

Compounding of Kente Weaving Terms among Asantes of Akan in Ghana

Francis Nsiah Kubi

Berekum College of Education, Ghana

francisnsiahkubi@gmail.com

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Abstract

Kente weaving is an historical and traditional textile weaving industry, which has been part of Ghanaian culture for a very long time. It has showcased Ghana to the rest of the world. Previous researches have focused on the design, cloth names, equipment, tools, materials, origin and marketing of Kente weaving with less attention given to compounding of the weaving terms. The study therefore, examines the compounding of Kente weaving terms among the Asantes, a sub-group of Akan in Ghana. Specifically, the study describes the structural classification of Kente weaving compound terms and explores the semantic classification of Kente weaving compound terms. The Lexicalist Word Formation Theory was adopted for the study. The study employed qualitative descriptive design to gather data through elicitation, semi-structured interviews, observation and document analysis with five participants. The study revealed that, structurally, the Kente weaving compound terms are formed through, noun + noun, noun + noun + noun, noun + noun + verb, noun + adjective, noun + verb, noun + postposition, adjective + adjective, adjective + noun, verb + noun and verb + postposition. Semantically, endocentric and exocentric compounds were the semantic classification of Kente weaving compounds. These compounding terms are used in the day-to-day communication of the people who engage in the Asante Kente weaving industry. It concludes that, like the general Asante language, the Asante Kente weavers make extensive use of compounding as a word-formation process. The study recommends that, further studies should examine the morphophonological processes in compound formation of Asante Kente weaving terms.

Keywords: *Compounding, Kente, Weaving, Terms, Asantes.*

1. Introduction

Textile weaving is one of the oldest crafts in human history. Today, it is a major global industry that contributes significantly to economies, employment and cultural heritage (Sarfo-Kantanka, 2017). From this perspective, textile industry is seen as adding value to the world's economies, creating employment opportunities, and serving as a cultural identity. This industry involves the production of woven fabrics by interlacing warp and weft yarns, ranging from traditional handlooms to modern automated weaving machines. One of the ancient textile weaving industries is the Kente weaving industry among the Asante people, a sub-group of Akan, in Ghana.

The members of Asante Kente weaving industry have their own terms which are used in the day-to-day activities of the industry. Terms, according to Sager (1990), are lexemes that are used by the people of a particular industry. This means that terms are words that are used particularly among a certain group of people with a common goal. For instance, in Asante Kente weaving industry the term ‘**dwesoa**’ refers to one as a number but in the general Asante language one is ‘**baako**’. Kente is woven on a horizontal wooden framed equipment called loom. The weaver sits in front of the loom with his toes on two alternating pedals, which help with the weaving of the Kente cloth. These terms, used by the members of Asante Kente weaving industry, motivated the researcher to examine the compounding structures of these terms in the Lexicalist Word Formation Theory.

The current study examined Asante Kente weaving compounding terms. Scholars (Akuamoah-Boateng, 1997; Kwakye-Oppong, 2008; Osei-Kuffour, 2009; Frimpong & Asinyo, 2013; Badoe & Opoku-Asare, 2014; Asmah et al., 2015; Sarfo-Kantanka, 2017 and Adomako & Appah, 2018) have conducted research on Kente weaving. These studies have proved that much attention have been given to the studies on Kente weaving. However, studies on compounding structures of Asante Kente weaving terms is underexplored. This gap is addressed by analyzing the compounding structures of Asante Kente weaving terms.

To achieve this purpose, the study was guided by these two questions: 1. What are the structural classifications of Asante Kente weaving compound terms? 2. Which semantic classifications are Asante Kente weaving compound terms? The study is organized into six sections. The introduction, literature review, methodology, analysis/discussion, result/findings and conclusion.

2. Literature Review

The literature review is organized into three sub-sections: Asante Kente, Compounding and the Lexicalist Word Formation Theory. Let us begin with Asante Kente.

2.1. Asante Kente

According to the 2021 Population and Housing Census of Ghana, Asantes are the largest ethnic group among the Akans. The language is one of the three major Akan languages that have been written and are taught in schools from early childhood to the university level (Boaheng, 2025). They live mainly in the Asante and Ahafo Regions of Ghana. The traditional craft under discussion is Kente weaving. Kente weaving is

one of the biggest traditional industries among the Asantes. According to Sarfo-Kantanka (2017), Bonwire, a town in the Ejisu-Juaben Municipality, is noted as the origin of the Kente weaving industry in Asante. He claimed that the Kente weaving industry in the Asante Region has its roots in Bonwire. Adomako and Appah (2018) also noted that the Adanwomase people traced the origin of Kente to their ancestors. These two studies present divergent views regarding the origin of Kente among the Asantes. Nevertheless, these divergent views do not affect the present study because its focus is not the history of Asante Kente. Kente is woven on horizontal wooden-framed equipment called a loom (Kubi, 2019). At one end of the loom sits the weaver, who uses the toes to alternately pedal two ropes that operate the heddles. The warp threads are attached to a smooth cylindrical wooden beam around which the woven strip cloth is wound. The cloth is then cut into strips measuring approximately 3–5 inches in width.

