Gomoa - /i/, /ɪ/, /ʊ/, and /u/.

4.4.6.4 Coalescence

Coalescence refers to two or more sounds coming together to form one sound.

There is an aspect in Fante that needs to be discussed under coalescence.

In Akan, the future tense marker is /bɛ/.

(4.41)

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|---|-----------------|
| i. | mɪ + bɛ + da | → | mɪbɛda |
| | 1SG FUT sleep | | I will sleep |
| ii. | ɔ + bɛ + saw | → | ɔbɛsaw |
| | 3SG FUT dance | | s/he will dance |
| iii. | ye + bo + tu | → | yebotu |
| | 1PL FUT fly | | we will fly |

When the future tense prefix /bɛ/ is used in construction with the first person singular pronoun in both Gomoa and Iguae, the future tense marker coalesces with the pronoun and the 'mɪbɛ' becomes 'mɛ'. First, the intervocalic /b/ is deleted and then the vowel /ɛ/ coalesces with that of the pronominal. Thus, the vowel in the pronominal and the consonant in the future marker are deleted. This is applicable to /bâ/ and it allomorphs - /bo, bô and be/.

Example:

(4.42)

- | | Gomoa | Iguae |
|----|---------------------|--------------|
| i. | mɪ + bɔ + kʊ → mɔkʊ | mɔkʊ |
| | 1SG FUT fight | I will fight |

- ii. mi + bo + su → mosu musu
1SG FUT cry I will cry I will cry

4.5 Tone - Section Two

This section focuses on how tone contrast on pronoun and verb to show difference in tenses. The aspect markers as well as how verb assumes different pattern to mark tense and aspect are also discussed. Tone plays a very important role in Akan language as already said. The two distinct levels of tone in Fante - high and low tones are used. Just like stress and intonation in English, tone is considered as non-segmental feature of speech which can be used to bring about differences in meaning of words which are otherwise identical. Gomoa and Iguae are two different subdialects of Fante of the Akan language and one of the linguistic differences between them is tone.

4.5.1 Tonal Differences between Gomoa and Iguae Subdialects

The differences in tone between Iguae and Gomoa subdialects in this discussion is based on the following specific tenses – habitual, perfect, progressive and past tense.

4.5.2 Habitual Tense Affirmative

- | (4.45) Gomoa | Iguae |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| i. ò súm
3SG serve
She serves | ò sù m
3SG serve
She serves |

ii.	mí	dzí	mi	dzi
	1SG	eat	1SG	eat
	I	eat	I	eat
iii.	ó	su	ó	sù
	3SG	cry	3SG	cry
	She	cries	She	cries
iv.	ɔ	fém	ɔ̃fɛ	m̀
	3SG	borrow	3SG	borrow
	He	borrow/lends	He	borrow/lends

The data above clearly show the differences between Gomoa and Iguae subdialects in relation to tonal patterns. In the pronunciation of words in habitual affirmative, the tonal pattern of Gomoa is on high tone whereas that of Iguae is high-low toned. The tone of the verb in Akan can change depending on the environment it finds it self, thus tense and aspect. The habitual forms here are applicable when the verbs serve as intransitive verb in Gomoa.

4.5.3 The Perfect Aspect

The perfect marker in Fante is ‘a’ and ‘e’ depending on the vowel quality of the verb stem. When the first vowel in the stem is [+ATR], ‘e’ is used and if it is [-ATR] ‘a’ is used. The perfect marker causes the vowel to delete in the first person singular pronoun. In the third person singular pronominal ‘ɔ’, it is substituted with ‘w’ before the perfect marker is added. Consider the illustrations below.

(4.47)

	Pronoun	Perf marker	verb
i.	mí	a	dá
ii.	mí	e	dzí

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|-------|
| iii. | ɔ | a | fúw → |
| iv. | ɔ | a | bɔ |
| v. | ɔ | e | sú |

(4.48)

	Gomoa	Iguae	Gloss
i.	màáadá	màáàdà	I have slept
ii.	màáádzí	mèédzi	I have eaten
iii.	wàáfúú	wàáfùw	s/he has climbed
iv.	wàábó	wàábò	s/he has put it on
v.	wàású	wèésù	s/he has cried

From the data, where we have the perfect marker ‘e’ preceding the verb *i* and *u*, ‘â’ is added and lengthened in Gomoa but Iguae maintains the vowels as they are. Although the vowel in the pronoun is deleted the tone is retained and affects the vowel that replaces it. However, if the subject that precedes the perfect marker is replaced by a proper noun and there is an object after the verb, the tone in the verb changes from high to low in Gomoa just like the examples in Iguae.

(4.49)

	Subject		Verb			
i.	fííí	a	dà	n	tse	m
	Fiiíí	PERF	sleep	early		
	Fiiíí	has	slept	early.		
ii.	ábá	e	dzi	fùfu		
	Aba	PERF	eat	fufu		
	Aba	has	eaten	fufu.		
iii.	ésí	é	sù	du	du	

Esi PERF weep adverb
Esi has wept a lot.

