

Some Morphological and Phonological Processes in Akan Day-Names Formation

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Abstract

The structure of personal day-names in Akan, a Niger-Congo (Kwa) has been conceived of as having root morphemes and affixes in their composition in the underlying representation (UR), hence they are derived through affixation (cf. Christaller 1933, Ofori 2019). In this paper, I show that each of the day-names is rather a compound of the noun+noun type in composition in the UR. The data for this study were collected from literature and also from my own intuition as a native speaker. The main objective of this paper is to examine the morphological and phonological processes by which each of the male and female day-names can be derived. As a morphological composition, I show that both male and female day-names have a common template: deity names. The gender distinction between both male and female is the attachment of either /kwa-/ [k^wá], a shortened form of *àkòá* [àk^wòá] ‘man, slave’ (morpheme₁) or /-ba/ [bá], which is from *òbá* ‘child, offspring’ (morpheme₂) for male or female respectively. The phonological operations that the day-names undergo in the derivation include deletion, vowel harmony, vowel raising, etc. I support my analysis with language-internal evidence as well as records of names of Barbadian and Jamaican slaves of Akan origin dating back to the 16th century. In deriving all these personal day-names, I propose common templates for all personal day-names (both males and females) as follows: *akoa* + name of the deity (of the day on which one was born) for male day-names, and name of the deity + *oba* for female day-names. I conclude that not only does the postulation of the compounding of the components of the day-names sheds more light on their compositional make-up, but we are also able to explain tonal phenomenon lexical downstep in some of the day-names.

Keywords: *Akan; personal day-names; morphology; phonology; slave names.*

Introduction

The study of names in general falls under onomastics, and anthroponomy, in particular, studies personal names. Research in Akan anthroponomy has therefore received attention by scholars over the years (cf. Christaller, 1875, 1933; Boadi, 1984; Dolphyne, 1986; Ansu-Kyeremeh, 2000; Agyekum, 2006, 2010; Obeng, 1997, 2001; Owu-Ewie, 2014a, b; Adomako, 2015, 2017; Ofori, 2019; among others). The present paper also aims to contribute to the study of Akan anthroponomy, specifically by studying the Akan personal day-names. Though several literatures exist on personal names in Akan, including the one by Ofori (2019), which also discusses the morphological and phonological account of how all the fourteen Akan personal day-names i.e. male and females, can be derived in the Twi and Fante dialects of Akan, none has as yet posited compounding of two free morphemes as the composition of each of the personal day-name in its derivation. The present paper will show

that each Akan personal day-name is a compound (i.e. of Noun-Noun type), and not affixation (i.e. root morpheme + affix), in composition in the underlying representation (UR). Additionally, this paper will further posit, following Christaller (1933), that compositionally, all the personal Akan day-names have the templatic structures: name of a deity of each Akan day of the week + *ɔba* ‘female, offspring’ for all female day-names, and name of a deity of each day of the week + *akoa* ‘man, slave’ for all male day-names.

The core objective of the present paper, therefore, is to provide a comprehensive, step-by-step account of how the personal day-names are formed in Akan for both males and females in all the three major dialects of Akan, namely Akuapem and Asante (the Twi dialects) and Fante. It is postulated in the present paper that the derivation of these personal day-names is as a result of interface between some regular morphological and phonological operations in Akan. The morphological operations are usually truncation, affixation, and compounding, while regular phonological operations including vowel raising, vowel harmony, etc. account for the derivations. The claim for these operations will be supported by language-internal evidence as well as records from some African slave names from Barbados and Jamaica dating back to the 16th and 17th centuries.

As a methodology, the present paper uses data of the Akan personal day-names in Christaller (1933) and Crayner (1988) as its source of data. In addition to this, my own intuition and experience as a native speaker and also a bearer of one of the personal day-names is also employed for the analysis in the present paper.

Previous studies

According to Christaller (1933), the practice of naming days of the week after seven gods is not idiosyncratic to the Akan peoples, but also common among, “...ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, Indians and Germans” (Christaller 1933:662). The Akan equivalents of those seven personal beings or deities are; Àyísí, Adwó, Béné, Wukú, Yaw, Afi, Amén. Christaller continues to posit that all males have the prefix *kwa* from /*akoa*/ ‘a man, slave’, and thus, “the name “Kwasi” means a man belonging to Ayisi...” (:663). Christaller (1933) strengthened his point about the semantics of the morpheme *kwa* been a derived from *akoa* ‘a man, slave’ by positing that Akan family-names such as *Kwadade* and *Kwagyeman* are given to slaves who belong to masters/owners called *Adade* and *Agyeman* respectively. From the statement above by Christaller, we get an idea about the etymology and possible compositions of Akan personal day-names, though his example is limited to only one out of the fourteen personal day-names (based on corresponding gender division), the present study seeks to examine this statement by Christaller (1933) by extending that analysis to all the fourteen personal day-names. It also seeks to provide morphological and phonological accounts of how those day-names are derived.

It is worth pointing out though that he was not the first to notice this as this same observation had earlier been made by others such as Long (1774) and Gosse (1851). Gosse (1851), on his part, had observed about the morphology of Jamaican slave day-names of African origin by asserting that, “It thus appears that the affix ‘ba’ is a mark of the feminine gender, and for

the male morpheme, he continues to posit that the prefix, “Coo” or “Qua” Cooa is, less exclusively, a masculine distinction...” Gosse (1851:232-3). However, instead of positing separate derivations for male and female day-names, Gosse that the male day-names are the underlying names out of which the female counterparts are derived. For example, he provides the following composition for a female Tuesday-born: [Coo]-bena-ba for Benaba. From this composition, it can be observed that the female Tuesday-born day-name has both male morpheme i.e. *Coo-* and female morpheme i.e. *-ba* attached to the root morpheme *bena*. This is a position the present paper will provide an alternative view to. Specifically, in section 3 of the present paper, I will show that what Gosse (ibid) and Christaller (1933) had labelled affixes are rather derived forms of free morphemes /oba/ ‘female, offspring’ and /akoa/ ‘male, slave’. Again, I will show that both male and female day-names are formed from separate UR though both share common source names, i.e. deity names.

