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THE LANGUAGES OF THE AKAN PEOPLES*

By

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There are various groups of people who call themselves "Akan". They inhabit most of the area that covers the forest and coastal belts bounded in the west by the Bandama River in the Ivory Coast and in the east by the Volta River in Ghana, and include the Anyi, the Baule, the Nzema, the Ahanta, the Fante, the Asante, the Akuapem, the Akyem, the Brong, etc. All of them seem to share certain common cultural traits that distinguish them from other ethnic groups in West Africa.

Linguists (Greenberg, 1963, and Westermann and Bryan, 1952) have used the name "Akan" to refer to the group of languages spoken in the geographical area referred to above, so that their use of the name "Akan" more or less coincides with the ethnographic use of the name. Greenberg's "Akan" language group is made up of six different languages which are Anyi, Baule, Twi, Guang, Metyibo and Abure, while Westermann and Bryan's is made up of the Twi-Fante dialect cluster, the Anyi-Baule dialect cluster, and the Guang dialect cluster.

In the 1950's the name "Akan" was officially adopted in Ghana as the name for the language whose written dialects are Asante, Akuapem

*This paper was written in 1975 for the "Kwame Daaku Memorial Volume" - a volume dedicated to the memory of the late historian, Dr. K.Y. Daaku, which, for various reasons, could not be published. The paper is of general interest, although the latter part of it has particular interest for the professional linguist.

and Fante. The well-known Twi scholar, J.G. Christaller, had called this language Twi, so that both his Dictionary and Grammar are of 'The Asante and Fante language called Tshi'. This name was however not acceptable to Fante speakers, since Twi was generally understood to include such dialects as Asante, Akyem, Akuapem and Kwahu, but to exclude Fante. The name "Akan" was, on the other hand, neutral enough to be acceptable to both Fante and Twi speakers, but its use in this limited sense was at variance with its use in linguistic literature. In recent years Stewart has introduced the name Volta-Comoé for the group of languages called Akan by Greenberg and by Westermann and Bryan, and he reserves the name "Akan" for the Twi-Fante language, in conformity with current usage in Ghana. The present writer has suggested Volta-Bandama as a more appropriate label (Dolphyne 1974) since the western border of the language group is the Bandama River and not Comoé River.

For all these linguists, the Akan, Volta-Comoé or Volta-Bandama language family includes languages such as Guang, whose speakers are not generally considered as belonging to the Akan ethnic groups. It is therefore necessary that, at this point, a clear statement is made as to which group or groups of people are being referred to in this discussion as 'Akan Peoples'.

In a paper 'The Origins of the Akan', A.A. Boahen said among other things:

The Akan are those groups of peoples in Ghana among whom a number of identical or virtually identical cultural traits and institutions are found. The first of these unique traits is linguistic. All the Akan groups speak the Twi language, or dialects of the same which are mutually intelligible..... The second common trait is institutional. All the Akan groups have a common calendar, common religious beliefs, naming ceremonies, marriage institutions and matrilineal systems of inheritance. They also have a monarchical system of government.

In many ways, the most interesting of these common institutions are their identical exogamous matrilineal and patrilineal clans. Each genuine Akan group is divided into eight principal matrilineal and eight patrilineal clans.

On the basis of these criteria he concluded that 'the Akan are today the Asante, the Akyem, the Kwahu, the Akwapim, the Wassa, the Twifu, the Assin, the Fante and the Gomua'. All these people are found in Ghana.

In a more recent paper, (A.A. Boahen, 1974) 'Who are the Akan?', the same writer has a much longer list of peoples who qualify to be called Akan. In addition to the above list, he has, among the Ghana

Akans, the Bono, the Akwamu, the Buem*, the Agona, the Sehwi, the Aowin, the Nzema and the Ahanta. In the Ivory Coast, the Akan peoples are the Abron, the Anyi, the Sanwi, and the Baule. He says that although the cluster of peoples known as the Lagoon peoples or Les Lagunaires, namely, the Atie, the Abe, the Abidji, the Adjokuru, the Ebrie, the Ega (Die) the Eotile, the Abure, the Avikam and the Alladjan also call themselves Akan, he does not consider them as such since they do not share the cultural traits which are so characteristic of the Akan. Of these peoples he says: 'Their political organisation is certainly a non-centralised one; their week consists of six days and not seven, and their system of naming is different, and finally it does not appear that the matrilineal and patrilineal clan groups are found among them'.

