## MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

## Noun

Most Akan nominals consist of a stem with a prefix. The stem is neutral in the sense that it is not coded for function. Noun-forming prefixes may be oral: $a, \varepsilon, e, \rho, o$; or nasal: (a)m/n/n.
$\supset$ and $o$ are used to form nouns denoting animates: o.nipa 'man', o.sebó 'leopard', and exceptionally for some inanimates: o.bó 'stone', o.sú 'rain'; also, certain abstract nouns: o.kj́m 'hunger'.
$a$ - forms animates: a.gyá 'father'; inanimates: a.kyené 'drum'; abstracts: à.bóro 'injury'. The homorganic nasal, sometimes preceded by $a$-, forms nouns denoting collectives and substances: n.sú 'water', p.pó 'oil', m.fóté 'termites', nna < n.da 'sleep'.

Suffixes may be added: didi 'to eat', a.didi.i 'eating place'. -ni following the stem X indicates 'one who does/suffers X': ohĩá 'poverty', ohĩá.ní 'poor man'.

## COMPOUNDS

Noun + adjective/noun: e.g. ade.bòné 'bad (bòné) thing (a.dé)' = 'evil', which can also be expressed by \&bòné (note change in tonal pattern); sika.guá 'gold(en) stool' (enshrining and symbolizing the soul of the Ashanti people).

Compounds containing three components plus prefix are frequent: o.fie.asétră.sem literally 'home - life - matters' = 'the affairs of this life'.

Example of word-building: base yaré 'to be sick':
0.yàré 'sickness'
0.yaré.dóm 'epidemic'
0.yaré.fó 'sick person'
0.yare.súsow 'to be an invalid'
a.yare.sá 'the act, art of healing'
a.yare.sá.bèa 'hospital' (bèa is a locative marker)
a.yare.sá.de 'fee for curing a disease'
o.yare.sá.fò 'doctor'

Nouns may also be expressed as construct forms, i.e. noun + annexed noun; e.g. from o.héne 'king' and o.fi 'house' Akuapem makes ahem.fi 'king's house' = 'palace'. Here, Akan has (Asante).héne.fié 'the king of Ashanti's palace'. In a compound AB, A may retain its isolate tone, while B takes the annexed nominal tone(s).

The normal possessive order in Akan is possessor-possessed: Ghánà mãn 'the country of Ghana'. A pronominal link marked for person may be inserted: abofára nó nhómã 'the child (his) book'.

This word order - noun plus annexed noun - is reversed in compounds involving the word kwa < akoá 'slave': kwà.safo 'belonging to the community'. In boys' names the kwa component is followed by a truncated version of the name of the jinn presiding over the relevant day of the week: Ayísi over the first day, Adwó over the second. Thus a boy born on the first day of the week is called Kwàsí, on the second day Kwàdwó, and so on. Corresponding female names are Akosuwa, Adwowa. See Christaller 1933: 599 for a full list. As Christaller points out, the departure from normal Akan (Kwa) construct order, and the presence of feminine inflection, suggest that these forms originate in a non-Kwa sociolinguistic milieu.

## CASE

Case is reflected in the prevailing SVO order: ofrénò 'he (o) calls him (nò)'. Indirect object precedes direct object:
0.mấà me akutù 'he gave (. mắả) to-me (me) an orange (akutù)'
o.mắ no biribí 'he gave him something'

Action which many languages express by means of an instrumental case is expressed in Akan as the product of two verbs, e.g.
o.de pomá boò no 'he took stick struck him', i.e. 'he struck him with a stick' (de 'take', pomá 'stick', bo 'strike')
0.de siká yeè kaá 'he took gold made ring', i.e. 'he made a ring from gold' (siká 'gold', kaá 'ring')
There are several ways of making a singular noun plural. -nốm is a pluralizing suffix: syére 'wife', pl. syérenốm.

Pluralizing prefixes:
$m$-: $s b a$ 'child', pl. $m m a$;
$a$-: skérãmãñ 'dog', pl. akérãmãñ;
$n$-: $\varepsilon d a ́ ~ ' d a y ', ~ p l . ~ n n a ́ . ~$
Some plurals are suppletive: osáni 'warrior', pl. asáfoo.

## Adjective

As attribute, adjective follows noun, and is often reduplicated: mmára fófòro pii 'many new laws' (mmára 'law', fófòro 'new'); búùku kétewaa tuntuín 'a small black book' (tuntum' 'dark in colour').

Exceptionally, some adjectives make a plural form.
Comparative is made with sẽñ: eyé duru 'it is heavy', eyé duru sẽñ búùku nớ 'It is heavier than the book.'