DeCamp (1967) also discusses the personal day-names of Jamaican slaves of African origin recorded between 17th and 19th centuries. He, however, asserts that those once proper names have synchronically changed their functions over time. That is, the personal day-names have now been reduced to mere common nouns among present-day Jamaican. Among the indicators of this change is the fact that the names are usually not capitalized as would be expected of personal names in writing and printing (DeCamp 1967:143). Additionally, the day-names have also lost their gender distinction over time, according to Handler & Jacoby (1996). For example, they report about Barbadian slave names that <Cubenah>, whose Akan equivalent is Kobina/Kwabena ‘male Saturday-born’, is a female name among these Barbadians (:698).

In investigating the composition of some Akan names, few scholars have attempted the study of the etymology of Akan town names including Brempong (1991) whose work focuses mainly on the etymology of some Akan town names and some personal names particularly Akan family names. Owu-Ewie (2014a,b) also analyses Akan names, specifically Fante names. However, he focuses on the morphosyntactic processes in the formation of some Fante personal names as well as some habitation names.

Obeng (1997), on the other hand, focuses on the day-names from sociolinguistics and morphophonological points of view. He does not consider the morphological and phonological compositions of each of these personal day-names, but rather the morphological and phonological processes by which hypocoristic forms can be derived formed from each of those personal day-names. For example, the day-name, *Kofi* ‘Friday-born male’ can be reduced to *Koo* as its hypocoristic form. Following in his direction, Adomako (2017) also discusses the morpheme-boundary truncation of some Akan personal names (i.e. in the day-name + family-name format) or the combinatory style truncation of the personal names. He looks at the morphological as well as the phonological processes involved in such morpheme boundary truncation.

The study of Akan personal names has also been done from the perspective of sociolinguistics (cf. Crayner, 1988, Agyekum, 2006, 2010, Obeng, 2001, among others). Similarly, a historical and typological study of the subject matter has been done in existing literature particularly by Dolphyne (1986) among others. Through a comparative study of

the languages of ethnographic Akan peoples (i.e. Akan and Anyi-Baule) based on historical evidence, Dolphyne (1986) shows how the naming practice particularly among the Anyi-Baule speakers where new-borns are named after the day preceding, rather than, the day on which he or she was born as Akan speakers do.

A first attempt towards a study similar to the present one is the one by Boadi (1984) which discusses similar derivational process but focuses on only one female day-name; *Abenaa* and *Araba* in Twi and Fante respectively. In his paper, he argues for the postulation of a common source or an underlying form for the derivation of the female Tuesday-born day-name. What Boadi does not discuss though is the composition of the single female day-name that his paper focuses on which the present paper seeks to do. In addition to this, the present paper extends the discussion of this topic to the other six female day-names in Akan. Additionally, it discusses all the male counterpart day-names to make up all the fourteen day-names in Akan.

Ofori (2019) has also discussed the Akan personal day-names from phonological and morphological perspectives. He considers the rules and the relations between those rules in the formation of all the Akan day-names (both Fante and Twi). The main departure of the present paper with his is that while he posits the composition of these names to be “root morphemes” and “their affixes”, hence postulating affixation as other similar existing literature do, the present study rather posits a morphological operation of compounding of two morphemes which have undergone some morphological and phonological processes including truncation, deletion, etc. This alternative view, which is held in the present paper, is supported by evidence of records of day-names of Barbadian and Jamaican slaves of Akan origin dating back from the 16th century BC. These day-names, as recorded at that period, reflect the intermediate level or forms in the derivations of the present-day Akan personal day-names. Again, by positing compounding of two morphemes, we are able to account for the realization of the so-called tone rule of lexical downstep observed in some of the day-names. It discusses the morphological as well as the phonological processes in deriving these day-names. In addition to the historical evidence, it also provides examples from language-internal source and where necessary, also from some cognate languages, particularly Nzema in support of the claim of compounding in deriving the day-names.

Origins of Akan names of the days of the week

There is no consensus, as yet, about the origins of the Akan names of the days of the week out of which personal day-names are derived, though there are about two main hypotheses surrounding this subject. It is worth pointing out that both schools of thought postulate for both the male and female counterpart day-names, a common root/morpheme from which male and female day-names are derived.

The first school of thought postulates that these names are believed to be names of the deities for each of the seven days of the week in Akan (cf. Christaller, 1933, DeCamp, 1967, among others). Christaller (1933), for example, provides the following as the names of personal beings or deities that refer to the days of the week in Akan.

- (1). Root day-names (Christaller, 1933:599)
- a. Ayísi [Awúsi]
 - b. Adwó
 - c. Běna
 - d. Wukú
 - e. Yàw
 - f. Afí
 - g. Améŋ (Amene)

Out of the above deity names, Christaller (1933) continues that the following names of the days of the week are formed.

- (2). Akan names of the days of the week (cf. Christaller, 1933: 599)

Akan days of the week	Gloss
Kwasída [Awusída]	Sunday
Dwóda	Monday
Běnada	Tuesday
Wukúda	Wednesday
Yáwda	Thursday
Fída	Friday
Méměneda	Saturday

Crayner (1988) seems to reiterate this position by Christaller (1933) on the names of the deities as the underlying morphemes for the names of the days of the week and personal day-names. Crayner shows how the name of the deity of the day on which one is born, which forms one of the two components on the day-name, is mentioned when Akan people are responding to greetings. From the examples in (3), we provide examples from the Fante dialect of Akan which are very similar to the ones posited by Christaller (1933). The roots of the name of the day of the week are in italics. Christaller (1933:663) had earlier made similar observation when he posited the responses¹; Ya Ayisi, Ya Adwo, etc.

