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Effects of morphological processes in the nativisation of loanwords in Anufo: A linguistic analysis

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Abstract

This study sought to investigate the morphological processes that affect loanwords in Anufo. It further established that Anufo has historically and socially heavily borrowed words from the three main languages, English, Likpakpaln and Akan, to fill lexical gaps. Apart from nouns, the main types of words that are borrowed into Anufo are adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and conjunctions. Phonologically, it came out that Anufo has twenty-seven consonant sounds while English has twenty-four. This study is distinct from others because it looks at loanwords from three different languages: English, Likpakpaln and Twi. Borrowing in Anufo is distinct from other Ghanaian languages such as Likpakpaln. This is because Likpakpaln has closed syllable types like that of English language. Anufo syllables are of the open type therefore, when the borrowed word has a closed syllable, it must be repaired to be nativized. The study contributes greatly to the literature of loanwords because it has been realized that no vowel apart from /a/ can occur at word initial position of Anufo. So, when a borrowed word into Anufo has a vowel other than /a/ at its initial position needs to go through some repair strategies for such a word to be nativised. A semantic and a comparative study of loanwords are recommended to find out differences and similarities of loanword adaptation strategies in the Ghanaian languages.

Keywords: Akan, Anufo, morphological, Likpakpaln, loanword, syllable

Public Interest Statement

The study tries to look at morphological analysis of loanwords in Africa. Anufo as a language has not seen any publication in any aspect of it being syntax, semantics, culture, phonology or even the present work, morphology. Readers, the academic community and speakers of Anufo in General will find this paper interesting and beneficial because the study will serve as a resource or reference material for researchers and readers alike.

1.0 Introduction

The Anufo can trace their ancestry back to what they call Anou or Ano, a region in present-day Cote d'Ivoire. "People of Anu" is the way they refer to themselves and their language. Mande horsemen and their Malams from the north, as well as Akan peoples from the east, came together in migrations that took place in the early 17th century. They merged with the indigenous Ndenyi people to form a single ethnic group with a mixed linguistic and cultural heritage. Some mercenaries fled Ano in the mid-1700s to help the Gonja and Mamprusi chiefs in what is now Ghana. The group was made up of Mande horses, Akan foot warriors brandishing muskets, and a few Muslim amulet manufacturers (Kirby, 1986, p.34). Nobles, commoners, and Muslims were the three estates that formed the foundation of society. At some point during this conflict, the ragtag army camped on the banks of the Oti river, which is now the site of the modern town of Mango in Togo. Because they were mercenaries rather than farmers, they subsisted by launching raids on the settlements that farmed in the surrounding area. Thus, they were able to acquire wives and slaves in addition to food and livestock. Assimilation occurred because of people migrating to nearby farming towns and eventually settling there.

The Anufo people of Ghana today live in the north-eastern region of the country's savannah grassland. Farmers make their living despite the bad soil. Many chores between men and women still necessitate communal work. The local markets have a six-day rotation and are a hub of social and economic activity for the community. People bring their local food to sell so that they can buy soup ingredients or bicycle parts, for example (young men). It's a patriarchal society, as the name implies. Anufo has adopted a significant number of vocabularies from the Guru (Mmabia) language, Likpakpal (Komkomba), in addition to borrowing heavily from English. Language contact shaped this development. It's been a long time since Anufo has had any sort of communication with Likpakpaln. Anufo's capital is Cheriponi, whereas Komkombas' is Saboba (Bikpakpam). Before it was divided into two districts, these two language groups lived in Saboba-Cheriponi District, which had a single administrative district. Now, the two language families are separated geographically into the northern and northeastern regions.

The next language from which some of Anufo's vocabulary elements have been borrowed is Akan. The Akan, the largest ethnic group in Ghana and Ivory Coast and a part of the Tano language family, includes Fante, Akuapem, Asante, Bron, Wasa, Agona, Akyem, Kwahu, and others (Stewart, 1966). One of the commonest ways of deriving new words in Anufo is through borrowing. It means that through the process of loaning (Yule, 2010), Anufo gets new words from other languages. When words are borrowed into Anufo, they are nativized so that they sound more like Anufo than the language from which they were borrowed.

In nativizing the borrowed words, several phonological processes occur. The difference between borrowing and loaning is that borrowing is a word which was not part of the language's vocabulary but has been taken from a language and has become part of the vocabulary of the language that borrowed it, but loaning is a way the language picks words from other languages and adds them to its vocabulary (Yule, 1996, p. 65). These loanwords have permeated Anufo to the point where the language (Anufo) is morphing into a hybrid language. While little is known about Anufo in terms of the Ghana Institute of Linguistics and Bible Translation's (GILBT) translation of the New Testament from English to Anufo, nothing has been done on loanwords in the context of our Ghanaian languages.