It therefore seems that when the linguistic, cultural and sociological evidence is taken into consideration the conclusion that one may come to is that the Akan peoples are those who speak that group of languages referred to by Stewart as Tano, a subgroup of his Volta-Comoé (Volta-Bandama) language family. These are people who speak Baule, Anyi, Sanwi (Afema), Nzema, Ahanta, Aowin, Sehwi, Wassa, Brong/Abron, Fante, Gomua, Agona, Asante, Akyem, Kwahu and Akuapem. It is these people who also have in common those cultural traits which Boahen uses as part of his criteria for determining which groups of people are Akan.

*The basis on which Boahen includes the Buem in this list is not clear. Linguistically, however, the language of the Buem, Lelemi, does not belong to the Volta-Bandama language family. Some Lelemi speakers speak Akan (Twi-Fante) as a second language, but this not true of all of them.

It may be of interest to point out here that although all Akan peoples, as defined above, have a common system of naming children in which the first name is derived from the name of the day of the week on which the child is born, among speakers of Anyi, Baule and Nzema the names for the days of the week and the corresponding names given to persons born on these days are one day out of step with those used by speakers of Akan (Twi-Fante). This means that the name for Monday (Kinzile/Kissie) in Anyi, Baule and Nzema corresponds to the name for Sunday (Kwasie) in Akan and so on as illustrated below. (The names given to persons born on the days of the week are marked M for 'male' and F for 'female').

	<u>ANYI-BAULE</u>			<u>AKAN (TWI-FANTE)</u>	
Monday	Kinzile/Kissie:	Kwasi/Kasi (M) Akisi/Akasi (F)		Dzuw/Dzuo:	Kwadzo/Kodzo (M) Adzua (F)
Tuesday	Dzɔks/Dzɔls :	Kwadzo/Kadzo/Kodzo (M) Adzuba/Adzua (F)		Bina :	Kwabina (M) Abina (F)
Wednesday	Maalĩ/MLã :	Kwamlã/Kamlã (M) Abina/Abinima (F) Ab̄la (F)		Wukuw/Wukuo:	Kwaku (M) Akua (F)
Thursday	Kule/Uhue Uwue :	Kwaku/Kaku (M) Akuba/Ahu (F)		Yaw :	Yaw/Ekwaw (M) Yaa/Aba (F)
Friday	Yaals/Ya :	Yaw (M) Yaba/Aya (F)		Fi :	Kofi (M) Afua (F)
Saturday	Fūls/Fūs :	Kofi (M) Afiba/Afua (F)		M̄imin :	Kwami (M) Ama (F)
Sunday	M̄ule :	Kwami (M) Ama/Am̄ūs̄ (F)		Kwasie :	Kwasi (M) Akosua/Esi (F)

Although speakers of Nzema and Aowin in Ghana use the same names for the days of the week as those used by speakers of Anyi and Baule, the names they give to children born on these days correspond to those used by speakers of Akan (Twi-Fante) so that for them there is no correspondence between the names of the days of the week and the names given to children born on those days. For example, the Nzema names given to children born on Thursday are Yaw and Yaba which correspond to the Nzema day name for Friday, Yaals, as illustrated below:

GHANA NZEMA

Monday	Kinzile	:	Kodzo Adzuba	(M) (F)
Tuesday	Dzoke	:	Kamla/Kabiña Abinlīma	(M) (F)
Wednesday	Maali	:	Kaku Akuba	(M) (F)
Thursday	Kule	:	Yaw/Kwaw Yaba	(M) (F)
Friday	Yaals	:	Kofi Afiba	(M) (F)
Saturday	Fule	:	Kwami Ama	(M) (F)
Sunday	Mule	:	Kwasi Akasi	(M) (F)

It seems to me that this is due to the proximity of the Ghana Nzema and Aowin (Anyi) to speakers of Akan (Twi-Fante), who form a large linguistic group in Ghana, and whose language has tended to have prestige status in parts of the Nzema-speaking area of Ghana, where it is the language of trade, education and Christian religious observances.