- (3). Day-name Responses (cf. Crayner, 1988:13-14)
- a. Sunday-born Yaa *Wusi*
 - b. Monday-born Yaa *Dwo*
 - c. Tuesday-born Yaa *Ben*
 - d. Wednesday-born Yaa *Eku*
 - e. Thursday-born Yaa *Awo*
 - f. Friday-born Yaa *Efi*
 - g. Saturday-born Yaa *Amen*

There is second school of thought that also postulates that both the male and female day-names are formed from common roots. However, unlike the former hypothesis, it posits that the names were formed from some activities or events that took place on each of these days of the week. The names of the days of the week in the Akan custom are derived from some

¹ When an Akan person greets another, the person greeted (i.e. the greetee) responds based on foreknowledge of the day on which the person greeting (i.e. the greeter) was born. For example, when a Sunday-born greets, the greetee will respond, “Yaa Wusi”. This is so because Akan people believe that the name of the deity for Sunday is *Awusi* or *Wusi*.

historical activities that marked those days (Yaw Sekyi-Baidoo, personal communication, July 28, 2015). On his part, he holds a contrary view to the ones by Christaller (1933) and Crayner (1988) about deity names and he proposes the following etymology based on daily activities/events and not deities for the names of the days of the week in Akan from which the day-names are derived.

(4).	Days of the week	Literal meaning
a.	<i>Kɔasi</i> -da	Complete/cycle-day
b.	<i>Dwo</i> -da	Cool-day
c.	<i>Bena</i> -da	Wailing-day
d.	<i>Wuku</i> -da	You-kill-day/massacre-day (day of massacre)
e.	<i>Yaw</i> -da	Sorrow-/pain-day
f.	<i>Fi</i> -day	Outing/purification-day
g.	<i>Memene</i> -da	Satisfaction/suppression/swallow-day

Confirming earlier postulations, Sekyi-Baidoo (p.c) continues that as an example, one can then derive a male day-name from these days of the week by simply prefixing it with the male morpheme /kwa/ 'a male, slave'. Therefore, the following day-names are formed.

(5).	Akan male day-names	Gloss
a.	<i>Kwa-Kwasi</i>	Sunday-born
b.	<i>Kwa-Adwo</i>	Monday-born
c.	<i>Kwa-Bena</i>	Tuesday-born
d.	<i>Kwa-Wuku</i>	Wednesday-born
e.	<i>Kwa-Yaw</i>	Thursday-born
f.	<i>Kwa-Fi</i>	Friday-born
g.	<i>Kwa-Amene</i>	Saturday-born

By this postulation, male Sunday-born could either be /kwa-kwasi/ or simply /kwasi/. The latter without the regular *kwa* morpheme is the more popular variant of the two.

To conclude, one can deduce from the discussions above that what the two different positions/hypotheses agree on, however, is that the Akan day-names are formed the same way; through affixation. That is, gender affixes (male/female) attach to root morphemes. These root morphemes could be either the names of deities of each day of the week or names of activities/events that occurred in each day of the week.

In summary, we have just seen that these two schools of thought disagree as to the semantics of these root names. While one school claims the names correspond to the names of the personal or guardian deities in the cosmic world in the Akan culture, the other thinks they are names derived from the historical events and experiences of the Akan peoples. According to the latter, these events or experiences were war-related. The experiences spanned over seven days and each of the seven days brought in it its own experiences, which are expressed in the names.

It is worth noting that it is not the objective of the present paper to directly validate either of these two accounts, but chiefly to provide morphological as well as the phonological account

of how the personal day-names can be derived in Akan with evidence from language-internal and historical records sources. However, in our analysis, we will employ the forms postulated by Christaller (1933) and other similar views as the underlying morphemes for the formation of the Akan personal day-names. We believe that, at least, his hypothesis has been basically supported by others such as Crayner (1988). Again, this position does not contradict or counter the other position regarding the derivational process since in both cases, the root morpheme to which the female marker, which is being posited in the present paper as a free root morpheme in its own right, is attached is without the prefix /kwa-/. What needs to be clarified, however, is whether the female day-names are also derivatives of the names of the deities of the days of the week or from their male counterparts. The position of the present paper is that it supports the former, i.e. that they are derived directly from the deity names and not from their male day-name counterparts. This will be further elaborated in section 3.

Boadi (1984) has accounted for how the two similar surface forms of day-names; *Abenaa* (Twi) and *Araba* (Fante) are derived from a common underlying form by positing suffixation of *-ba*, with no gloss as to what affix means. Again, by implication, he also posits the underlying form to be the names of the days of the week. In this paper, we support his claim of the concatenation of *-ba* for all personal female day-names and *kwa-* for all male personal day-names. However, in contrast to his position, we posit the names of the deities of the seven days of the week following Christaller (1933), and not the names of the days of the week as the underlying forms for deriving both the male and female day-names since the names of the days of the week are themselves derived from the names of the deities of the days of the week. They therefore cannot be the root of the personal day-names.

Deriving Akan day-names

In this section, we present a step-by-step account of how the two sets of Akan personal day-names; male and female day-names are derived from morphological and phonological perspectives in both the Twi and the Fante dialects.

Male day-names formation in Akan

In deriving a male day-name, one has to attach the morpheme /akoa/ [ak^wɔa]² ‘man, slave’ to the name of a deity referring to a particular day. This underlyingly a three-syllable morpheme (morpheme₁) is reduced to a two-syllable morpheme [k^wɔa] by dropping its prefix *a*, which is one of the regular Akan nominal prefixes. This reduced morpheme could further be reduced to a monosyllable morpheme [k^wa] through the deletion of the first vowel. This derived morpheme₁ could sometimes be realized as either [k^wæ] or [k^wo] through some phonological rules in the language such as vowel (V) - raising, Consonant-Vowel (CV) harmony, ATR harmony, etc. In (6) below, I show how /kwa/ can be derived from the word

²Christaller (1933:240) suspects the word might be derived from *ako+ba*. So through intervocalic lenition, we realize [akuwa] in emphatic speech, and [akɔa] in fast speech.

akoa in the UR by providing explanations from language-internal motivations for those phonological processes.