However, there is no recorded work on loanwords in Anufo. The purpose of this study is to ascertain morphological processes that affect loanwords in Anufo that are borrowed from both European and African languages, particularly English and other local Ghanaian languages.

2.0 Methodology

This study takes a qualitative approach and employs a case study design. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) assert that ‘qualitative research is multimethod in nature and is characterised by an urgent, naturalistic approach to its subject matter.’ A case study is a comprehensive examination of one or more events, places, programmes, organisations, or individuals. The study enrolled a total of thirty individuals. The study enrolled 15 females and 15 guys. The gender balance is necessary since men and women, educated and uneducated, do not have the same social interests, and so their views and speech features may differ. The non-random sampling strategy was employed with convenient sampling. Thirty (30) individuals were chosen to participate in the focus group discussion and interviews. Subjects were chosen from Kpelema, Kwame Akura, and Nwane in Ghana’s Oti Region’s Krachi East Municipality. There were also monolinguals and bilinguals among the thirty.

3.0 Result and Discussion

3.1 Morphological Processes that affect loanwords in Anufo

For us to understand and follow the discussion on morphological processes in Anufo loanwords, there is the need to briefly introduce the morphology of the language.

There are phonological and morphological processes that affect loanwords. Some of the morphological processes that affect loanwords in Anufo are affixation and compounding. These processes are what are to be discussed here.

3.2 Affixation in Anufo

In discussing the morphological adaptation of loanwords from other languages especially English Loanwords in Anufo there is the need to discuss affixes briefly. In Anufo, there are three types of affixes: prefix, suffix and circumfix. This section discusses the affixes of Anufo that operate with loanwords. The suffix and the circumfix /m/ and /n/ in Anufo indicate plurality. Below are examples of affixes in Anufo.

3.3 Prefixes in Anufo

Some examples of prefixes are {maa-}, {ma-}, {se-}, {bɛ-}, {n-}, {a-}. These are found in the language as discussed in the following data. The prefix {maa-} gives the indication of negation which means ‘do not’. In a simple negative imperative clause (addressed to a singular person), the negative morpheme is realized as a prefix {maa-}, as in (1 a-b), but is realized as suffix with a short vowel, {-ma}, as in (2 c-d), when used in a simple negative declarative clause. The /-m/ shows plurality in Anufo. The {se-} is a progressive marker while {bɛ-} is a future marker like {I-} is. The homorganic nasal {N-} is a plural marker. The {a-} is a nominalizer of some words from other word classes.

Example 1. Prefix in Anufo

a. maa- + kɔ	maakɔ	‘do not go’
b. maa- + di	maadi	‘don’t eat’
c. m- + gbɛfɛnɛ	mgbɛfɛnɛm	‘boys’
d. n- + sunguru	nsungurum	‘girls’
e. be- + gɔ ‘to dance’	begɔ	‘they will dance’
f. I- + dɔ ‘to weed’	Idɔ	‘she/he will weed’
g. a- + gya ‘to marry’	agyyaa	‘marriage’

The suffixes used in Anufo include {-ma}, {-m}, {-li}, {-fɔm}, {-nie}, and {-a} and these are shown in words in example 2 below.

Example 2. Suffixes in Anufo

- a. nkɔ + ma ‘negation’ nkɔma ‘I won’t go’
- b. nto + ma ‘negation’ ntoma ‘I won’t buy’
- c. bakaa + m ‘plural’ bakaam ‘trees’
- d. sɔɔ + m ‘plural’ sɔɔm ‘rooms’
- e. ndi + li ‘past’ ndiili ‘I ate’
- f. adi + li ‘past’ adiili ‘did you eat?’
- g. awuru + fɔm ‘plural’ awurufɔm ‘house people’
- h. akara + fɔm ‘plural’ akarafɔm ‘Accra people’
- i. nasara + -nie ‘singular’ nasaranie ‘white man’
- j. anufo + nie ‘singular’ anufonie ‘an Anufo’

3.4 Inflectional morphemes in Anufo

Inflectional affixes are morphemes that signal grammatical relationships as plural, tense and possession and do not change the grammatical class or meaning of the stem to which they are attached. In Anufo, the different forms of the word for ‘talk’, are /dʒudʒɔ/, /se dʒudʒɔ/, /dʒudʒɔli/ representing the simple present, progressive, and the past forms which are respectively marked by the affixes {se-}, and {-li}. The plural morpheme in Anufo is either a suffix {-m}, as seen in example (3) below, or a circumfix {m-/n-...-m}, as seen in example (4) below.