4.5.3.1 The Perfect Aspect – Negative

In the negative form of the perfect aspect, the final tone bearing unit of the verb root which is H spreads leftwards so that both the negative marker and the subject pronoun which are L receive high tone.

- (4.50) **Iguae**
- | | | | | | | |
|------|------|---|-----|--------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| i. | m̀ | + | n | + | k̀ | m̀ǹk̀ |
| | I SG | | Neg | | fought | I have not fought |
| ii. | ̀ | + | n | + | dá | ̀nda ̀ |
| | 3SG | | Neg | | slept | S/he has not slept |
| iii. | m̀ | + | n | s̀ma ̀ | m̀ns̀m̀ | |
| | I SG | | Neg | sent | I have not sent (for) | |

From the data above, it is evident that the prefix added to the verb root in the negative form of the perfect aspect takes a high tone and the final Tone Bearing Unit (I) takes a low tone. So the high tone spreads leftwards and displaces the preceding low tones. In Gomoa however, all the tone bearing units are in high tone.

Example:

- (4.51) **Gomoa**
- | | Pronoun | | Neg | | Verb | | Out put |
|----|----------------|---|------------|---|-------------|---|-------------------|
| i. | m̀ | + | n | + | k̀ + ̀ | → | m̀ǹ k̀ |
| | 1SG | | NEG | | fight PERF | | I have not fought |

- ii. ò + n + dá + ɪ´ → ɔ́ndáá
 3SG NEG sleep PERF s/he has not slept
- iii. mɪ + n + fúw + ì → múm fúwí
 1SG NEG climb + PERF I have not climbed.

4.5.4 The Past Tense Forms

The past aspect formative in Fante and Akan in general is suffixed to the verb root.

The research made so far reveals that past aspect formative in Fante keeps on changing in sound, however, if the past aspect formative occurs in prepausal position, the final tone bearing unit of the verb root is either /ɪ/ or /i/ depending on the specification of [ATR] of the verb root.

Gomoa has an addition of /a/ to the past aspect formative in Fante.

(4.52)

U.R.

		Output	Gomoa	Iguae
i.	ò + dá + i 3SG sleep past	→ òdái she slept	òdáá	òdái
i.	i + su + i 2SG cry past	→ i su i you cried	i su i	i su i
iii.	ò + kv + ì 3SG fight past	òkú ì s/he fought	òkú í	ɔkùì

Considering the example, Gomoa has the past aspect formative to be on high tone instead of the low tone. If the verb ends with /a/, /â/ or /e/ with or without object in Gomoa, the same vowel quality is added to the verb root.

4.5.4.1 Negative Form of Past Tense

In the formation of negative form of past tense, the 3SG /ɔ/ is changed from vowel to consonant /w/ with the past marker /a/, /e/ and /æ/ lengthened. This is prefixed to the verb root and assumes low tone since the negative marker and the subject pronoun are L in Fante. Iguae also follows the same rule.

(4.53a) Iguae

Subject	Past	Neg	Verb	Output
i. ɔ s/he	a	n	dá sleep	wààndá s/he did not sleep
ii. ɔ s/he	e	n	kér weigh	wèèn kéré s/he did not weigh
iii. ɔ s/he	æ	n	sú cry	wè e n sù s/he did not cry

(4.53b)

Gomoa

Subject	Past	Neg	Verb	Output
i. ɔ s/he	a	n	dá sleep	wààn dà s/he did not sleep
ii. ɔ s/he	a	n	fá take	wààmfa s/he did not take
iii. ɔ s/he	e	n	wú die	wááńwù s/he did not die

From the examples above, Gomoa has the last tone bearing unit of the verb to be on low tone. However, if there is an object after the verb, the last tone bearing

unit of the verb stems changes from low to high in conformity to the Fante subdialects as well as the Iguae subdialect.

4.5.5 The Progressive Aspect

The progressive aspect marker in Fante is always **ri-** with high tone. This **ri-** is realized in four allomorphs which are **ri** -, **ri** -, **ru** - and **ru** -. The use of any of these depends on the position of the tongue root of the first vowel in the verb stem. Thus, there is a vowel harmony rule that applies. Always the singular subject takes a low tone in this construction. The progressive marker is not pronounced but rather substituted with vowels which are lengthened and these are vowels in the subject pronoun. The final output forms of this construction are the following examples.