Kente is produced in narrow strips and later sewn together to form larger cloths. According to Adom (2024), aside from decoration, Asante Kente designs and colors convey philosophical ideas, historical events, moral values, and social status. Each Kente pattern has a unique name and symbolic meaning, while the colors also carry specific interpretations. For example, gold symbolizes wealth and royalty, black represents maturity and spiritual strength, green signifies growth and renewal, blue denotes harmony, and white symbolizes purity and victory. Thus, Asante Kente functions as a visual language through which the Asante communicate their beliefs, values, and views to the world.

Beyond culture, tradition and identity, Asante Kente contributes massively to Ghana's creative economy through weaving, trade, tourism, and cultural heritage preservation (Badoe & Opoku-Asare, 2014). During the study, the principal participant disclosed that the Kente weaving industry provides livelihoods for almost half of the population in the Kente-weaving communities of the Asante Region. Asmah et al. (2015) researched into Kente weaving industry and its tourism in some Kente weaving towns in Asante Region. They disclosed that Bonwire, Adanwomase, Ntonso, Aboase, and Sakrawonoo are major Kente-weaving towns.

2.2. Compounding

Compounding is one of the regular morphological processes of word formation (Aronoff, 1976; Hayes, 2009; Haspelmath, 2010 and Liepa, 2017). Ahmad (1994) argues that a compound is a morphologically complex unit consisting of two or more

words or stems that function as a single word and whose meaning is often non-compositional.

Here, a compound is viewed from both morphological and semantic perspectives. In this sense, a morphological compound is a word comprising the concatenation of more than one word, whereas the semantic perspective concerns whether the compound has a head. Haspelmath (2010:190) describes compounds as two or more lexeme stems that are juxtaposed in a single word form. This means that compounding involves two or more words, each of which can stand independently when separated. Dolphyne (2006), Appah (2009), Hayes (2009), and Prempeh (2012) posit that a compound is a form consisting of two or more root words. This means that the constituents of a compound are free rather than bound morphemes, and each can stand on its own. Odoom (2009); Dari (2011); Issah & Adomako (2016) and Liepa (2017) claimed that speakers of a language recognize compounds when two or more words are combined to form a single word.

They share the same view as Haspelmath (2010:190), only that they look at compound as two-words combination while Haspelmath looks at it from a stem perspective. The first category of compounding derives from the combination of two or more stems (Brinton, 2000). Appah (2013a) indicated that compounding is the process by which a word is formed by concatenating two or more bases, each of which potentially occurs alone elsewhere in the grammar as a syntactic constituent. In this perspective, a compound is understood as a word whose constituents are individual words, each belonging to a particular word class. Bloomfield (1933); Marchand (1969); Katamba (1993); Bauer (2003); Lieber (2009) and Scalise & Bisetto (2009) classified compounds into structural, semantic, grammatical, and relational categories.

According to these scholars, structural classification refers to which word classes combine to form the compound. While semantics classification refers to the relationship between the compounding and its constituents (whether it is endocentric or exocentric). Again, grammatical classification refers to the type of word category that the compound belongs to and relational refers to how the constituents forming the compounding depend on each other. The first two are briefly discussed since the other two were not among the objectives of the study.

Structural classification of compounding refers to the categories that concatenate to form the compounding item (Bauer, 2003 & Lieber, 2009). They argue that compounds under this classification may consist of Noun + Noun, Adjective + Noun, Noun + Verb, Verb + Noun, Adjective + Adjective, Preposition + Noun and Verb + Particle. While they group compound under this classification into 7, Abakan (2006)

stated that Akan has 11. Which include Noun + Noun, Noun + Adjective, Adjective + Noun, Verb + Noun, Noun + Verb, Verb + Object, Object + Verb, Verb + Verb, Phrasal Verbs, De-verbal Noun, Noun and Other types-Nominalization. Both accounts agreed on Noun + Noun, Adjective + Noun, Noun + Verb, Verb + Noun but shared different views as well.