- (6). *akoa* ‘man, slave’ Stage
 akɔa/ UR
i. *ak^wɔa* Labialisation of stem-initial C

This phonological process of labialisation in the above stated context usually applies with no exceptions in natural languages including Akan, whenever a consonant is followed by a [+round] vocalic segment. The velar stop undergoes the labialization rule due to the spread of the feature [labial] by the following rounded vowel.

- ii. *k^wɔa* Word-initial V deletion

The next stage of the derivation after the labialization process is the deletion of the initial vocalism. The loss of initial vowels of some nouns in Akan is not an uncommon phenomenon. In fact, Christaller (1933) had already posited that all nouns in Akan are underlyingly vowel-initial. While some of these nouns usually surface with vowels, others do not. For example, *waduro* [wæduro] ‘mortar’ alternates with *ɔ-waduro* [ɔwæduro].

1. *k^wa* Stem-internal V₁ loss

After the labialization stage, the word-internal trigger segment, i.e. [ɔ] is then deleted to reduce the syllable size of the stem from disyllable to monosyllable in the output. It is worth noting that though the trigger segment can delete its effect on targeted consonant still remains. From (6iii), it is discernible that the labialized [k^w] in the Surface Representation (SR) is not phonemic, but rather phonetic; [k] got its labiality property from the deleted rounded vowel [ɔ] at the intermediate level of the derivation as has been explained above. This explanation is necessary to provide a clarity regarding the unexpected context of a labialized consonant occurring before a non-round vowel [a] in the SR. A similar deletion of the stem-internal vowel in Akan has been exemplified by Boadi (1988, 2009, 2014) where, for example, and underlying /guari/ ‘bathe’ is realized as [g^war(i)] in Fante and Akuapem, but [dʒqari] in Akyem, Asante, and Kwawu. This leaves the phonemic plain /g/ is realized as labialized [g^w] in Fante and Akuapem.

The final output, which is the SR is shown in below (6iv). It is worth noting that the final output is a high tone bearing syllable.

- iii. [k^wá] SR

The final stage of the derivation is the phonetic realization which serves as the first constituent or morpheme₁ (which I simply reduced into morph.₁) of the day-name in the UR.

In the following examples in (7), we further provide schematic representations of how *kwa* combines with the names of the deities of the seven days of the week to derive male personal day-names in both the Twi and Fante dialects of Akan.

(7).	Day of the week	Day-name	Twi	Fante
	Sunday	Kwa-Ayisi	[k ^w æ-si]	[k ^w e-si]
	Monday	Kwa-Adwo	[k ^w æ-dzɔo]	[k ^w o-dzɔo]
	Tuesday	Kwa-Bena	[k ^w a-bina]	[k ^w ɔ-bina]
	Wednesday	Kwa-Wuku	[k ^w æ-æku]	[k ^w e-eku]
	Thursday	[Kwa]-Yaw ³	[Ø -jaw/ k ^w ajaw]	[jaw/ k ^w ɔw]
	Friday	Kwa-Afi	[k ^w o-fi]	[k ^w o-fi]
	Saturday	Kwa-Amene	[k ^w a-ami]	[k ^w a-amina]

From the data above in (7), all the names seen under ‘Day-name’ column reflect what occurs at the compounding stage of the derivation. Those names that appear under ‘Twi’ and ‘Fante’ reflect the surface or phonetic representations in the two dialects. We provide illustrations of the derivations of each of the personal day-names in the remainder of this section.

For the formation of the male personal day-names in Akan, we posit the following template for the compound: /kwa/ ‘man, slave’ (morpheme₁) + deity name of the day of the week (morpheme₂). This template is employed for the derivations of all male personal day-names as follows. For the derivation of each day-name, I discuss both morphological and phonological operations that are applicable for both Twi and Fante dialects.

(8). Male Sunday-born		
Twi	Fante	Process
Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	
/kwa/ + /ajisi/	/kwa/ + /ajisi/	UR
kwa + si	kwa + si	Truncation of Morph. ₂
kwasi	kwasi	Compounding
kwæsi	kwæsi	ATR harmony
-	kwesi	æ Raising to [e]
[k ^w æsi]	[k ^w ɛsi]	SR

From the derivation above, it is observable that the output or SR of the male Sunday-born day-name is realized the same for both the Twi and the Fante dialects. The only significant variation between them being that there is an additional phonological rule of V-raising that exclusively occurs in the Fante dialect. Fante exclusively operates a phonological rule that systematically raises /a/ to [e] when it precedes any of the Advanced Tongue Root [ATR] vowels /u, i, o/ within a word. At the pre-compounding stage of the derivation, the first two syllables of morpheme₂ truncate, leaving behind only the last CV syllable. The truncated morpheme₂ then joins together with morpheme₁, and the phonological rule of ATR harmony subsequently applies.

With respect to the phonetic form of the Fante variant of the Sunday-born day-name, there is a morphophonemic rule in Akan, particularly in Fante that usually raises an underlying /a/ to a front mid vowel within a morpheme or word with the ATR value of the target segment determined by the following vocalic segment. For example, /ani/ ‘eye’, which surfaces as [æni] in the Twi dialect is realized as [ɛni] in the Fante dialect. A similar rule can also raise the low vowel to a back mid vowel which Welmers (1946) explains as follows;

³ According to Ansu-Kyeremeh (2000), which was later on corroborated by Yaw Sekyi-Baidoo (p.c), the male day-name *Kwayaw* also exists in some Akan communities, mostly among the Bono people.