(4.54a)

	Underlying	Output	Final Output
	Representation		Gomoa Iguae
i.	mɪ̃ + rí + fĩ - 1SG PROG vomit	mɪ rɪ fĩ →	mɪ ɪ fĩ mɪ ɪ fĩ I am vomiting
ii.	mɪ̃ + ri + si w mĩ̃si w̃ 1SG PROG pound	-mɪ ri si w →	mí í si w I am pounding
iii.	mɪ̃ + rɪ + fɔ 1SG PROG soak	múrɔfɔ w →	múfɔ ɔ múfɔ w I am soaking
iv.	mɪ̃ + ri + kɔ - ĩ	múrúkɔ →	múúkɔ múúkɔ ĩ

1SG PROG go I am going

The examples above give clear indication that **mi** - the first person singular maintains its low tone in the progressive aspect. The using of /mi/ - is just like that of the progressive marker /rɪ/ which has four allomorphs – **mi**, **mɔ**, **mu** and **mi**. It is realized that the progressive marker /rɪ/ has the consonant /r/ deleted. The difference here is that, whereas Gomoa has low-high-high in the output, Iguae has low-high low.

4.5.5.1 The Negative Progressive Aspect

There is no change in tone with reference to the negative progressive aspect of the verb phrase in Akan. The negative marker is always on the low tone.

Monosyllabic verbs **Fante**

(4.54b)

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------|---|------------------------|
| i. | ɔ̃ + rɪ + n + dá | - | ɔ́rɪn dá |
| | 3SG PROG NEG sleep | | s/he is not sleeping |
| ii. | ɔ + ri + n + sú | - | òrúnsú |
| | 3SG PROG NEG cry | | s/he is not crying |
| iii. | ɔ + rɪ + n + kó | - | ɔ rúnj kó |
| | 3SG PROG NEG go | | s/he is not going |
| iv. | ɔ̃ + rɪ + n + dzi | - | òrɪn dzi |
| | 3SG PROG NEG eat | | s/he is not eating |
| v. | ɔ̃ + rɪ + n + fá | - | òrɪŋ fá |
| | 3SG PROG NEG take | | She is not taking (it) |

(4.54c)

	Gomoa		Iguae
i.	ɔ ɔ ñ dá		ɔ ɔ n ! dá
	3SG PROG NEG sleep s/he is not sleeping		3SG PROG NEG sleep s/he is not sleeping
ii.	ò ó ñ sú		ò ó n ! sú
	3SG PROG NEG cry s/he is not crying		3SG PROG NEG cry s/he is not crying
iii.	ɔ ɔ ñ kɔ		ɔ ɔ ŋ !
kɔ	3SG PROG NEG go s/he is not going		3SG PROG NEG go s/he is not going
iv.	ò ó ñ dzi		ò ó n ! dzi
	3SG PROG NEG eat s/he is not eating		3SG PROG NEG eat s/he is not eating
v.	ɔ ɔ ñ fá		ɔ ɔ ŋ ! fá
	3SG PROG NEG take She is not taking (it)		3SG PROG NEG take She is not taking (it)

The tone in both subdialects is the same. The only difference is that there is downstep high tone on the verb stem of the Iguae subdialect.

(4.55)

Disyllabic verbs

i.	ɔ + rɪ + n + pɪrà	ɔ rɪ m pɪ ra
	3SG PROG NEG sweep	s/he is not sweeping
ii.	ɔ + rɪ + n + sʊ ma	ɔ rʊ n sʊ má
	3SG PROG NEG send	s/he is not sending (for)
iii.	ɔ + rɪ + n + dzɪ nâ	òrɪ n dzɪ nâ
	3SG PROG NEG stand	s/he is not standing

- iv. ɔ + rɪ + n + fɔ w ɔ rɔ m fɔ w
 3SG PROG NEG climb she is not climbing

4.6 Summary

In this chapter, some features of the Fante syllable and some syllable structure processes have been described. It should be noted that the basic underlying syllable type in Gomoa and Iguae is the CV syllable structure, and also that vowels can be inserted, deleted and that consonants can also be deleted in the process of word formation. In the process of consonant deletion in word formation /w/ is deleted in Gomoa when it finds itself between two vowels and the V₁ is back and rounded but Iguae maintains it. In metathesis where we have change of position of sounds especially in the pronominal object, Gomoa just insert the same vowel quality in the verb stem and add the nasal consonant of the first and third person singular whereas Iguae just change positions of the vowel and the consonant.

It is also clear that in construction of future tense in both subdialects, the future marker and the first person singular come together to give one sound, example: mɪbfə – mɛfə. The same process applies to progressive aspect.

From the discussion so far, it is clear that there are differences in tone between Gomoa and Iguae. For example in habitual affirmative, Gomoa has the tonal pattern to be high-high whereas in Iguae it is high-low tone. There is the evidence that the first and third person singular pronominal undergo some changes when

prefixed to some aspect markers. Iguae has almost all the tenses and aspect discussed as the same as Fante with the exception of progressive tense and future tense. Here, the progressive and future markers go through the process of coalescence in both subdialects with difference to tone. Gomoa always has the last tone bearing unit to be high in all the sequences with the exception of the past tense.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This is the summary and concluding chapter of this thesis. The previous chapters contain some aspects of morphological and phonological differences in the Gomoa and Iguae sub dialects. This is done in the framework of generative phonology.