It has not been possible to determine which set of names - that used by speakers of Nzema-Anyi-Baule or that of speakers of Akan (Twi-Fante) - was the original one. It is however clear that for both groups of people the week begins with Kwasié (Twi-Fante) or Kinzile/Kissie (Nzema-Anyi-Baule). It would seem therefore that the apparent difference in the naming systems is a result of a 'dislocation' that took place when each of the two groups independently tried to adjust to the European naming system for days of the week. It is worth noting that on the British calendar the week begins on Sunday, while that of the French calendar begins on Monday.

The next question is to determine the number of languages spoken by the Akan peoples, and the relationship that exists between these languages and their dialects.

The question as to how one determines whether a group of dialects belong to one language or to different languages poses several problems. One such problem, which is of particular relevance here, is the fact that there does not exist one name for the form of spoken language used by peoples belonging to the Akan ethnic group. The names Anyi, Baule,

Nzema, Sekwi, Akuapem, Fante, etc. only refer to the dialects spoken by different subgroups of the Akan peoples, and it is quite clear that the speakers of these dialects do not normally call their language 'Twi'.

Stewart (1966) subdivides his Tano language group into (a) the Bia language group made up of two languages - Anyi-Baule-Chakosi and Nzema-Ahanta, and (b) the Akan (Twi-Fante) language. In other words the Akan peoples speak three languages - the Anyi-Baule-Chakosi language with its dialects Anyi and Baule spoken in the Ivory Coast, and Chakosi spoken in Ghana and Togo; the Nzema-Ahanta language with its dialects Nzema spoken in the Ivory Coast and in Ghana, and Ahanta spoken in Ghana; and the Akan (Twi-Fante) language spoken mainly in Ghana whose major dialects are Twi and Fante. The criterion he used in arriving at these three distinct languages was that of mutual intelligibility: 'I have attempted here to use the language, defined in terms of the mutual intelligibility of its idiolects, as the basic unit of classification'. (Mutual intelligibility refers to the ability of different speakers to understand each other without the help of an interpreter, as is the case with speakers of Asante, Akuapem, Fante etc. in Ghana.)

In general, linguists have used the criterion of mutual intelligibility in determining whether a group of dialects belong to one language or not. It is however difficult to determine the degree to which dialects should be mutually intelligible before they can be said to belong to the same language. Some people have argued that all Akan

peoples speak the same language, for they claim that there is a sufficient degree of mutual intelligibility between the various dialects spoken by people belonging to the Akan ethnic group for all of them to be considered as belonging to one language. Such people usually refer to Modern Chinese and point out that not all the dialects of Modern Chinese are mutually intelligible but they are said to belong to the same language.

One of the problems that the linguist faces in the African situation however is that very often, while dialects which are mutually intelligible have their own names, e.g. Asante, Fante, Agona etc., there usually does not exist one name for the language as a whole, as in the case of Chinese for example. The concept of a language as a single unit therefore has to be forged by incorporating all the mutually intelligible dialects into one language and giving that language a name. This is what has happened with the adoption of the neutral name 'Akan' for the language spoken in Ghana whose dialects include Asante, Fante, Akyem, Agona, Comua, Brong and Akuapem.

In this discussion only the criterion of mutual intelligibility will be used in determining whether the dialects spoken by the Akan peoples belong to one or more languages. As stated earlier, Stewart's analysis, based on the criterion of mutual intelligibility, assigns these dialects to three languages. The present writer's own experience, however, has shown that there is a high degree of mutual intelligibility between Anyi and Nzema, and between Baule and Nzema, since even with

her rather inadequate command of Nzema, and without any previous experience of Anyi and Baule, she was able to communicate satisfactorily, over fairly long periods, with speakers of Anyi and Baule. Speakers of Sehwi and Aowin from Ghana who have not had any previous contact with Anyi speakers have also been surprised at the extent to which they can communicate with Anyi speakers in the Ivory Coast without the help of an interpreter.

The conclusion that may be drawn from this is that we have in Stewart's Bia language group only one language, which may be named Nzema-Anyi-Baule, whose dialects are Anyi, Baule, Chakosi, Nzema, Ahanta, Sanwi (Afema) Aowin, and Sehwi, all of which are more or less mutually intelligible. It must be pointed out, however, that Chakosi, which bears closest resemblance to Baule, is spoken in the north-eastern part of Ghana and spreads over the border into Togo, and with the geographical separation of the two dialects, it is very likely that Baule and Chakosi are no longer mutually intelligible, and that Chakosi is now a separate language.