... morphophonemic principle changes /a/ to /o/ between labials, especially /w/, and / -mu'/; e.g. /kwó -mù/ 'bush country' from /kwá/ 'farm', / fò-mù'/ or /fá-mù'/ 'the ground, down' from /fá/ 'earth, swish'; compare /wo-mú'/ 'be inside' from /wo/ [wɔ] 'be at'. Here the phonemic analysis parallels the phonetic facts; /o/ is [o] in each case. But the analysis of [e] as /a/ is not a violation of any phonetic data; [e] as a variant of /a/ and [e] as a variant of /e/ occur in complementary distribution, and other phonetic data, the variants of preceding consonants, demand the analysis (Welmers 1946:16 footnote 3)

The postulation above by Welmers (1946) may explain why an underlying /a/ in the first constituent morpheme /kwa/ may change to [o] in the phonetic forms usually the Fante variants. The rules may apply in similar environments in the subsequent data discussed in the present paper. Again, the low vowel raising to the front mid vowel has been independently attested in Akan verb reduplication where in some sequences such as CV₁V₂ where the base V₁ is [+high] and V₂ [+low], the V₂ raises to [-high, -low] in the reduplicant (cf. Schachter & Fromkin, 1968; Dolphyne, 1988; Obeng, 1989; Abakah, 1993, 2013, 2015; Adomako, 2012; Ofori, 2013; among others).

Again, it is worth pointing out that the male Sunday-born has two marginal variant forms both in the Twi dialect; *Akwasi* and *Kwasi*. In *Akwasi* [ak^wæsi], the phonological rule of personal marker prefix /a/ deletion in (6ii) does not apply whereas the same rule does apply in the variant *Kwasi* [k^wæ̀si].

(9).Male Monday-born		
Twi	Fante	Process
Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	
/kwa/ + /adwo/	/kwa/ + /adwo/	UR
kwa + dwo	kwa + dwo	Deletion of Morph. ₂ -initial V
kwadwo	kwadwo	Compounding
kwædwo	kwædwo	ATR harmony
-	kwodwo	æ Raising to [o]
[k ^w æ̀dzɔ́]	[k ^w òdzɔ́]	SR

Again, just like what obtained in the previous derivation, the only difference between the outputs of the two major dialects is the optional application of the phonological rule of the low V; /æ/ raising to [o], which occurs exclusively in the Fante variant as has been discussed earlier and the subsequent rounding of the mid-front vowel. The rule that raises /a/ to [o] was discussed in the first part of Welmers' (1946) description that optionally applies only in the Fante dialect.

(10).Male Wednesday-born		
Twi	Fante	Process
Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	
/kwa/ + /wuku/	/kwa/ + /wuku/	UR
kwa+ ku	kwa + ku	Truncation of morph. ₂
kwaku	kwaku	Compounding
kwæku	kwæku	ATR harmony
kwææku	kwææku	Vowel lengthening
-	kweeku	æ Raising to [e]

[k^wæ̀æk^wú]

[k^wèèk^wú]

SR

The derivation above is systematic with what was observed in the previous analysis except that here there is an additional phonological rule of vowel lengthening that applies across both dialects. To contrast the two forms, the Fante variant differs from that of the Twi in one phonological rule application, namely V-raising, which is predictable based on the phonology of the dialect. That is, the rule application is contextually defined.

(11) .Male Tuesday-born

Twi	Fante	Process
Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	
/kwa/ + /bina/	/kwa/ + /bina/	UR
kwabina	kwabina	Compounding
kwabina	kwabina	ATR harmony
-	kwɔbina	a Raising to ɔ
[k ^w àbinã́]	[k ^w ɔ̀binã́]	SR

So far this is the only day-name in which derivation there is no truncation of the two underlying morphemes. In the Twi dialect variant, the only rule that applies is the morphological rule of compounding, while an additional rule of V-raising applies in the Fante variant. The ATR harmony rule redundantly applies in both variants. What is not clear in this derivation, however, is how /a/ raises to [ɔ] in the context of high front vowel. To explain that, we will need to resort to independent evidence from the regular phonology of the dialect or elsewhere. It is worth pointing out that similar process is observed in equivalent African slave in Barbados where an assumed underlying /a/ is realized as [u] in the name Cubbinah~Cubbenah [k^wubina] (cf. DeCamp 1967:699).

(12). Male Friday-born

Twi	Fante	Process
Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	
/kwa/ + /afi/	/kwa/ + /afi/	UR
kwa + fi	kwa + fi	Deletion of Morph. ₂ -initial V
kwafi	kwafi	Compounding
kwæfi	kwæfi	ATR harmony
kwofi	kwofi	æ Raising to o
[k ^w òfí]	[k ^w òfí]	SR

The phonological rule that changes /a/ in an underlying /kwæfi/ to [o] in [k^wofi] in both Twi and Fante dialects is the same principle that changed the /a/ in /kwa-dwo/ to [k^wodzɔ] in Fante. We, therefore, posit the same explanation as previously gave for Tuesday-born. An alternative analysis is to first postulate the truncated disyllabic form [k^wɔa] and then subsequently drop the last V syllable to realize [k^wɔ] as the input for the compounding stage. In this case, after the application of compounding and ATR harmony rule, we will realize the surface form [k^wufi] through ATR spreading. This is the surface form realized among slave names in Jamaica (cf. DeCamp 1967) and in Barbados (cf. Handler & Jacoby 1996) which is orthographically represented as *Cuffy*. To derive the Akan forms, one would need an additional rule of high back u-lowering in [kufi] to mid counterpart /o/. Is it the case that this name started off as the [kufi] but changed to [kofi] over time?

(13). Male Saturday-born		
Twi	Fante	Process
Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	
/kwa/ + /amini/	/kwa/ + /amini/	UR
kwa+ amɪ	kwa + amini	Truncation of Morph. ₂
kwaamɪ	kwaamini	Compounding
-	kwaamina	Final ɪ lowering to a
[k ^w áamɪ]	[k ^w ááminá]	SR

A similar V-lowering rule postulation could account for the surface form in the Fante variant of the above day-name. While in Twi the last two syllables of morpheme₂ truncate, in the Fante variant, on the other hand, it is only the third syllable that drops at the pre-compounding stage. Additionally, in the latter dialect's form, the high front vowel /i/ lowers to [a] before the surface form is realized at the phonological level. In the inventory of slave names among Jamaicans, there is only the Fante variant; *Quamina* for male Saturday-born recorded by DeCamp (1967:698). Could this presuppose that those slaves might have originated from the Fanteland only?