5.1 Summary

The introductory chapter contains the aim, significant and methodology of the study. It also describes the theoretical framework of generative approach.

5.1.1 Phonological Differences

In the discussion of the vowel distribution, with the exception of /u and v/ all other vowels can occur at the word initial, medial and final positions. To be precise, the above mentioned vowels /u/ and /v / can not be used at word syllable initial in Gomoa and Iguae. The word-final consonant /n/ in Iguae is often replaced by a front or back vowel in Gomoa in the syllable structure of CVN.

If the final vowel in the stem is [-ATR] unrounded, central unadvanced - /a/, followed by a nazal consonant /n/ in Iguae as final consonant, the /n/ is replaced with /ɪ/ which is also a [-ATR] vowel in Gomoa. The /n/ in Iguae is realized as /ʊ/

in Gomoa if the vowel of the CVN in Iguae is unrounded. Again, /n/ as a final vowel in Iguae is realized as high vowel /i/ in Gomoa when the vowel in the CVN is high – (i) and (u). In effect, the high vowels are lengthened. In the CVW structure, while Iguae maintains /w/ ending, Gomoa drops the /w/ and lengthenes the last vowel. On the other hand the /w/ is also maintained in Gomoa if the vowel of the stem (CVW) is /i/, /ɪ/ or /e/ which are all front vowels. It has also been realized that in word-formation processes, vowels can be inserted, deleted and consonant can also be deleted in Gomoa and Iguae subdialects. When there is /w/ between two vowels in a stem and the second vowel is the final vowel – V₂ #, and the V₁ is (+back) and rounded - /u/ or /ʊ/, the semi vowel /w/ is deleted in Gomoa whereas Iguae maintains it. The V₂# which is unrounded and unadvanced vowel is replaced with another unadvanced vowel /â/ in Gomoa.

With respect to tone, there are two main contrastive tones in Gomoa and Iguae and these are High tone (H) low tone (L). The high tone can be represented by H or !H. The !H is referred to as a downstep high tone. This occurs when there is H₁LH₂ and the H₂ is realized on a lower pitch because of the influence of L.

It has also been demonstrated in Gomoa verbs that morphemes can be prefixed or suffixed to the verb. These prefixes make the verb to be in the state of habitual, stative, progressive, perfect aspect and future tenses. The suffixes are also added to verbs to derive past tense. In some cases, it is the inflection of tone alone that marks the stative and habitual aspects. While the negative marker is pre-linked to

a low tone, the perfect markers are pre-linked to high tone. In the habitual tense, verbs in Gomoa are said on a high tone while verbs in Iguae are said on low tone. Verbs in the perfect aspect formation are also said on a high tone in Gomoa and low tone in Iguae. Verbs ending with a vowel in Gomoa have their past tense on a high-high tone while it is said on a high-low tone in Iguae. The past aspect formative (affirmative) in Iguae is unchangeably low irrespective of the morphological or phonetic environment it finds itself but in Gomoa it can either be low or high. Considering the past tense affirmation, the tense maker is on high tone.

5.1.2 Morphological Differences

From the discussion, there is evidence that Gomoa and Iguae nouns have prefixes as every Akan noun has a prefix. Although these prefixes are available, some of the Iguae speakers deliberately do not use them in conversation. As for speakers of Gomoa, almost all nouns have their prefixes with either /ɔ/ or /o/. In the case of pronouns, Gomoa has /ɪ/ and /i/ for the second person singular whereas Iguae has /ɛ/ in addition to /ɪ/ and /i/. However, if the pronoun is in the object position, Gomoa has them to be in different realisations. If the final vowel in the verb is half-open - /ɛ/, the object pronoun becomes /ɔ/. Secondly, /w/ is realised when the last vowel of the verb in Gomoa is unadvanced half-close - /ɪ/ or advanced half-closed - /e/ or /o/. The third realisation is the identical vowels in the verb - /u/ /a/ and /ɔ/. In the case of Iguae, the same /wu/ used in Fante is maintained. The

pronoun for second person plural in Iguae and Gomoa is /wɔ, hɔn/ and /mɔ/ respectively. In the construction of the future tense with the first person singular, there is no difference between Gomoa and Iguae.

The animate pronoun and the perfect tense in Iguae differ from that of the Gomoa. Whereas Gomoa uses just the verb in the perfect tense without any pronoun, Iguae add the pronoun to the perfect aspect and then the verb.