Example 3.

- a. tʃaa + -m → tʃaam ‘dogs’
- b. duwa + -m → duwam ‘mortars’
- c. bakaa + -m → bakaam ‘trees’

Example 4.

- a. m- + buke + -m → mbukem ‘old ladies’
- b. m- + buɛ + -m → mbuɛm ‘sheep (pl)’
- c. m- + gbɛfɛnɛ + -m → mgbɛfɛnɛm ‘boys’
- d. m- + betema + -m → mbetemam ‘children’
- e. m- + pafɔ + -m → mpafɔm ‘labourers’
- f. n- + sunguru + -m → nsungurum ‘girls’

The two allomorphs are used in the environment of the first sound of the word either a bilabial, or an alveolar. It is the first sound that determines the allomorph to be used. Table 5 presents loanwords which are made plural in Anufo by attaching the plural morpheme marker [-m] to the noun. These words do not have singular markers that have to be replaced by the plural markers, the plural markers are added to the loanwords.

Table 5: The suffix {-m}

Noun in Anufo	Affix	Words	English Meaning
looli	- m	loolim	lorries
pirishi	- m	mpirishim	police
kaade	- m	kaadem	cards

buuku	- m	buukum	books
jikuu	- m	jikulim	schools
tikiti	- m	tikitim	tickets
sooja	- m	nsoodzam	soldiers

To pluralise a word in Anufo one needs to add the plural morpheme (suffix) marker /-m / to the word. Words on the first column of Table 5 are all singular nouns and the plural morpheme /-m / is added to them for their plurals to be realized. However, there are other nouns in Anufo which need a prefix and a suffix plural morpheme (circumfix) to make them plurals. These ways of pluralizing words in Anufo apply to English loanwords too. All the words on Table 5 with the exception of [priʃi] and [sodza] are made plurals by attaching the plural morpheme /-m / to them. The loanwords [priʃi] and [sodza] need the plural prefix /m- / and the plural suffix /-m / (circumfix) for their plurality to be realized. In Table 6 below examples 4 and 5, the suffix {-fɔ} is an agentive marker so when the morpheme {-fɔ} is added to **buka** ‘help’, an agentive nominal **buka-fɔ** ‘helper’ is derived. When {-fɔ} alone is used as the suffix attached to the noun it makes the noun singular. Example 16 below gives a set of words in which {fɔ} is used as an agentive nominal.

Example 4

- a. **buka** ‘help’ + {-fɔ} → **bukafɔ** ‘a helper’
- b. **adzaa** ‘marriage’ + {-fɔ} → **adzaafɔ** ‘a married person’
- c. **ngua** ‘money’ + {-fɔ} → **nguafɔ** ‘rich person’
- d. **kɔrɔmɔɔ** ‘gossip’ + {-fɔ} → **kɔrɔmɔɔfɔ** ‘gossiper’
- e. **dwɛrɛ** ‘issue’ + {-fɔ} → **dwɛrɛfɔ** ‘case owner’
- f. **naani** ‘cattle’ + {-fɔ} → **naanifɔ** ‘cattle owner’

In the examples 16 (a-f) given in Anufo words, the syllable [fɔ] is an agentive marker that is first attached to the stem which is neuter to make it singular. Just like any other noun in Anufo, if one wants to pluralize a noun like **buka-fɔ** you just attach the regular suffix **-m** to it to derive **buka-fɔm** ‘helpers’. Example 6 gives a set of words in which **-m** is used as a plural marker.

Example 5

- a. **buka** ‘help’ + {-fɔ} → **bukafɔ** ‘helper’ + -m → **bukafɔm** ‘helpers’
- b. **adzaa** ‘marriage’ + {-fɔ} → **adzaafɔ** ‘a married person’ + -m → **adzaafɔm** ‘a couple’
- c. **ngua** ‘money’ + {-fɔ} → **nguafɔ** ‘rich person’ + -m → **nguafɔm** ‘rich persons’
- d. **kɔrɔmɔɔ** ‘gossip’ + {-fɔ} → **kɔrɔmɔɔfɔ** ‘gossiper’ + -m → **kɔrɔmɔɔfɔm** ‘gossipers’
- e. **dwɛrɛ** ‘issue’ + {-fɔ} → **dwɛrɛfɔ** ‘issue owner’ + -m → **dwɛrɛfɔm** ‘issue owners’
- f. **naani** ‘cattle’ + {-fɔ} → **naanifɔ** ‘cattle owner’ + -m → **naanifɔm** ‘cattle owners’