(14). Male Thursday-born		
Twi	Fante	Process
Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	
/kwa/ + /jaw/	/kwa/ + /jaw/	UR
kwajaw	kwajaw	Compounding
-	kwaw	Morph. ₂ -initialCVloss
jaw	-	Loss of entire Morph. ₁
-	kwɔw	V raising/C-V harmony
[jáw]	[k ^w ɔ̀w]	SR

The Fante name [k^wɔ̀w] is derived from the compound form /kwajaw/ at the /intermediate level through the rule of deletion of the morpheme-initial CV /ja/ of morpheme₂ as the surface representation. In the Twi equivalent, on the other hand, the entire morpheme₁ is dropped after the compounding stage. It is worth emphasizing that the Twi variant [k^wájàw], which is the product of compounding stage of the derivation, also exists as an alternative form as has been already pointed out. The intermediate level form [k^wáw] reflects the surface form in Nzema, a sister Kwa language. In [k^wɔ̀w], however, the initial consonant of morpheme₁ harmonises with the morpheme-internal vowel in terms of rounding, thus, changing the internal unadvanced low unrounded vowel to a rounded counterpart. Since Akan does not have a low rounded vowel, the targeted low then raises to an unadvanced mid rounded vowel [ɔ].

Female day-name formation in Akan

The female day-name also has one systematic morpheme /ɔ̀ba/ ‘offspring/female’ (cf. Christaller, 1933, Appah & Amfo, 2011, among others). For an extensive discussion on diminutives in Akan, see Appah and Amfo (2011).

According to Christaller (1875:33), “The feminine form is distinguished from the masculine by adding the diminutive suffix to the latter, often with an additional change of the prefix”.

In other words, a female day-name is derived simply by adding a diminutive morpheme to the same Akan names of the deities of the days of the week. It is hypothesized in this present paper that with the exception of [akosua] in Twi, which has /akwasi/ probably as its input, all the other female day-names are derived from an underlying deity names for each of the days of the week as their input, just like in the case of the formation of the male day-names, by the addition of the diminutive morpheme. Before we begin the analysis of the formation of each of the female day-names in Akan, it will be expedient we know what Christaller (1875) listed as the Akan female day-names in (15).

And for one to derive the female counterpart, one has to rather attach the morpheme /ba/ from *ɔba* ‘child/offspring’ to the root deity names. Gosse (1851) had also observed the –ba morpheme as the second morpheme, but did not provide its semantics in his study. It is assumed in the present paper, as was done for the derivations of the male day-names, that the output names are all compounds of noun-noun types and not noun (root) and affix.

(15). Akan female day-names (cf. Christaller, 1875:33)

Twi	Fante
Adwowa	Agwewa
Abena	Abraba
Aku ¹ a (Aku ¹ wa)	Akua/Aku ¹ wa
Yá(Yawa)	Ábà
Afia(Afiwa)	Afia/Afiwa
Amma	Aámá
(Akwasiba)Akosua	Akosua/Akwasiba

From Christaller’s (1875) list above, the Fante variant of the female day-name for Sunday-born is unusually Akosua; the expected present or synchronic form [esi] was never mentioned throughout. Does this imply that there been a morphological change of the name through the morphological rule of truncation over the years or just an error of entry?

Christaller (1875: 193) has the following female day-names for the Asante and the Fante dialects of Akan. This list seems inconsistent with the earlier one in the same work. We will show in the present paper that the names listed below are synchronically intermediate level derivations, and not surface forms, especially in the Asante dialect.

(16). Akan female day-names

Asante	Fante	Gloss
Akwasiba	Akosua	Sunday-born female
Abenaba	Abrāba	Tuesday-born female
Yaba	Aaba	Thursday-born female

We claim in the present paper that Akan day-names are not derived through suffixation of bound morpheme as Christaller (1875:33) seems to suggest, but through compounding of two independent morphemes with the following structure: deity name of the day of the week (morpheme₁) + *ɔba* ‘child, offspring’ (morpheme₂) for the female day-names.

(17). Female Monday-born

Twi	Fante	Process
-----	-------	---------

Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	
/adzɔ/ + /ɔba/	/adzɔ/ + /ɔba/	UR
adzɔ + ba	adzɔ + ba	Deletion of Morph. ₂ -initial V
adzɔba	adzɔba	Compounding
adzɔwa	adzɔwa	b Lenition
adzɔa	-	w Elision
[àdz ^w ó'á]	[àdz ^w ó'wá]	SR

From the above, it is observable that the variation between the Twi and the Fante dialects as far as their derivation is concerned lies in only one rule, namely the w elision rule which applies exclusively in the Twi dialect. As shall be systematically shown in this paper, the lenited w is deleted in this context, i.e. intervocalic positions in all the Twi variants of the female day-names. The intervocalic b-lenition rule is referred to as *Liquid Formation* by Boadi (1984) is a common phenomenon in the formation of female names from male counterparts (cf. Appah & Amfo, 2011; Adomako, 2017, Ofori, 2019; among others). Again it is worth noting that the intermediate form /adwoba/ [adzɔba] is realized as the surface form among Jamaican slaves' names as reported by DeCamp (1967:698) as <Adjubah>. Lenition of the intervocalic b applies to both dialects, but there is subsequent optional dropping of the lenited sound in some Twi dialects. This same intermediate level form [adzɔba] reflects the SR form in Nzema.