5.2 Recommendation

Gomoa is a subdialect of Fante that seems to be ‘too heavy’ for those who do not speak the subdialect, even speakers of other Fante subdialects. People claim Gomoa is an ‘inferior’ and ‘uncivilized’ subdialect of the Fante dialect of the Akan language hence their inability to speak it with ease. This perhaps has contributed to many linguists not venturing into its study. For a study of Gomoa and any other subdialect, it is very important to begin with its phonological and morphological aspects. Without a word for future research, one can not conclude a study like this. Thus during the research, some issues cropped up but were treated as ancillary to the main analysis and this is syntactic elements. One notable phenomenon that requires attention for future work is tone and its interaction to morphology and phonology. The discussion on tone in this thesis mainly deals with tense and aspects. Attention should be paid to other aspects in both subdialects, for instance verbs and nouns to bring about some differences between the said subdialects. It must be noted that areas of morphological and

phonological differences were not completely exhausted so it is recommended that the syntactic aspect that surface in the study briefly can be dealt with fully by other researchers.

5.3 Conclusion

The study was intended to find out some phonological and morphological differences between Gomoa and Iguae subdialects of Fante. It can be seen from the discussions that although Gomoa and Iguae are Fante subdialects, they have some differences in phonological and morphological aspects. The differences however, do not make a subdialects an 'inferior'.

It is hoped that issues discussed in this dissertation will serve as a challenge, reference material and a motivation for researchers to make further investigation into the morphological and phonological aspects as well as the differences between Gomoa and Iguae subdialects of Fante dialect of the Akan language.

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APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPT OF RECORDINGS IN GOMOA

STORY TELLING

Kodzi wônngye nndzi o!

wôgye sie.

Ôbômbôfo bi na ne ba tsenaa ase a nna wôfrâ ne ba no Abena. Aber biara sâ ôbômbôfo yi kô ham na oku abua a, otwa ne tsir to hô ma Abena dze dzi agor wô ofe ber a ôbômbôfo yi kô ayahâ. Ôbômbôfo yi dze no ekunkum ekunkum aa ma okokum Twi ne yer. Iyi na da ko, ôsebô yi kôô Abena nkyâe dâ ônkâfa mbua etsi no mbra ma wômfa ndzi agor. Sâ ôsebô yi tsi kor a, nna oâbisa Abena dâ na iyi ebâe abua a? “ Nna Abena so abô abua no ne dzii. Oduu ôsebô ne yer do no, Abena enntum ammbô dzii osiandâ ôdâ onnyim. ôsebô kaa kyerââ Abena dâ ombisa nâgyâ ma ônkyerâ n. ôbôfo yi baa ofe ma ne ba yi bôô no amanââ naaso oenngye enndzi ntsi ôannkyerâ n’. Adze kyee no, ôsebô kôô Abena hô bio naaso Abena enntum annkyerâ dâm tsi n’ n’abua bae. Ôsebô nobofuwii ma ôkaa kyerââ Abena dâ sâ ôba hô bio na oânntum ammbô dzii no a, ônye no wô bi ka. Abofra yi kaa kyerââ n’âgyâ naaso ôannkyerâ n’. Dâm ntsi Abena huee nsu guu ofe hô nyina ansaana ôsebô reba hô bio. Ôbômbôfo no baa n’ obisaa ne ba no abua ko a ôaba hô ma n’anamôô tsetsâ hô no na Abena see no dâ ôsebô a. Afii ôbôô dzii no kyerââ Abena dâ dâm tsi no yâ ôsebô ne yer a, ntsi ôba a ônka nkyerâ n’ na ôno so mpo oboku n’. Mber soe ma ôsebô baa na aber a Abena bôô dzii no kyerââ ôsebô ara pâ na ôyââ dâ ôrekyer Abena awe. Hôara na ôbômbôfo no saana osumâ hô bââbi, ôtoow otu no kum ôsebô na otwitwââ no mu nketsenketse towee petsee wiadze afana nyina. Ntsi na ndâ nsebô wô wiadze nyina no. M’anansesâm a motowee yi, sâ ôyâ dâ o, sâ ônnyâ dâ o, medze soa...

ENGLISH VERSION OF THE STORY TELLING

Once upon a time

Time, time.

I would like to tell you why there are many tigers in the world. There was once a time past, there lived a hunter and a daughter called Abena. The hunter was killing different kinds of animals, leaving the heads for the daughter to play with them in his absence. One day, the hunter killed the wife of tiger and as usual, left the head for his daughter. The tiger, who was searching for his wife one day went to Abena and intentionally asked her to bring the heads of the animals so that they could play with them. Abena mentioned the names of all the animals' heads she had but could not mention that of the tigress. The tiger knowing definitely that that was his wife's head asked Abena to find out from her father when he returns from hunting. The hunter could not believe what his daughter told him so he refused to tell Abena the name of that particular animal. Tiger came for the second time but Abena could not tell him. He told Abena to ask from her father else, he would kill her the next time he comes. When the hunter refused again to reveal the name to Abena, she then made the whole place watery to trace the footprints of Tiger. The hunter seeing the footprints the following day, asked Abena again, and she said it was Tiger who came there. Then the hunter told his daughter to tell the Tiger that head was his wife's. Abena told the Tiger exactly what her father told her. When tiger was about to bounce on Abena, the hunter, who was hiding somewhere, shot the Tiger, cut him into pieces and threw it over the whole world. That is why today, there are many tigers in the world.