Table 6. Agentive marker /- fɔ /

ANUFO	AFFIX	WORD	MEANING
buka	- fɔ	bukafɔ	a helper
adzaa	- fɔ	adzaafɔ	a couple
kɔrɔmɔɔ	- fɔ	kɔrɔmɔɔfɔ	a gossip
nani	- fɔ	nanifɔ	cattle owner

On Table 6 the suffix /-fɔ / is added to the words buka ‘help’, adzaa ‘marriage, kərəmɔtɔ ‘gossiping’ and nani ‘cattle’ for their agentive nominals bukafɔ, ‘helper’, adzaafɔ ‘married couple’, kərəmɔtɔfɔ ‘a gossip’ and nanifɔ ‘a cattle owner’ to be realized. Leiber (2010) indicates that, prefixes and suffixes usually have special requirements for the sort of bases they can attach to. Some of these requirements concern the phonology (sounds) of their bases and others concern the semantics (meaning) of their bases. Some of the semantic roles encoded in the noun phrase by the attachment of this -fɔ affix include Agentive nouns, Patience nouns, Nationality or Provenance nouns and Profession nouns. Anufo, the target language which borrows words from other source languages has no overt morpheme for marking singular for most of its words. Singular is implied in the bare form of the noun. This is attested to in the Anufo words: **yɛbɔɛ** ‘stone’, **bakaa** ‘tree’, **ʃiri** ‘goat’, **kpendzɛ** ‘guineafowl’ and **ayaba** ‘a bowl’. These nouns are in their bare forms so it implies that they are in the singular. Some of the nouns as the above ones do not need the morpheme[-fɔ] before the plural morpheme/-m/ is attached to make them plural.

Table 7: the suffix - fɔ and – m

Anufo	Affix	Word	English Meaning	Affix	Word	English meaning
adzaa	- fɔ	adzaafɔ	a married person	- m	adzafɔm	a couple
Loori	- fɔ	loorifɔ	lorry owner	- m	loorifɔm	lorry owners
dʒɔdʒɔli	- fɔ	dʒɔdʒɔlifɔ	Talkative	- m	dʒɔdʒɔlifɔm	talkatives

The suffix /nɪɛ/ is an/a identity/membership singular morpheme which can be attached to only a nationality or a provenance noun and a few profession nouns like [sodʒa] ‘soldier’ and [priʃi] ‘police’. In table 26 the suffix /- m/ is attached to nouns for us to see how it works as a plural morpheme (marker). These are some Anufo examples.

Example 6

- a. **Yurɔbanɪɛ** + {-plural} → **Yurɔbam** (Yurobas)
- b. **Kurɔbɔnɪɛ** + {-plural} → **Kurɔbɔm** (Kurobos)
- c. **Ahɛnɪɛ** + {-plural} → **Ahɛm** (Akans)
- d. **Kotokolinɪɛ** + {-plural} → **Kotokolim** (Kotokolis)

In the example 7 (a-d) given in Anufo words, the final syllable in the Anufo words, /nɪɛ/ is the singular marker and so for the words to take on a plural marker the words have to lose this singular suffix /nɪɛ/ to take on the plural suffix /m/. On table 8 it would be noticed that the singular suffix /nɪɛ / is always elided, the remaining part of the word is the stem of the word. The part of the word that is elided is the singular morpheme marker in the word, just as occurs in a prototypical Anufo noun. On the table, the singular morpheme /nɪɛ/ can only be attached to a nationality or a provenance noun to indicate a member of that nation or province but not to be attached to any other noun.

Table 8. The suffix /-nɪɛ/ + {plural}

Anufo	Affix	Word	English Language
Ayigbenɪɛ	- m	Ayigbem	Ayigbes (Ewes)
Nganganiɛ	m	Dgangam	Konkombas
Gurumanɪɛ	- m	Dgurumam	Gurumas
Fantenɪɛ	- m	Mfantem	Fantes
Dagbanɪɛ	- m	Ndagbam	Dagombas
Karachiniɛ	- m	Karachim	Krachis

In Table 8 it could be seen that for the words in the first column of the table to be pluralized the singular morpheme /-niɛ / needs to be elided for the plural morpheme /-m / is then attached to the stem for the plural to be formed. In table 28 the various loan verbs have the suffixes that are attached to them as in the case of Anufo words. In the table the stems of the words are attached and the affixes are added to them to reflect the tenses required. From the data one could predict the affix that can go with the stem depending on the tense you want. The verbal affix (-li) is a past tense marker in Anufo while the verbal affixes (a-) and (si-) are aspectuals in the language.