(18). Female Friday-born		
Twi	Fante	Process
Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	
/afi/ + /ɔba/	/afi/ + /ɔba/	UR
afi+ba	afi+ba	Deletion of Morph. ₂ -initial V
afiba	afiba	Compounding
æfiba	æfiba	ATR harmony
æfiwa	æfiwa	b Lenition
æfuwa	æfuwa	i Rounding
æfua	-	w Elision
-	efuwa	æ Raising to e
[æf ^w ú'á]~ [æfí'já]	[èf ^w ú'wá]	SR

In realizing the Twi variant [æfí'já], one needs to posit fronting of the labial glide [w] after the lenition rule after which ATR rule may apply to realize this surface form. Boadi (2009) also has the same output form in his analysis of palatalization in Akan and other Volta Comoe languages spoken in Ghana. The alternation between front and back vowels is supported from language-internal examples such as *bue~bie* 'open', etc. especially in the Asante dialect. The output of the compounding stage, which is [afiba] is what is presently realized in Nzema, a cognate language. The same output is also realized among former African slaves in Barbados (cf. Handler & Jacoby, 1996) and in Jamaica (cf. DeCamp, 1967).

(19). Female Wednesday-born		
Twi	Fante	Process
Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	
/wuku/ + /ɔba/	/wuku/ + /ɔba/	UR
ku +ba	ku+ba	Truncation of Morph. ₁ & deletion of morph. ₂ -initial V
aku+ba	aku+ba	Nominal prefixation of morph. ₁

akuba	akuba	Compounding
ækuba	ækuba	ATR harmony
akuwa	akuwa	b Lenition
ækua	-	w Elision
-	ekuwa	æ Raising to e
[ækʷú'á]~[ækʰi'á] ⁴	[èkʷú'wá]	SR

Just like the case of (16), labio-palatalisation may apply in a variety of the pronunciation of this name which may be triggered by the labio-palatalizing environment of CUa. The Barbadian slave name equivalent is, according to Handler & Jacoby (1996:698), <Accubah>, while the Jamaican slave variant is <Cubbah> (DeCamp, 1967:139) without the nominal prefix in the latter name. The raising of the advanced low vowel [æ] to an advanced front mid vowel [e] in Fante has already been discussed in the previous sub-section. The supposed lexical downstep in the surface realisations in both variants is a result of the effect of the floating low tone of the elided morpheme₂-initial V. The intermediate pre-lenition output, [ækuba], is what is realized at the surface in Nzema. Similarly, Aku [aku] also exists in Ewe, another sister Kwa language, though the concept of this day-naming system is believed to be borrowed from Akan.

(20). Female Thursday-born		
Twi	Fante	
Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	
/jaw/ + /ɔba/	/jaw/ + /ɔba/	UR
ja+ ba	ja +ba	Truncation of Morph. ₁ & deletion of morph. ₂ -initial V
jaba	jaba	Compounding
jaa	-	w Elision
-	aba	Initial C Elision
[jáá]	[áá'bá]~[á'bá]	SR

From the above, it is seen that the application of phonological rule of w deletion is idiosyncratic to the Twi dialect. Fante, on the other hand, applies a rule that deletes the initial consonant of the intermediate compound output, jaba, which reflects the surface form in Nzema. These two sets of rules and their applications differentiate between the two dialects in this particular derivation. The Fante variant blocks b-lenition and subsequent w-elision rules from applying. It may compensate for the deletion of the initial C by leftward lengthening morpheme₁-internal V as in the output [áá'bá].

(21). Female Tuesday-born		
Twi	Fante	
Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	
/bina/ + /ɔba/	/bina/ + /ɔba/	UR
bina +ba	bina +ba	Deletion of Morph. ₂ -initial V
binaba	binaba	Compounding
abinaba	abinaba	Nominal prefixation
-	abraba	n/r alternation

⁴ For the Twi dialect, labio-palatalisation, which occurs in the environment of CUa (cf. Dolphyne, 1988; Boadi 1988, 2009; de Jong & Obeng, 2000; Abakah, 2013; among others), may apply at this stage of the derivation. This will yield a variant phonetic form [ækʰia].

abɪnaa	-	Morph. ₂ -initialelision
-	araba	2 nd CV syllable elision
[àbína ⁴ á]	[árá ¹ bá]	SR

From the analysis above, it is evident that in deriving Abenaa/Araba, there is the r/n alternation that applies exclusively in the Fante variant. This alternation among the alveolar consonants n, r, and d is a well-documented fact of Akan (cf. Christaller, 1933; Schachter & Fromkin, 1968; among others). Boadi (1984), in particular, provides an alternative account of this derivation, though he does not explicitly posit what the underlying compositional morphemes are.

- (22). Boadi's (1984) derivation
- | | | |
|---------------|---|----------------|
| a. Abɪna + ba | = | abĩnãã for Twi |
| b. Abɪra + ba | = | ab(ɪ)rãba, |

The Fante variant is realized as [arãba] in the phonetic form through the dropping of the second syllable of (22b). In the diasporian variants of the same day-name, however, the nominal prefixation does not apply at all as is evidence in the surface form *Benneba* and *Beneba* in Barbadian and Jamaican slave names respectively (cf. Handler & Jacoby, 1996; DeCamp, 1967:699). The diasporian variants rather reflect the output of the compounding stage in the derivation in (21).

(23). Female Saturday-born		
Twi	Fante	Process
Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	
/amɪnɪ/ + /ɔba/	/amɪnɪ/ + /ɔba/	UR
amɪ + ba	amɪ + ba	Truncation of Morph. ₁ & deletion of morph. ₂ -initial V
amɪba	amɪba	Compounding
amba	amba	ɪ Elision
amma	-	Nasal Feature Assimilation
[ám ¹ má]	[ám ¹ bá]	SR

The last CV syllable of the morpheme₁ is truncated while the initial V of morpheme₂ is also deleted before the compounding stage. The subsequent elision of [ɪ], after the compounding stage, results in the bilabial nasal assuming syllabic status hence, it bearing the second high tone in the phonetic or surface form. In the Fante variant however, nasal place assimilation of /b/ is blocked which is consistent with the native/regular phonology of Fante. Just as has been explained already in (19), the downstep in both surface forms is triggered by the low tone of the deleted initial V of morpheme₂.