## Pronoun

Emphatic personal independent + subject markers (here + copula):

|  | Singular |  | Plural |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Independent | Subject marker | Independent | Subject marker |
| 1 | mẽ | mẽy¢ | yég | уعуع |
| 2 | wó | wóyè | mố | mốyè |
| 3 | onố | כy¢ | wóg | wจyを |
| impersonal | ๕nố | عує | عnố | $\varepsilon y \varepsilon$ |

The objective forms: $m \tilde{e}$, wo, $n \tilde{o}$ are reduced as verbal suffixes to $-\grave{m},-\dot{w},-\grave{n}$. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN
( $\varepsilon$ ) $h a ́$ 'this/here'; ( $\varepsilon$ ) hó 'that/there'. Eyí is a demonstrative adjective: nhốmã yi' 'this book'.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN
عhẽna 'who?'

## relative pronoun

nea, áà; syaresáfós áà joks 'the doctor who is going'

## Verb

The stem is formally immutable, but may be reduplicated. Also, Akan euphony requires initial $b$ - to mutate to $m$-when in contact with the negating element -m-: e.g. bisa 'to ask', mmisá 'do not ask'. Similarly in the perfect tense: wammisá 'he has not asked'.

Subject markers prefixed to stem: $h u(n u)$ 'to see', present tense:

|  | Singular | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | mĩhu | yehũ |
| 2 | wúhũ | múhũ |
| 3 | ohũ | wohũ |

Negated by a low-tone nasal prefixed to stem: mẽte Twîi 'I speak Twi'; mẽnté Twíl 'I don't speak Twi'.

Prefixed pronominal object: mẽte asée 'I understand' (asé 'meaning'), e.g.:


TENSE AND MOOD MARKERS
Progressive tense: the pronominal vowel is lengthened: mẽk $\tilde{a}^{\text {' } I ~ s p e a k ': ~}$ /mẽekãl 'I'm speaking' (lengthening not notated in script).
Future positive: prefix bé: wóbsko 'you will go' ( + tonal changes).
Immediate future: with ko 'to go': (+ lengthening of vowel as in progressive): mẽekotó nsuomnám 'I'm going to buy fish' (to 'to buy').
Past tense: lengthening or gemination of final vowel: $-y$ is added for intransitives: mẽbaay 'I came'.
Perfect: $a$ - prefix + specific tonal pattern + contractions. For example, $k s$ 'to go':

|  | Singular | Plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | mako | y\&ako |
| 2 | woaks | moak |
| 3 | wako | woako |

The past negative is the perfect affirmative + low-tone nasal before stem; the perfect negative is the past affirmative + low-tone nasal before stem: e.g. mẽŋkos 'I haven't gone'; mẽŋkóhũù 'I haven't gone to see it'; minnii 'I haven't eaten'; onnii 'he hasn't eaten'; wonnii 'they haven't eaten'.

CAUSATIVE
$m a+$ low-tone nasal prefix on verb: mã nõ $\eta k o ̀ ~ ' h a v e ~ h i m ~ g o!' ~$
SUBJUNCTIVE
Low-tone nasal prefix + high tone on verb.

IMPERATIVE
Stem + low tones; the plural prefix is mốn - + high tones: mốnkasa 'would you please talk'.

CONSECUTIVE FORM
$a$ - prefix: e.g. with tumi 'to be able', mĩtumí àkj 'I can go'.
THE VERB IN THE AKUAPEM LITERARY LANGUAGE (SUMMARY OF TENSE FORMS)
Present: bare stem with prefixed personal marker: ó.fà 'he takes', negated by nasal infix plus tonal change: o.m.fà 'he doesn't take'.
Stative: stem changes tone; -e or -i may be suffixed: sồ 'large': j.sõ 'he is large', negated by nasal infix: o.n.só 'he is not large'.
Preterite: stem has high tone; -el-i suffix or gemination of final: o.fá.è 'he took it', negative: o.m.fá.è.
Perfect: $a$ - is prefixed: o. a.fa > wá.fà 'he has taken', negative: wa.m.fá. Progressive: re-prefix: o.ré.fà 'he is taking', negative: óre. $\begin{aligned} & \text { m.fá. }\end{aligned}$
Future I (unspecified): $b \varepsilon$ - prefix: j.bé.fa 'he will take', negative: j.mm̀.fá, where -mm-represents coalescence of stem initial with nasal infix.
Future II (immediate): $r e-+b \varepsilon$ - prefixes: o.re.be.fa 'he will take right now', negative: o.re.m̀m e.fá.
Resultative: (Christaller calls this tense 'consecutive') $a$ - prefix as in perfect, but tone changes: (na) wafá 'that he may/should/might take' (cf. perfect wáfà), negative: wa.m.fá.
Imperative I bare stem: fá 'take', negative: $m \cdot f a ́$ (2nd person only)
Imperative II: jmfa 'he is to take' (the $-m$ - here is not the negative marker).

## Postpositions

Nouns are used to define spatial relationships: e.g. eso 'upper part (of sth.)', opớn nố só 'on the table('s top)'; ase 'lower part', a.pón (no) ase 'under a/the table'; emu 'interior', a.dáká no mù 'in the box'; akyi 'back', s.dáy akyì 'behind the house'.

## Word order

Any part of speech can be stressed by being promoted to initial position, and additionally stressed, if a noun, by the topicalizer dé $\varepsilon$. SVO is normal.