The next question is whether there is a sufficient degree of mutual intelligibility between the dialects of the Nzema-Anyi-Baule languages and those of the Akan (Twi-Fante) language for all of them to be grouped together as one language.

Speakers of Nzema, Ahanta, Aowin and Sehwi living in Ghana do understand various dialects of Akan (Twi-Fante) and this has been used as an argument for saying that all these people speak the same language. The mutual intelligibility between Nzema, Ahanta, Aowin and Sehwi on the one hand and the Akan dialects on the other is however more in one direction than in the other. Speakers of the Akan dialects who have not had any previous experience of Nzema, Ahanta, Aowin and Sehwi do not understand these dialects. The reason for this state of affairs is not difficult to find. It happens that in the areas where Nzema, Ahanta, Aowin and Sehwi are spoken, the Akan dialects, Fante and Asante, have prestige status and are used in schools, in church and for trade, so that speakers of Nzema, Ahanta, Aowin and Sehwi have been exposed to Fante and Asante in a way in which speakers of Fante and Asante have not been exposed to Nzema, Ahanta, Aowin and Sehwi. It is a fact that speakers of Nzema who are domiciled in the Ivory Coast and who have therefore not had much exposure to Fante and Asante cannot normally communicate with Fante and Asante speakers without the help of an interpreter. The degree of mutual intelligibility between the dialects of the Nzema-Anyi-Baule language and those of the Akan language is therefore not considered high enough for them to be grouped together as belonging to the same language. However since all these dialects are closely related genetically, they have a large number of vocabulary items in common, and it is inevitable that speakers of the Nzema-Anyi-Baule language and speakers of the Akan (Twi-Fante) language, can

usually identify in the dialects of each other's language a large number of words that occur in their own dialects.

The conclusion then must be that the Akan peoples speak two languages. These are

- 1) The Nzema-Anyi-Baule language whose dialects are Anyi, Baule, Chakosi, Nzema, Ahanta, Sanwi (Afema) Aowin and Sehwi. It has already been pointed out that Chakosi may very well be a separate language by now since it is geographically cut off from all the other dialects of the language, and is surrounded by languages that are not genetically related to it. However it has not been possible to verify this.
- 2) The Akan language, whose dialects are Asante, Akyem, Bron/Abron, Wassa, Kwahu, Fante, Agona, Gomua and Akuapem.

There are regular phonological (sound) correspondences that give further evidence for separating these two languages. The correspondences and the examples that illustrate them are listed under 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7 in the Appendix.

They are:

1. Correspondence between Nzema-Anyi-Baule /h/ and Akan /k/:

In intervocalic position (i.e. between vowels) /h/ in Nzema-Anyi-Baule corresponds to /k/ in Akan, as illustrated by the words for 'heart' and 'husband'. The Nzema-Anyi-Baule language exhibits a phonological process known as Consonant Mutation whereby some consonants change their form in certain specific environments, as illustrated by the following

examples:

	<u>go</u>	<u>he's gone</u>	<u>he didn't go</u>	<u>eat</u>	<u>I've eaten</u>
Nzema:	ko	yeho	yeango	di	mili
Akan :	ko	eko	oango	di	madi

In these examples Nzema /h/ corresponds to Akan /k/ in intervocalic position, /g/ in Nzema corresponds to /k/ in Akan after a nasal consonant, and Nzema /l/ corresponds to Akan /d/ in intervocalic position.

Consonant Mutation is one important phonological characteristic of the Nzema-Anyi-Baule language that distinguishes it from the Akan language.

2. Correspondence between Nzema-Anyi-Baule voiced consonants and Akan voiceless consonants

Voiceless consonants in the Nzema-Anyi-Baule language become voiced in the environment of a preceding nasal consonant, so that in the examples listed in the Appendix, the voiced consonants /z/, /d/, /g/ in the words for 'water', 'long' and 'groundnuts' in the Nzema-Anyi-Baule language correspond to the voiceless consonants /s/, /t/ or /ts/, /k/ in Akan.

It may be mentioned here that in some subdialects of Brong and Wassa, both Akan dialects that are in close geographical proximity to the Nzema-Anyi-Baule language, voiceless consonants become voiced when preceded by a nasal consonant (Dolphyne, 1979). These dialects do not however share the more complex Consonant Mutation system of Nzema-Anyi-Baule.