Female Sunday-born

The female Sunday-born day-names are special cases of the formation for both Twi and Fante dialects. Though it has been posited as so far in the present paper that both dialects employ a common underlying morpheme in the formation of the day-names, this one presents an exception to such generalization. As is demonstrated below, we run into difficulties in

producing well-formed surface form for Twi female day-name if we posit the regular common underlying forms.

Twi	Fante	Process
Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	
/ajisi/ + /ɔba/	/ajisi/ + /ɔba/	UR
asi+ba	asi+ba	Truncation of Morph. ₁ & deletion of morph. ₂ -initial V
asiba	asiba	Compounding
æsiba	æsiba	ATR harmony
æsiwa	æsiwa	<i>b</i> Lenition
-	æsi	Truncation of entire morph. ₂
æsuwa	-	<i>i</i> Rounding
æsua	-	<i>w</i> Elision
-	esi	<i>æ</i> Raising to <i>e</i>
*[æs ^ʷ ia]	[ésí]	SR

From the derivation above, though we have been able to successfully derive the Fante variant of the female day-name for Sunday-born, by positing the same underlying form for the Twi, we have derived an ill-form for the Twi female day-name. To address this problem, it is posited in this present paper that the output form [esi], the Fante variant, employs the regular underlying deity name /ajisi/ as its morpheme₁, while the Twi variant, [ak^wos^ʷia], on the other hand, has the derived male counterpart; /kwasi/ as its input. We are employing the term *input* here, rather than the usual term *underlying form* for the avoidance of the obvious question of whether *Kwasi* is a derived form or a truly underlying form. This is because as has been already shown, *Kwasi* itself has /ajisi/ as its underlying morpheme₂.

Before we attempt deriving the Twi variant, we quickly account for the derivation of [ésí] in (24). In deriving *esi*, the truncation of the underlying morpheme₁ targets the second syllable, which is CV. After going through subsequent morphological process of compounding and phonological rules of ATR harmony and lenition, the entire morpheme₂ is dropped. The dropping of the morpheme₂ precedes the systematic V-raising process. In the (25) below, we attempt deriving akosua [ak^wos^ʷia] from an input /kwasi/+/ɔba/.

(25). Female Sunday-born (Twi)

Twi	Process
Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂	Morph. ₁ + Morph. ₂
/kwasi/ + /ɔba/	UR
akwasi+ɔba	Nominal prefixation of morph. ₁
akwasi + ba	Deletion of Morph. ₂ -initial V
akwasiba	Compounding
akwæsiba	ATR harmony
akwæsiwa	<i>b</i> Lenition
akwæsuwa	<i>i</i> Rounding
akwæsua	<i>w</i> Elision
akwosua	<i>æ</i> Raising to <i>o</i>
akwos ^ʷ ia	Labio-palatalization
[àk ^w ós ^ʷ íá]	SR

As an alternative to positing a separate nominal prefixation rule, one can argue for the form /akwasi/, which alternates with /kwasi/ as the input. By this, we avoid postulating the nominal prefixation rule stated above. It is worth noting that though /akwasiba/ is an intermediate output of the compounding stage in our derivation above existed in Christaller (1875) as the surface form among the Twi speakers of Akan as has been already mentioned in the present paper. The same form was listed as the surface form in some records of the names of slaves in Barbados (Handler & Jacoby, 1996) and in Jamaican (cf. DeCamp, 1967).

We have observed from the derivations of all the female day-names (both Fante and Twi variants) that there is a systematic occurrence of intervocalic [b] lenition and subsequent elision in many of the Twi variants at the intermediate levels in the derivation. Finally, rounding harmony could also be posited between *a* and the labio-palatalized *y* (see de Jong & Obeng, 2000 for detailed discussion on labio-palatalization in Akan (Twi)). This assimilatory process is regressive in directionality. The same rules could be employed to account for the derivation of Afua, with the only exception being that the rounding harmony does not apply in this case.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has discussed the formations or derivations of all the fourteen corresponding male and female personal day-names in Akan. It has shown that the derivation is an interface phenomenon between some morphological and phonological operations in the language. The morphological operations include compounding, truncation, and affixation (prefixation) as well as phonological processes such as elision, ATR harmony, V-raising, etc. were observed to apply in the derivations. Though the paper focused on only Akan, i.e. Fante and Twi dialects, it was pointed out that through the stages of the derivations, some intermediate forms reflect the surface forms of some cognate languages within the Kwa subgroup such as Nzema and some African slave names from Barbados and Jamaica.

In deriving all these personal day-names, the need for a common underlying form for all male day-names on the one hand, and a common underlying form for all female day-names on the other hand for both the Fante and Twi dialects of Akan was posited. The paper, therefore, proposed a common template for all male day-names in Akan as: *akoa* + name of the deity (of the day on which one was born). For the female personal day-names, the following template was proposed: name of the deity + *ɔba*. Though a common underlying form has been posited for the formation of female personal day-names, as was realized that there was an exception to this template for the female Sunday-born. It was observed that its input was not directly the deity name /ayisi/, as would be expected, but rather the surface or phonetic form of the male counterpart name; *Kwasi* in the stead of the deity name. The paper has shown that each of the components in the two templates is a free morpheme in the UR, therefore the day-names are derived through compounding of two free morphemes and not by an affixation comprising a root morpheme and an affix. Our justification for the claim of compounding of two free morphemes is strengthened by the fact that this is the plausible way we will be able to account for the so-called lexical downstep as tonal rule that was observed in the final output of many female personal day-names. In the final output forms of such day-

names as [ám¹má]~[ám¹bá] ‘Saturday-born’, [ǎf^wú¹á]/[ǎfⁱí¹já] ~ [èf^wú¹wá] ‘Friday-born’, etc. downstep is observed. By positing the proposed template for the structure of female day-name, we were able to show that the downstep rule was the product of a morpheme-boundary process where the deletion of the low-toned morpheme₂-initial /ǎ/ eventually resulted in the reduction in pitch of the high-toned /bá/ where the final syllable of morpheme₁ bore a high tone in the derivation process.

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