APPENDIX B

**TRANSCRIPT OF RECORDINGS IN IGUAE
LIBATION TEXT AT MARRIAGE CEREMONY**

Onyankopôn Kwame

Asaase Efuwa, nsa

Ehum na Aham, nsa

Nsônafo nsamanfo, nsa

Yaafrâ baako yi, yenyim dâ

Ebusua nkaa no nyinaa ate

Ndâ, hom ba Mensa na Araba

Gyanwa reka hônho abom dâ ikun na yer.

Yâsrâ hom nkyân nyinkyâr ama hôn

Hom ndom hôn ôdô, abotar na ntseasee sunsum

Hom ma wômbôwo mba eduasa

Na wômfa nyimdzee na nyansa ntsetse hôn

Hân a yeehyia ha nyina hân nkwa do

Ôtamfo abônsam a dza yâreyâ yi yâ no ehi

Na ôpâ dâ ôsâe awar yi dze

Yâsrâ hom dâ hom mfrâ dâm nyimpa no ewia ketekete na hom ntu no fo

Na hân so, yâdze asaw bôn bôkô n'eyi ase.

Nsu oo! Nsa!!

ENGLISH VERSION OF THE LIBATION TEXT

Almighty God

Mother Earth, this is your drink.

All spirits around, this is your drink.

The ancestors of the Asona clan, this is your drink.

Once we've called you, we know the rest have heard it.

Today, your son Mensa, and Araba Gyanwa will be joined together as married couples.

We are asking you to grant them long life.

Again, grant them love, patience and spirit of understanding.

Let them give birth to thirty children and train them in wisdom, knowledge and understanding.

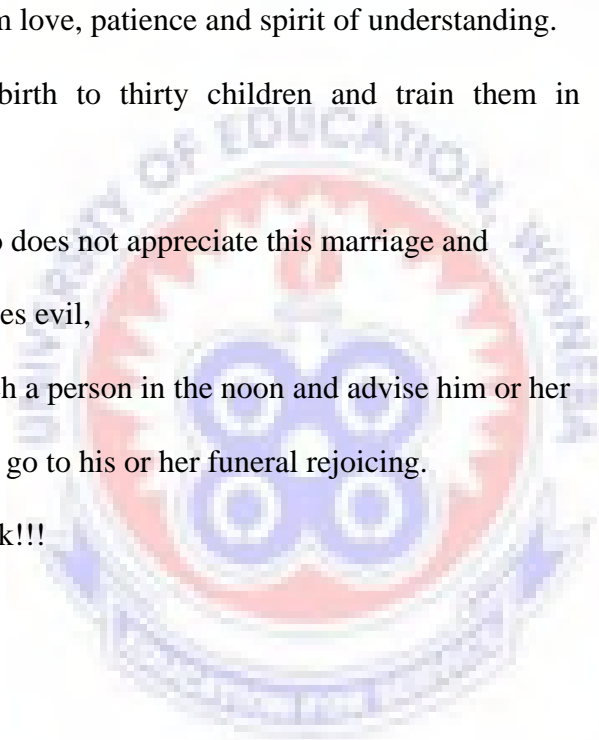
The evil one who does not appreciate this marriage and

Wishes the couples evil,

Please, invite such a person in the noon and advise him or her

And we will also go to his or her funeral rejoicing.

Here is your drink!!!



APPENDIX C

TRANSCRIPT OF PREACHING AT CHURCH SERVICE AT CAPE COAST

TITLE: 'GIVE THE HOLY SPIRIT A CHANCE'

Enuanum, aber a Jesus rôkô sor no, ôkaa kyerââ ne disciples no dâ, they should wait until the Holy Spirit comes upon them. Saintsir nye dâ, sunsum krônkrôn no na ôbâma hôn ahoôdzen ma woetum ayâ edwuma no dâ mbrâ ôsâ. Ôse sunsum no bâma hôn boldness a wobutum dze egyina wô beebiara aka Nyankopôn n'ahendzi no ho asâm. Lo and behold, aber a sunsum krônkrôn no bae no, ômaa hôn tum ma wôyââ miracles pii. Dâm sunsum yi wô ha a, ôrotweân dâ ôdze hân so bâyâ edwuma. Dza ohia ara nye dâ ebâdedicate wo whole life ama no. Ôdze wo bâyâ ndwuma akâse a ôdze esuafo no yââ no bi, ôbâyâ mpo ma ôabor do. Fa wo life ma Christ ama oeuse wo ahyâ ne dzin enyimnyam. Ibiara a oenntum annyâ dza Egya no pâ no, orunntum nnhân sor aheman no mu. Sâ ema wo ho kwan ma sunsum no hyâ wo ma a, ebôsow aba pa a wôakyerâw no wô Galatians 5:22 no: ôdô, ôdwe, abotar, penkyâr and the rest. Hom ma yâma Holy Spirit ntake control over us ama yâasâ na yâafata ôsor aheman no. Ewuradze nye hân boafô. Amen!