Whilst Bauer (2003) & Lieber (2009) included Adjective + Adjective, Preposition + Noun, Verb + Particle, Abakan (2006) rather excluded them with Noun + Adjective, Verb + Object, Object + Verb, Verb + Verb, Phrasal Verbs, De-verbal Noun, and other types: Nominalization. The researcher sides with Bauer and Lieber on the categories they share but disagrees with Abakah (2006) regarding the treatment of the object in the Verb + Object and Object + Verb structures. Appah (2013a) argued that the differences in the number of structural classification of compounds is due to unsystematic application of the criteria.

On semantic classification of compounds, the research considered endocentric and exocentric. The terms endocentric and exocentric arise in compounding formation as a means to determine whether the compounding has a head or not. This was first propounded by Bloomfield (1933). He claimed that endocentric compounding is a compounding in which the compounding denotes a subtype of its head such as bushmeat (a type of meat), whereas an exocentric compound lacks an internal head and denotes a referent external to its constituents, such as redhead (not “a type of head” but “a person with red hair”). The grammatical category and semantic features of an endocentric compound is determine by the head constituent. Bauer (2006) and Lieber (2009) claimed that endocentric compounds preserve hyponymic relationship with their heads while exocentric compounds are non-hyponymic. On exocentric compounds, Bauer (2017) claimed that they are compounding that resist straightforward head identification. His claim is that exocentric compounding are compounding that have their meaning outside their constituents. For instance, pickpocket is a noun but does not denote either pick or pocket as its semantic head. Booij (2010) and Bauer (2017) agreed on the point that cross-linguistically, endocentric compounding dominate more compared to exocentric compounding in most languages. They confirm that, English contains more endocentric compounding words than exocentric compounding in their lexicon. Their claim stands out that, endocentric compounds are more than exocentric compounding.

2.3. The Lexicalist Word Formation Theory

The analysis of the Kente compound terms was done under the framework of the Lexicalist Word Formation Theory propounded by Mark Aronoff in 1976. The Lexicalist Word Formation Theory emerged from treating the internal structure of words as a separate component of grammar that interfaces with phonology, syntax, and semantics. The theory is based on the principle that word formation is an independent component of grammar. This means word formation operates in the lexicon rather than in the syntax. The theory holds that words are the basic units of morphological analysis and that new words are formed through systematic Word Formation Rules (WFRs) such as affixation, compounding, conversion, and reduplication. These rules are productive, enabling speakers to generate new lexical items while adhering to the morphological patterns of a language.

This implies that the Lexicalist Word Formation Theory deals with the application of word formation rules to complex derived words, such as compounds, formed from existing words in a particular language. For instance, speakers of Asante combine **ɔhene** ‘chief’ and **efie** ‘house’ together to form the lexeme **ahemfie** ‘chief palace’. Here, speakers of Asante derive **ahemfie** ‘chief’s palace’ in their lexicon not merely by combining these two constituents but by following the structural compounding rule (Noun + Noun → Noun Compound) of the language. In this study, the researcher based the analysis on the Lexicalist Word Formation Theory to analyze the compounding of Kente weaving terms among the Asantes of Ghana.

3. Methodology

The research was conducted in Bonwire (Ejisu Municipality) and Adanwomase (Kwabre East Municipality) because these two towns are among the principal traditional centers of Kente weaving in the Asante Region. The research adopted an ethnographic qualitative research approach. An ethnographic approach was adopted because Kente weaving depicts the culture of the Asante people. The source of data was both primary and secondary. The primary data was collected through elicitation and observation. The secondary data were taken from Adomako & Appah (2018) and Kubi (2019).

In both data sources, thirty-six (36) Kente weaving compound terms were gathered. The data were collected between April and July 2025. Three (3) participants were selected, age between 45-60. Out of these three (3) participants, two (2) were males and a female. This is because females generally participate in the Kente weaving industry only during the marketing stage. Most activities are male-dominated, except

for the sale of the cloth, in which females participate alongside males. Participants were selected through purposive sampling method. Each participant's consent was sought verbally and in writing. This was done to ensure the study was conducted in line with ethical guidelines for research involving human subjects as claimed by Everett (2006).

The purpose of the study was made known to participants before engaging them. The elicitation sessions were audio-recorded, while notes were taken during the observations using a notebook and pen. Observation was also conducted to examine how the compound words were used in their natural setting. With the assistance of the participants, the secondary data were confirmed. The recorded data was later transcribed. Data was coded and thematically analyzed using the Aronoff 1976 Lexicalist Word Formation Theory. Using this framework, the researcher grouped the Kente weaving terms into compound types based on the two research questions.

3. Analysis and Discussion

This section is organized into two sub-sections based on the research questions above. We begin with research question 1.

3.1. How are the structural classifications of Kente weaving compound terms?

During the study ten structural compound were identified. These include noun + noun, noun + noun + noun, noun + noun + verb, noun + adjective, noun + verb, noun + postposition, adjective + adjective, adjective + noun, verb + noun, and verb + postposition.