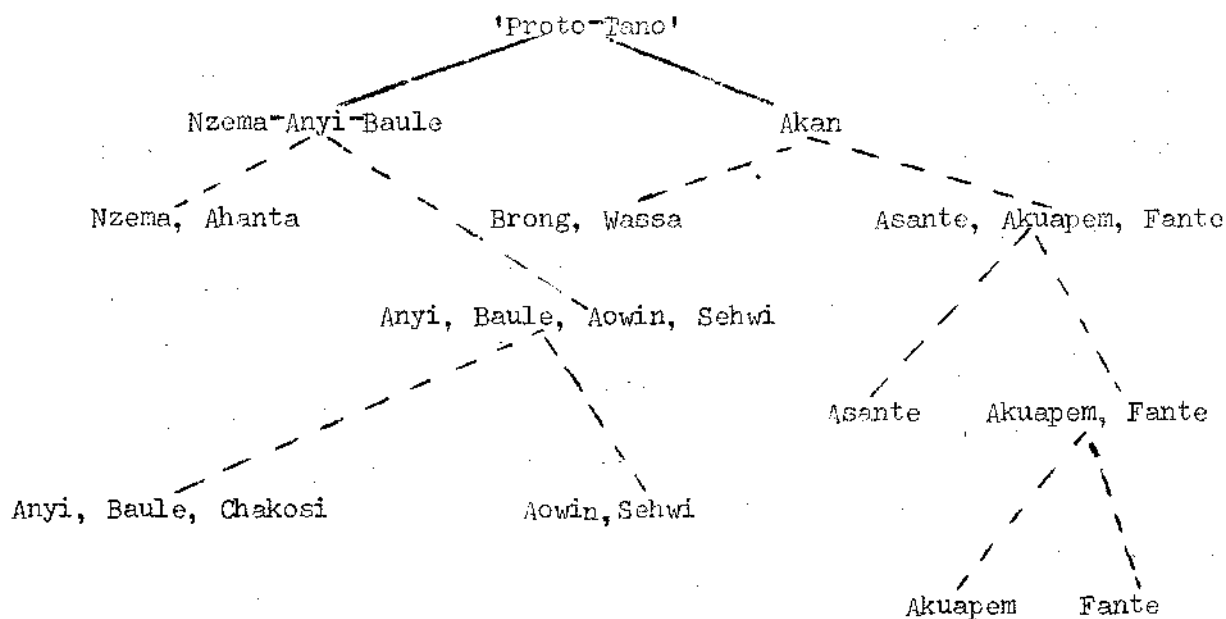
3. Correspondence between the presence of medial consonants in Nzema-Anyi-Baule and their absence in Akan

Where a medial consonant /k/ or /tʃ/ occurs in the Nzema-Anyi-Baule language in the words for 'to open' and 'to split' (Appendix 3) the Akan words do not have any medial consonant. This correspondence is very common, and is further illustrated by the examples in Appendix 4 and 7.

These phonological correspondences also make it possible for the dialects of these languages to be grouped in a way that reflects the stages through which the dialects broke away from each other. For example, among the dialects of the Nzema-Anyi-Baule language, the correspondences listed under 4, 6 and 8 in the Appendix give evidence for suggesting that the first split was between Nzema and Ahanta on the one hand and Anyi, Baule, Aowin and Sehwi on the other, while those listed under 5 and 7 separate Anyi and Baule from Aowin and Sehwi.

What is being suggested here is that although there are clearly three groups of dialects in the Nzema-Anyi-Baule language, which are 1) Nzema and Ahanta, (2) Anyi and Baule, and (3) Aowin and Sehwi, Anyi and Baule are more like Aowin and Sehwi, than Nzema and Ahanta.

The following diagram sums up the grouping of the dialects of the two languages in terms of the stages through which they broke away from each other. The straight lines link languages and the broken lines link dialects.



Phonological correspondences between languages and dialects of a language often illustrate some linguistic processes that reflect historical changes that have taken place in the language (Dolphyne, 1976). One such example is the presence of a medial consonant in the Nzema-Anyi-Baule language and its absence in Akan (Appendix 3, 4, 7). It can be said that the loss of a consonant over a period of time is a more likely occurrence than the introduction of a new consonant where none existed, so that the Akan forms may be said to be a result of the loss of the medial consonants /k, tʃ, l, r/ that occur in the Nzema-Anyi-Baule language. In other words, the Akan forms are a later development from the Nzema-Anyi-Baule forms.