ENGLISH VERSION

Bretheren, when Jesus was going to heaven, he told his disciples to wait until the Holy Spirit comes upon them. He said the spirit would give them the strength to preach the gospel. Again, he said they would have boldness to preach about the kingdom of God. Indeed, they were able to perform so many miracles when the Holy Spirit came upon them as Jesus promised. This same spirit will use us if we dedicate our lives to him. He can use you to do many great things even more than how he used the disciples. The most important thing is to give your whole life to Christ so that he uses you to glorify himself. Anyone who could not do the will of the father can not enter the kingdom of heaven. If you allow yourself for the spirit to take control, you will bear the fruits mentioned in Galatians 5:22-24. These are: love, meekness, patience, longsuffering etc. Let's allow the Holy Spirit to rule over our lives so that we can inherit the kingdom of heaven. May God help us. Amen!



APPENDIX D
SOME EXPRESSIONS IN GOMOA AND IGUAE

Gomoa

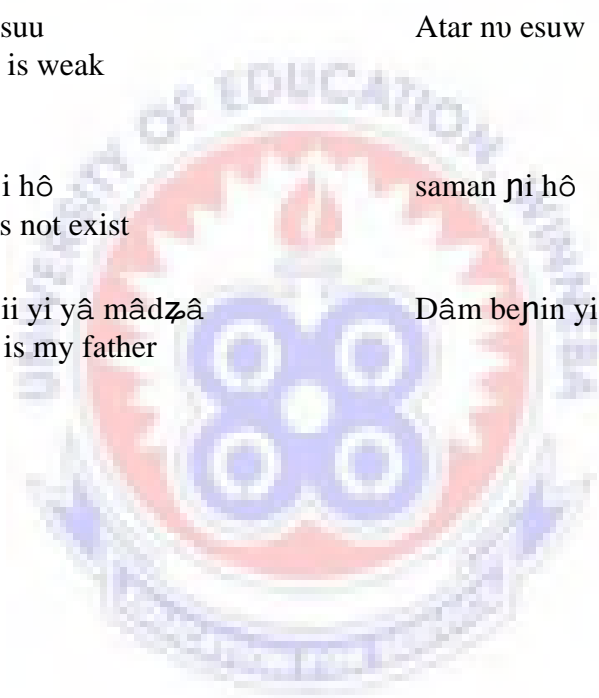
Iguae

- | | | |
|-------|--|-----------------------|
| i. | mɪɪdʒɪ mi sikâ
I am collecting my money | mɪɪɪɪ mi sika |
| ii. | Kofi ôlâ ôtɕaa
Kofi extends his greetings | Kofi si otɕia wu |
| iii. | Abina ôfrô ô
Abena is calling you | Abɪna frâ wu |
| iv. | obeɲii yi owufu â
This man is a thief | Obeɲin yi ewi a |
| v. | Dâm yaaba yi yâ otɕuâ
This sickness is epilepsy | dâm yarba yi yâ tɕɪar |
| vi. | Ma ôpuv nu du bra
Bring the table | ma puɪ nu du bra |
| vii. | Duâ nu âbu
The tree has fallen | Dua nu ebu |
| viii. | Edzibaɪ nu yâ dâ
The food is delicious | Edziban nu yâ dâw |
| ix. | Esi tsɪ bânɪ Aba
Esi stays closer to Aba | Esi tsɪ bân Aba |
| x. | Munuâ ɲɪ Araba
Araba is my sibling | Munua ɲɪ Araba |
| xi. | Yâwô osuâ kâsi bi
We have a fat monkey | Yâwô aduw bôdâr bi |
| xii. | Mɪpâ tɕeefuâ
I like eggs | mɪpâ tɕirefuwa |
| xiii. | Kaɪ âkutu nu
Count the oranges | kan ekutu nu |

Gomoa

Iguae

- | | | |
|--------|---|-----------------------|
| xiv. | DaI nɔ mu atɔ paI
The room is empty | Dan nɔ mu atɔ pan |
| xv. | MI naI yâ mɪ yaa
My leg is paining me | MI nan yâ yâ mɪ yaw |
| xvi. | Ata dzI Kofi kaa
Ata owes Kofi | Ata dzI Kofi kaw |
| xvii. | Saa nsu nɔ bi ma mI
Fetch some of the water for me | saw nsu nɔ bi ma mI |
| xviii. | Atar nɔ âsuu
The dress is weak | Atar nɔ esuw |
| xix. | ôsamaI ɲi hô
ghost does not exist | saman ɲi hô |
| xx. | Dâm beɲii yi yâ mâdzâ
This man is my father | Dâm beɲin yi yâ medza |