Noun + Noun

Kente weaving compounds terms exhibit noun-noun compound structure. This structure conforms to Abakah (2006) and Bauer (2003) & Lieber (2009). The data on table 1 shows Kente compounds with noun-noun constituents.

Table 1:

<i>Noun + noun constituents</i>	<i>Compound</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
a. <i>bese</i> + <i>ɔhene</i>	besehene	'Kente cloth name after white cola'
b. <i>nsa</i> + <i>ɛdua</i>	nsadua	'handloom'
c. <i>sika</i> + <i>mfuturo</i>	sikafuturo	'gold dust'
d. <i>ayaase</i> + <i>ɛdua</i>	ayaasedua	'wood bar'
e. <i>kuragu</i> + <i>ameyaw</i>	kuraguameyaw	'a name of a person'
f. <i>yaa</i> + <i>amampene</i>	yaamampene	'a name of a person'
g. <i>afia</i> + <i>kobi</i>	afiakobi	'a name of a person'

h. <i>apea</i> + <i>kubi</i>	apeakubi	'a name of a person'
i. <i>Kente</i> + <i>ntoma</i>	Kententoma	'Kente cloth'

From table 1a-g, readers could deduce that all the compounds are formed from two noun constituents. Each of these constituents could stand independently in isolation as a lexical unit. The resulting word is noun compound as shown on table 1. Applying the Lexicalist Model the rule is: noun + noun = noun compound. Applying this on the above data would be:

1a. <i>bese</i>	+	<i>ɔhene</i>	=	<i>besehene</i>
'cola'		'chief'		'Kente cloth name after white cola'
'noun'		'noun'		'noun compound'
1b. <i>nsa</i>	+	<i>edua</i>	=	<i>nsadua</i>
'hand'		'wood'		'handloom'
'noun'		'noun'		'noun compound'
1c. <i>sika</i>	+	<i>mfuturo</i>	=	<i>sikafuturo</i>
'money'		'dust'		'gold dust'
'noun'		'noun'		'noun compound'
1d. <i>ayaase</i>	+	<i>edua</i>	=	<i>ayaasedua</i>
'bell'		'wood'		'wood bar'
'noun'		'noun'		'noun compound'
1e. <i>kuragu</i>	+	<i>ameyaw</i>	=	<i>kuraguameyaw</i>
'personal name'		'personal name'		'Kente cloth name after a person'
'noun'		'noun'		'noun compound'
1f. <i>yaa</i>	+	<i>amampene</i>	=	<i>yaamampene</i>
'Thursday female born'		'family name'		'Thursday female born plus family name'
'noun'		'noun'		'noun compound'
1g. <i>afia</i>	+	<i>kobi</i>	=	<i>afiakobi</i>
'Friday female born'		'a name of person'		'name of past Asante queen'
Noun		noun		noun compound
1h. <i>apea</i>	+	<i>kubi</i>	=	<i>apeakubi</i>
'personal name'		'appellation name to kubi'		'family name'
'noun'		'noun'		'noun compound'
1i. <i>Kente</i>	+	<i>ntoma</i>	=	<i>Kententoma</i>
'traditional weaving cloth'		'cloth'		'Kente cloth'
'noun'		'noun'		'noun compound'

Data 1a-i with the help of the Lexicalist Word Formation Theory has proved that Kente compound terms with noun plus noun constituents form noun compounds.

Noun + Noun + Noun

Compounds with three noun constituents were identified among the Kente weaving compounds. Even though, Abakan (2006) and Bauer (2003) & Lieber (2009) indicated noun-noun compounds with two constituents' structure, which backed the Kente weaving compounds in Table 1. Noun compounds with three constituents' structure were identified. This is noticed on table 2 below.

Table 2:

Constituents	Compound	Gloss
<i>ɔman + pɔn + ɔhema</i>	mamponhema	'Kente name after queen mother of Mampong'
<i>nsa + edua + ntoma</i>	nsaduantoma	'Kente cloth name after handloom'
<i>ɔyoko + ɔman + Kente</i>	yokomanKente	'Kente cloth name after the ɔyoko clan'
<i>nsa + edua + dwuma</i>	nsaduadwuma	'loom business'

From table 2a-d, readers could deduce that all the compounds are formed from three noun constituents. Each of these constituents could stand independently in isolation as a lexical unit as indicated above. The resulting word is noun compound as shown on table 2. Applying the Lexicalist Model the rule is; noun + noun + noun = noun compound. Applying this on the above data would be:

2a. ɔman	+	pɔn	+	ɔhema	=	mamponhema
'nation'		'mighty'		'queen'		'queen mother of Mampong'
'noun'		'noun'		'noun'		'noun compound'
2b. nsa	+	edua	+	ntoma	=	nsaduantoma
'hand'		'wood'		'cloth'		'handloom cloth'
'noun'		'noun'		'noun'		'noun compound'
2c. ɔyoko	+	ɔman	+	Kente	=	yokomanKente
'clan name'		'nation'	'traditional cloth'	'Kente cloth name after the ɔyoko clan'		
'noun'		'noun'	'noun'			'noun compound'
2d. nsa	+	edua	+	dwuma	=	nsaduadwuma
'hand'		'wood'		'work'		'handloom business'
'noun'		'noun'		'noun'		'noun compound'

From the above analysis, the Lexicalist Word Formation Theory has shown that all the Kente weaving compound terms at data 2 are formed from noun-noun-noun constituents.

Noun + Noun + Verb

Compounds with two nouns and a verb were identified among the Kente weaving terms. These compound structures are shown in Table 3.

Table 3:

Constituents	Compound	Gloss
<i>ntoma + etire + bɔ</i>	ntomatirebɔ	'tithing rope'
<i>Kente + ntoma + tɔn</i>	Kententomatɔn	'selling Kente cloths'
<i>nsa + edua + sene</i>	nsaduasene	'handloom plaining'

When of these compounds on table 3 a-c, is put into the Lexicalist Model, the word formation rule realized is noun + noun + verb = noun compound. This is depicted as;

- 3a. ntoma + etire + bɔ = ntomatirebɔ
 'cloth' 'head' 'hit' 'tithing rope'
 'noun' 'noun' 'verb' 'noun compound'
- 3b. Kente + ntoma + tɔn = Kententomatɔn
 'traditional weaving cloth' 'cloth' 'sell' 'selling Kente cloths'
 'noun' 'noun' 'verb' 'noun compound'
- 3c. nsa + edua + sene = nsaduasene
 'hand' 'wood' 'plain' 'handloom plaining'
 'noun' 'noun' 'verb' 'noun compound'

When the Lexicalist Model Theory was applied on each Kente weaving term at data 3, it is shown that each has noun-noun-verb constituents that result noun compound.

Noun + Adjective

Compound structures with noun and adjective constituents were found among the Kente weaving terms used for the study. Compounds with this structure were identified by Abakan (2006). This is shown on table 4.

Table 4:

<i>Constituents</i>	<i>Compound</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>awedie + ba</i>	awediba	'small pedel'
<i>asa + nan</i>	asanan	'big pule'
<i>asa + tia</i>	asatia	'small pule'
<i>apa + kan</i>	apakan	'palanqueen'

Analyzing each of these Kente weaving compounds on table 4 a-d with the Lexicalist Model, the word formation rule realized is noun + adjective = noun compound. This is shown as;

- 4a. awedie + ba = awediba
 'pedel' 'small' 'small pedel'
 'noun' 'adjective' 'noun compound'
- 4b. asa + nan = asanan
 'pule' 'four' 'big pule'
 'noun' 'adjective' 'noun compound'
- 4c. asa + tia = asatia
 'pule' 'short' 'big pule'
 'noun' 'adjective' 'noun compound'
- 4d. apa + kan = apakan
 'strecher' 'first' 'palanqueen'
 'noun' 'adjective' 'noun compound'

When each of the Kente weaving compound is placed into the Lexicalist Model Theory at data 4, it depicts that each has noun-adjective constituents that result noun compound.

Noun + Verb

Noun concatenate with verb to form noun category compound were identified among the Kente weaving compounds. This structure was included in both Abakan (2006) and Bauer (2003) & Lieber (2009). This is shown on table 5,

Table 5:

<i>Constituents</i>	<i>Compound</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>ahoma + boro</i>	Ahomaboro	'folding treads'
<i>ahoma + tene</i>	Ahomatene	'straightening treads'

<i>Kente + nwene</i>	Kentenwene	‘Kente weaving’
<i>Kente + pam</i>	Kentepam	‘sewing Kente’
<i>Kente + bobo</i>	Kentebobo	‘folding Kente’
<i>Kente + ton</i>	Kenteton	‘selling Kente’
<i>adwini + asa</i>	adwiniasa	‘design has finished’

Applying Lexicalist Model each of the data at 5a-g the rule is noun + verb =noun compound. As analyzed below:

- 5a. ahoma + boro = ahomaboro
‘treads’ ‘fold’ ‘folding treads’
‘noun’ ‘verb’ ‘noun compound’
- 5b. ahoma + tene = ahomatene
‘treads’ ‘straighten’ ‘straightening treads’
‘noun’ ‘verb’ ‘noun compound’
- 5c. Kente + nwene = Kentenwene
‘traditional weaving cloth’ ‘weave’ ‘Kente weaving’
‘noun’ ‘verb’ ‘noun compound’
- 5d. Kente + pam = Kentepam
‘traditional weaving cloth’ ‘sew’ ‘sewing Kente’
‘noun’ ‘verb’ ‘noun compound’
- 5e. Kente + bobo = Kentebobo
‘traditional weaving cloth’ ‘sew’ ‘folding Kente’
‘noun’ ‘verb’ ‘noun compound’
- 5f. Kente + ton = Kenteton
‘traditional weaving cloth’ ‘sell’ ‘selling Kente’
‘noun’ ‘verb’ ‘noun compound’
- 5g. adwini + asa = adwiniasa
‘design’ ‘finished’ ‘design has finished’
‘noun’ ‘verb’ ‘noun compound’

When each of the Kente weaving compound is placed into the Lexicalist Model Theory at data 5, it depicts that each has noun-verb constituents that result noun compound.

Noun + Postposition

One of the Kente compound terms depicted noun and preposition combination structure. With this structure the derived compound is a noun category as shown on table 6.

Table 6:

<i>Constituents</i>	<i>Compound</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>anwonomo + ase</i>	Anwonomoase	‘Kente cloth name af a type of leaf’

Here the rule after placing it into the Lexicalist Model noun + postposition = noun compound, e.g.

anwonomo	+ ase	= anwonomoase
‘a type of leaf used to rap food’	‘under’	‘under a type of leaf used to rap food’
‘noun’	‘postposition’	‘noun compound’

Adjective + Adjective

A compound was realized as composed of two adjectives in its structure. This was included in Bauer (2003) & Lieber (2009) compounds structures as shown on table 7.

Table 7:

<i>Constituents</i>	<i>Compound</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>cha + nan</i>	ahanan	‘four hundred’

When the data is put into the Lexicalist Model the rule is adjective + adjective = adjective compound, as shown below;

cha	+ nan	= ahanan
‘hundred’	‘four’	‘four-hundred’
‘adjective’	‘adjective’	= ‘adjective compound’

Adjective + Noun

Adjectives combine with noun to form noun compound. This type of structure was part of Bauer (2003), Abakan (2006) and Lieber (2009) structural classification of compounds. This is shown on table 8.

Table 8:

<i>Constituents</i>	<i>Compound</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>fufuo + ntoma</i>	fufuntoma	‘white cloth’
<i>birisie + Kente</i>	birisieKente	‘Black Kente’

Applying the Lexicalist Model to the data on 8, the rule is adjective + noun = noun compound as shown in 8 below.

- 8a. fufuo + ntoma = fufuntoma
 'white' 'cloth' 'white cloth'
 'adjective' 'noun' 'noun'
- 8b. birisie + Kente = birisieKente
 'black' 'a tradition weaving cloth' 'white cloth'
 'adjective' 'noun' 'noun compound'

When each of the Kente weaving compound is placed into the Lexicalist Model Theory at data 8, it depicts that each has adjective-noun constituents that result noun compound.

Verb + Noun

Verb combine noun to form noun category compound were recorded among the data use for the study. Bauer (2003), Abakan (2006) and Lieber (2009) had this type of structure in their data. This is shown on table 9.

Table 9:

<i>Constituents</i>	<i>Compound</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>tene + edua</i>	tenedua	'straightening wood'
<i>kyim + edua</i>	kyimdua	'turning wood'
<i>susu + edua</i>	susudua	'measuring rode'

Applying the Lexicalist Model Theory the rule is verb + noun= noun compound as shown in 9.

- 9a. tene + edua = tenedua
 'straightening' 'wood' 'straightening wood'
 'verb' 'noun' 'noun compound'
- 9b. kyim + edua = kyimdua
 'turn' 'wood' 'turning wood'
 'verb' 'noun' 'noun compound'
- 9c. susu + edua = susudua
 'measure' 'wood' 'measuring rod'
 'verb' 'noun' 'noun compound'

When each of the Kente weaving compound is placed into the Lexicalist Model Theory at data 9, it depicts that each has verb-noun constituents that results noun compound.

Verb + Postposition + Verb

Three constituents' structure of compounds was identified among the data. As shown on table 10, verb, postposition and verb concatenate to form compound. Here the derived compound is a noun category as depicts in table 10.

Table 10:

<i>Constituents</i>	<i>Compound</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>tua + mu + da</i>	tuamuda	'attach in and sleep'
<i>tia + mu + te</i>	tiamute	'step in and open'

Applying the Lexicalist Model Theory the rule is verb + postposition + verb = noun compound as shown in 10 below.