These same sets of examples (Appendix 3, 4, 7) also illustrate historical changes that have taken place among the dialects of the Nzema-Anyi-Baule language. In the examples listed under 3 and 7, in the

Appendix, where /tʃ/ regularly occurs in medial position in Aowin and Sehwi, /k/ occurs in Ahanta, and in Nzema, Anyi and Baule both /k/ and /tʃ/ occur in this position.

The replacement of /k/ by /tʃ/ before a front vowel, (e.g. i, e, ε) is a common phonological process in many languages. The phonological process involved is known as palatalization, whereby a /k/ sound which is a more 'back' articulation than /tʃ/ becomes progressively articulated on the hard palate under the influence of the following front (or palatal) vowel. This is a well-attested sound change, and where, as in the examples under discussion, one dialect of a language has /k/ before front vowels and another has /tʃ/ in that position it can be said that the dialect with the /k/ sound has been more conservative than the other one, in so far as it has retained an older pronunciation. In other words as far as these examples are concerned, Ahanta has been the most conservative of the dialects of the Nzema-Anyi-Baule language, while Aowin and Sehwi have been the most innovating.

In the examples listed under 21 in the Appendix /k/ in Nzema and Ahanta corresponds to /l/ in Anyi, Baule and Aowin, to /l/ or /r/ in Sehwi, to /w/ in Fante and Akuapem, while in Asante a second consonant is absent.

The phonological process that accounts for these various pronunciations may be stated in terms of a 'weakening' in articulation, whereby a relatively strongly articulated sound /k/ is replaced by a less strongly articulated sound /l/, /r/ or /w/ and eventually gets deleted,

(Boadi, 1974). Four groups of dialects can therefore be identified: Nzema and Ahanta; Anyi, Baule, Aowin, and Sehwi, Akuapem and Fante, and finally Asante. These dialects have been listed here in an order which reflects the various stages of development of this particular sound change, from the most 'conservative' dialects, Nzema and Ahanta, to the most 'recent' dialect, Asante.

The last set of examples in the Appendix shows a three-way grouping of the dialects of the two languages:

1. Nzema and Ahanta which have a full consonant-vowel nominal suffix,
2. Anyi, Baule, Aowin, Sehwi and Asante which have a reduced suffix which is usually a vowel,
3. Akuapem and Fante which do not have a nominal suffix.

The deletion of /l/ or /r/ (the consonants that regularly occur in the Nzema and Ahanta suffixes) is a common feature in the pronunciation of a number of languages. In the Gã language for example, the full form 'nuu ls' (the man) is usually pronounced 'nuus', and in Akan, the Fante and Akuapem forms 'yareko' (we are going) and 'borode' (plantain) are pronounced 'yesko' and 'boodes' in Asante. In other words the suffixed forms of Anyi, Baule, Aowin, Sehwi and Asante in which the /l/ or /r/ of the Nzema and Ahanta suffix is absent are a later development from the Nzema and Ahanta forms, while the Akuapem and Fante examples which have no suffix at all, are even more recent.

On the whole it may be said that the Nzema-Anyi-Baule language has been more conservative than the Akan language, in so far as its dialects have not undergone as many sound changes as those of the Akan language, and that the Western Akan peoples speak a relatively 'older' language than the Eastern Akan. The 'age' of the dialects of the two languages is not however a simple West to East arrangement, as can be seen below where the dialects of each language are arranged from left to right starting with those that have undergone the least change:

Nzema-Anyi-Baule

Nzema - Anyi and - Aowin and
and Ahanta Baule Sehwi

Akan

Brong/Abron - Asante and - Akuapem - Fante
and Wassa Akyem

It will be seen from this arrangement that the 'oldest' (Nzema and Ahanta) and the 'newest' (Fante) dialects of the Tano languages are geographically located in the middle of the language group.

There have been various attempts at determining the migratory movements of various subgroups of the Akan peoples, and some of the evidence used has been linguistic. It must be pointed out that the 'age' of a language, in terms of how much or how little change it has undergone, does not necessarily reflect the age of the people who speak it. It has been observed however, that when an area in which a language

is spoken is characterised by a diversity of dialects, that area has been settled much longer than an area that is relatively uniform in the form of language used. For example the diversity of dialects spoken in the Brong area of Ghana, as compared with the relative uniformity of the Asante dialect, even though it is spoken in a much wider area, indicates that the Brong area has been settled longer than the Asante area.