APPENDIX ‘D’

II. Some differences in vowels between Gomoa and Iguae Mfantse - /â/ realization

I. Morpheme internal

i. Beninnig of a word [e – â]

	Gomoa	Iguae	English
1.	âwufu	ewifu	thieves
2.	âwufu	ewufo	the dead
3.	âdwumâ	edwuma	work
4.	âburow	eburow	maize
5.	âbiei	ebien	two
6.	âpoo	epoo	cheat
7.	âsunsum	esunsum	spirits
8.	âɲiwâ/âɲibmâ	eɲiwa	eyes
9.	âɲifurâ	eɲifura	blindness
10.	âdwuwâ	eduwa	beans
11.	âgyapadzɪ	egyapadzɪ	property
12.	ekuâ	ekuwa	proper noun
13.	âsuov	esuɛn	seven
15.	âkumfi	ekumfi	a subdialect of Fante
16.	âkutu	ekutu	an orange
17.	âdzɪr	edzɪr	proper noun

18.	âdur	edur	medicine
19.	âdzibar	edziban	food
20.	âfir	efir	machine/trap
21.	âhuâ	ehua	beggar
22.	âgurari	eguarri	bathroom
23.	âtɔindɔe	etɔindɔi	argument
24.	âtɔiwadzɪ	etɔiwadzɪ	taboo
25.	âtɔimâ	etɔima	roaming about
26.	âhum	ehum	wind
28.	âbuâ	ebuwa	smoking pipe
29.	âsubɔ	esubɔ	baptism
			
ii.	Ending of a word		
	Gomoa	Iguae	English
31.	tɔeefuâ	tɔirefuwa	egg
32.	âdwumâ	edwuma	work
33.	ntɔiâ	ntɔia	greetings
36.	dɔzinâ	dɔzina	stand
37.	suâ	sua	pledge
38.	duâ	dua	to sow / plant
40.	okurâ	okura	mouse

41.	ohyiâ	hyia	temptation
42.	kitsâ	kitsa	to hold
43.	furâ	fura	to put on (cloth)
44.	âduwâ	eduwa	beans
45.	mutɕiâ	mbutɕia	swish oven
46.	ohiâ	ihia	poverty
47.	guâ	gua	market
48.	modɕâ	bodɕa	blood
49.	kuâ	kua	farming
50.	odɕâ	dɕa	fire
51.	otwã	twã	scar
52.	otwâ	twar	epilepsy
53.	âbusuâ	ebusua	family
54.	ɕâ	ɕia	to meet
55.	kumâ	kuma	small

ii. Across word boundary [a - â]

	Gomoa	Iguae	English
56.	nsu â...	nsu a...	water which is...
57.	kurow â...	kurow a...	a town which is...
58.	âduwâ â...	eduwa a...	a bean that is...

59. ântuhu â... entuhu a.... a towel which is...
60. obu â... obu a... when it breaks...
61. âdwumæ â... edwuma a... work that is...
62. âpoo â... epoo a... a cheat that is...
63. âkutu â... ekutu a... an orange that is...
64. opiâ â... opia a... when it pushes...
65. fufu â... fufu a... the fufu which...
66. okurâ â... okura a... a mouse that is...
67. âdur â... edur a... a medicine that is...
68. âtɔindze â... etɔindzɛ a... an argument that is...
69. âbusuâ â... ebusua a... a family that is...
70. âhum â... ehum a... the wind which...
71. akokudur â... akokudur a... the courage with which...
72. kur â ... kur a... a sore which is...
73. sunsum â... sunsum a... a spirit that is...
74. âkumâ â... ekuma a... an axe that is...

APPENDIX 'D'

III. Some /n/ endings in Iguae replaced with /l/ in Gomoa.

Gomoa	Iguae	English
1. kar	kan	read/light
2. par	pan	empty
3. sar	san	get back
4. bar	ban	fence
5. mar	man	to branch
6. kwar	kwan(tabu)	to paddle
7. nyar	nyan	to wake up
8. ɔhrɪ	ihɪn	a king
9. sɪɪ	sɪn	pass by
10. pɪɪ	pɪn	to agree/accept
11. tsɪɪ	tsɪn	straight

Some CVw words

Gomoa	Iguae	English
12. yaa	yaw	bitterness/pains

13. paa	paw	to select
14. kaa	kaw	debt/to chew
15. saa	saw	dance/fetch (water)
16. puu	puw	threaten
17. pũũ	pũw	to inhale (medicine)
18. suu	suw	weak (cloth)
19. kuu	kuw	group
20. buu	buw	to be drunk