10a. tua	+ mu	+ da	= tuamuda
'attach'	'in'	'sleep'	'attach in and sleep'
'verb'	'postposition'	'verb'	'noun compound'
10b. tia	+ mu	+ te	= tiamute
'step'	'in'	'open'	'step in and open'
'verb'	'postposition'	'verb'	'noun compound'

When each of the Kente weaving compound at data 9 is placed into the Lexicalist Model Theory, it depicts that each has verb-postposition-verb constituents that result noun compound.

3.2. Which semantic classification are Kente weaving compounds?

With semantic classification of compounds, the researcher analyzed the Kente weaving compounds under endocentric and exocentric compounds. This section is organized in endocentric compound and exocentric compound.

3.2.1. Endocentric Compound

These compounds according to the above literature discussed refers to type of compound that has semantics head. The word category of the compound is determined by the head of the compound. If the head is a noun then, definitely the compound word

will be a noun. The compounds under the endocentric were group under left head compounds and right headed compounds.

3.2.2. Left Head Compound

In the analysis, some of the Kente weaving terms exhibited left headed constituent. As indicated by Appah (2013a:84), left head endocentric compounds denote their head from the left constituent of the compound. Table 11 shows Kente weaving compounds with left constituents as their heads.

Table 11:

<i>Compound</i>	<i>Left headed constituent</i>
a. <u>bese</u> hene	Bese
b. sika <u>futuro</u>	Sika
c. <u>awedi</u> ba	Awedie
d. <u>asa</u> nan	Asa
e. <u>asa</u> tia	Asa
f. sika <u>futuro</u>	Sika

The compounds on table 11a-e form their heads from the left constituents. One noticed from the table that the underlined constituents which make up the heads are all found on the left most part of the compounds. Form 11a, the compound **besehene** we noticed that semantically **besehene** is a type of **bese**. The constituent **hene** describes the head **bese**. Again, 11b the compound **sikafuturo** is a type of sika and not **hene** semantically. This makes **bese** which is located at the left most part of the compound considered as it heads.

3.2.3. Right Headed Compound

Other Kente weaving compounds were identified to be right headed compounds. These compounds have the right most constituents as their head. The Kente weaving compounds that were identified to be at this category are notice on table 12.

Table 12:

<i>Compound</i>	<i>Right Headed Constituent</i>
a. ns <u>adua</u>	dua
b. aya <u>asedua</u>	dua
c. ns <u>aduadwuma</u>	adwuma

d. <i>nsaduantoma</i>	ntoma
e. <i>yokomanKente</i>	Kente
f. <i>tokukrantoma</i>	ntoma
g. <i>fufuntoma</i>	ntoma
h. <i>tenedua</i>	dua
i. <i>kyimdua</i>	dua
j. <i>susudua</i>	Dua
k. <i>Kententoma</i>	Ntoma

From table 12, one noticed that all the compounds from a-k have their heads on the right most part of the compound. For instance, from 12a *nsadua* is noted to be a type of *dua* but not *nsa* semantically. This makes *dua* which is the right most constituent form the head of the compound *nsadua*. From b-k too exhibit the same right head compound as noticed on the table above.

3.2.4. Exocentric Compound

According to Appah (2013a), exocentric compound is a compound which does not have a semantic head. This means that exocentric compound is a compound which does not refer to any of the constituents that combine to form it. Thus, these compounds have external referent from the number of constituents of the compound. This is shown on table 13.

Table 13:

Compound	Headedness
a. <i>kuraguameyaw</i>	-
b. <i>yaamampene</i>	-
c. <i>afiakobi</i>	-
d. <i>apeakubi</i>	-
e. <i>ntomatirebo</i>	-
f. <i>Kententomatɔn</i>	-
g. <i>ahomaboro</i>	-
h. <i>ahomatene</i>	-
i. <i>Kentenwene</i>	-
j. <i>Kentepam</i>	-

k. <i>Kentebobo</i>	-
l. <i>Kenteton</i>	-
m. <i>adwiniasa</i>	-
n. <i>anwonomoase</i>	-
o. <i>ahanan</i>	-
p. <i>nsaduasene</i>	-
q. <i>tuamute</i>	-
r. <i>tuamuda</i>	-
s. <i>mampɔnhemaa</i>	-

From Table 13, one notices that none of the compound terms represent any of its constituents. For instance, *kuraguameyaw* at 11a does not refer to either *kuragu* or *ameyaw* but rather a name of a person. Again, from 11m *Kentenwene* refers to an activity one engages in to earn a living but does not refer to either *Kente* or *nwene*. All the other compounds on the table have their referent outside the internal constituents of the compound.