It is possible that as more detailed studies of the various dialects of the Volta-Bandama languages get completed, a clearer picture will emerge of the settlements and/or migrations of the speakers of these languages. For the moment however, it may be said that the West to East or East to West spread of the dialects spoken by the Akan peoples seems to indicate that the migratory movements of groups of present-day Akan peoples were mainly in a West to East and/or East to West direction as indeed claimed in the oral traditions of some of them (Boahen 1971).

1. Correspondence between h:k

English	Nzema	Ahanta	Anyi	Baule	Aowin	Sehwi	Asante	Akuapem/Fante
heart	ah <u>u</u> li	ah <u>u</u> l <u>u</u> ni	ah <u>u</u> li	-	ah <u>u</u> ni	ah <u>u</u> ni	ak <u>u</u> ma	ak <u>u</u> ma
husband	ehu	ohule	-	-	ehua	ehue	ekunu	okunu/ikun

2. Correspondence between voiced and voiceless consonants z:s, d:t, s:k

water	nzule	nzuro	nzue	nzue	nzue	nzwie	nsuo	nsu
long	t <u>in</u> d <u>il</u> i	t <u>in</u> d <u>in</u> i	t <u>in</u> d <u>i</u>	t <u>in</u> d <u>i</u>	t <u>in</u> d <u>ii</u>	t <u>in</u> d <u>i</u>	t <u>in</u> t <u>in</u> i	t <u>in</u> t <u>in</u> / ts <u>in</u> ts <u>in</u>
groundnuts	ŋgati <u>e</u>	-	ŋgati <u>i</u>	ŋgati <u>i</u>	-	-	ŋkati <u>e</u>	ŋkati <u>i</u> /ŋkats <u>i</u>

3. Correspondence between presence or absence of medial consonant

to open	buke	buko	buke	-	butfe	butfe	bue	bue/bwei
to split	kpat <u>fi</u>	puko	kpat <u>fi</u> / kpaki <u>i</u>	kpaki <u>i</u>	pat <u>fi</u>	pat <u>fi</u>	pai	pai

4. Correspondence between k: l/r: w: ɣ

kno ⁺	kp <u>o</u> ke	p <u>o</u> ke	kp <u>o</u> le	kp <u>o</u> le	p <u>o</u> le	p <u>u</u> re	p <u>o</u>	p <u>o</u> w
Monday/ Tuesday	dz <u>o</u> ke	tf <u>o</u> ko	dz <u>o</u> le	dz <u>o</u> le	dz <u>u</u> le	dz <u>u</u> le	dz <u>u</u> o	dz <u>u</u> w

5. Correspondence between kp: p

to split	kpat <u>fi</u>	puko	kpat <u>fi</u>	kpaki <u>i</u>	pat <u>fi</u>	pat <u>fi</u>	pai	pai
knot	kp <u>o</u> ke	p <u>o</u> ko	kp <u>o</u> le	kp <u>o</u> le	p <u>o</u> le	p <u>u</u> re	p <u>o</u>	p <u>o</u> w

6. Correspondence between l:n before nasalised vowels

English	Nzema	Ahanta	Anyi	Baule	Aowin	Sehwi	Asante	Ajuapem/Fante
bird	alūma	alūma	anūma	anūma	anūma	anūma	anūmaa	anūma
mouth	siūalo	-	nūā	nūā	nūā	anūā	anūū	anū

7. Correspondence between k: tʃ: ∅

to split	kpatʃi	puko	kpatʃi	kpatʃi/ kpaki	patʃi	patʃi	pai	pai
to open	buke	buke	buke	-	butʃe	butʃe	bue	bue/bwei
to spoil	setʃi/ seki	sika	satʃi	-	setʃi	setʃi	sei	sei

8. Correspondence between presence or absence of nominal suffixes

water	nzule	nzuro	nzue	nzue	nzue	nzue	nsuo	nsu
breast	nyofule	avuno	nufre	nufre	nyofue	nyofuni	nufuo	nufu
ear	enzūle	azūli	-	anzue	anzue	asuwe	asūū	asu (wa)

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