4. Results and Findings

The study revealed that, in terms of the structural classification of compounds, the Kente weaving terms used in the study exhibited ten different structures. As indicated above, all of these have two constituents' structure with the exception of tables 2, 3 and 10, which have three-constituent structures. Of these ten structural classifications, four conformed (noun + noun, noun + verb, verb + noun, and adjective + noun) to Bauer (2003), Abakan (2006), and Lieber (2009). The other six structures, table 7 (adjective + adjective) were among both Bauer (2003) and Lieber (2009) structures. Table 2 shares the same structural pattern as Table 1 except that it contains three constituents rather than two.

Table 4 (noun + adjective) was identified among Abakan (2006) structures. Even though tables 3, 6 and 10 were included in the structures of Bauer (2003), Abakan (2006), and Lieber (2009), they are all considered compounds because Appah (2013a) stated that the different number of structures of compounds is due to the number of constituents a compound is made of.

In terms of the grammatical category of compounds, out of the ten structures, only table 7 produced adjectival compound. The other nine resulted in noun compounds. This shows how noun lexical items dominate in the Asante Kente weaving terms. The

word categories used to form these Kente weaving terms include nouns, verbs, adjectives and postposition.

The analysis also revealed that compounding is a highly productive word-formation process in Asante Kente weaving terminology. The terms are formed by combining two or more lexical items according to regular morphological patterns. The productivity of these patterns enables weavers to create new terms to describe emerging weaving techniques, patterns, colors, and tools while maintaining the structural principles of the Asante language. In line with Aronoff's (1976) Lexicalist Word Formation Theory, these compounds are formed through systematic word-formation rules operating in the lexicon.

The semantic classification of Kente weaving compound terms was analyzed under endocentric and exocentric. Out of the thirty-six (36) Kente weaving terms analyzed seventeen were found to be endocentric while nineteen were exocentric. This implies that many of the Kente weaving compound terms have meanings that cannot be traced from the meaning of their constituent words. Understanding them requires knowledge of Asante culture and Kente weaving. For instance, *mampɔnhemaa* at table 12s, is an example of exocentric since none of its compound constituents (refer from table 2a) is its referent. During the study it was disclosed that, *mampɔnhemaa* is the queen mother of Mampon 'a town in Asante region'. The weavers name some of their products after the queen mother of Mampon to honor her for her hard work. This, from the perspective of Lexicalist Word Formation Theory, indicates that, even though compounds are formed through regular morphological processes, their meanings are stored as lexical items rather than being derived solely from the meanings of their constituents.

The findings further show that while many Kente compounds are semantically transparent, others derive their meanings from Asante cultural knowledge, symbolism, and tradition, highlighting both the linguistic and cultural productivity of compounding.

5. Conclusion

The study discussed the compounding of Kente weaving terms among the Asante people of Ghana. The analysis of the compounding process in Kente weaving terms highlights the central role of morphology in the expression of cultural identity and heritage. The data reveal that compounds are a dominant and productive word-formation strategy in the lexicon of Kente weaving industry. It provides speakers with

a flexible means to encode the artistry, symbolism, and sociocultural functions associated with the cloth.

Both the structural and semantics classifications were also analyzed. On classification according to structure, ten categories were identified. These include; noun + noun, noun + noun + noun, noun + noun + verb, noun + adjective, noun + verb, noun + postposition, adjective + adjective, adjective + noun, verb + noun and verb + postposition. All these ten categories of compounds by structure were found to be noun compounds with respect to their grammatical classification. Again, on the semantics classification, both endocentric and exocentric compounds were identified. Out of the 36 Kente weaving compounds used for the study, 17 were endocentric and 19 were exocentric. This differs from the cross-linguistics notion that endocentric compounds dominate that of exocentric compounds as indicated by Booij (2010) and Bauer (2017). Similarly, the structural and semantic classifications demonstrate both the structural diversity of Kente weaving compounds and the semantic knowledge embedded in the practices of Kente weavers.

Importantly, these compounds are not arbitrary but are tied to cultural narratives, proverbs, and historical experiences that define the communicative value of Kente. Thus, compounding in this domain demonstrates the intricate relationship between linguistic form and cultural meaning, reaffirming that language is a living archive of indigenous knowledge and artistry.

The study recommends that future research should investigate the morphophonological interface in Kente weaving compounds, the historical development of Kente weaving compound terms, and the origins of Asante Kente in order to address the contrasting accounts from Bonwire and Adanwomase.

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Francis Nsiah Kubi
Berekum College of Education, Berekum, Ghana
francisnsiahkubi@gmail.com