Table 9. These Anufo verbal affixes (- li, a-, si-)

Anufo	Affix	Word	English Meaning
sendi	-li	sendili	send (past)
kaati	-li	kaatili	cut (past)
fɔɔsi	-li	fɔɔsili	force (past)
juusi	li -	juusili	use (past)
fɔɔsi	si -	sifɔɔsi	force (progressive)
Juusi	si -	sijuusi	use (progressive)
sendi	si -	sisendi	send (progressive)
girisi	si -	sigirisi	grease (progressive)
kaati	si -	sikaati	cut (progressive)
tʃaadzi	si-	sitʃaadzi	charge (progressive)
Kaati	a-	akaati	cut (perfect)
sendi	a-	asendi	send (perfect)
Girisi	a-	agirisi	grease (perfect)

3.5 Derivational Suffixes

Derivational affixes are so called because they are used to derive new words from already existing words or morphemes. The affix used for derivation in Anufo that are applicable to English loanwords is {-fɔ}. For the English loanwords it is only verbs that are applicable in derivational process in Anufo. Other word classes aside verbs are ‘difficult’ and cannot be derived. These are examples of Anufo words with their derivational affixes.

Example 7.

Verb		Noun
a. dweredi ‘singing’	+ - fɔ	→ dweredifɔ (noun) (singer / composer)
b. gɔdi ‘marketing’	+ - fɔ	→ gɔdifɔ (marketer)
c. sɔta ‘to build’	+ - fɔ	→ sɔtafɔ (builder)
d. bisa ‘to ask)’	+ - fɔ	→ bisafɔ (questioner)
e. tuntutu ‘to cure’	+ - fɔ	→ tuntufɔ (curer)
f. buka ‘to help’	+ - fɔ	→ bukafɔ (helper)
g. dʒudʒɔ ‘to talk’	+ - fɔ	→ dʒudʒɔfɔ (talkative)
ɲmati ‘to run’	+ - fɔ	→ ɲmatifɔ (runner)
h. kara ‘to write’	+ - fɔ	→ karafɔ (a student)

Table 9 gives examples of derivational suffixes -fɔ for nominalization. In the table, affixes are added to the verbs nominalizing them in Anufo.

Example 8

a. **Bɔli paasifo ne hyi bɔli paasi**
 Ball pass AGENT DET know ball passing

‘The passer of the ball knows how to pass it.’

b. **Foni kɔlifɔ ne hyi foni kɔ-li**
 Phone caller DET know phone call-NOML

‘The phone caller knows phone calling/dialing.’

c. **Konkiriti misifo ne hyi mi-si**
 Concrete mix- AGENT DET know mix- NOML

‘The one who mixes the concrete knows mixing.’

c. **Opirehyinfo ne hyi opirehyin yo**
 Operation AGENT DET know operation do

‘The surgeon knows how to do operation.’

d. **Kireditifo ne hyi kirideti sɛn-di**
 Kirediti AGENT DET know credit send-NOML

‘The credit owner knows how to send credit.’

e. **Dwere rapufɔ ne rapu nyaama**
 Song rapper DET rap well

‘The song rapper knows rapping.’

f. **Dwere lankyifo ne a lankyi dwere fɔfɔɛ**
 Song launcher DET PERF launch song new

‘The song launcher has launched a new song.’

g. **Sunguru kɔli katefɔ ne a kaate kɔli ne**
 Girl call cutter DET PERF cut call DET

‘The girl who cuts calls has cut the call.’

Table 10. Derivational affix /-fɔ/ for nominalizing English loaned verbs

Anufo	Affix	Word	English Meaning
paasi (verb)	-fɔ	paasifo (noun)	the one who passes
kɔli (verb)	-fɔ	kɔlifɔ (noun)	the one who calls
mi (verb)	-fɔ	misifo (noun)	the one who mixes
pɔmpi (verb)	-fɔ	pɔmpifo (noun)	the one who pumps
juusi (verb)	-fɔ	juusifo (noun)	the one who uses
launkyi (verb)	-fɔ	launkyifo (noun)	the one who launches
rapu (verb)	-fɔ	rapufɔ (noun)	the one who raps
kaate (verb)	-fɔ	Kaatefɔ (noun)	the one who cuts

3.6 Compounding

The other aspect of the morphological analysis discussed in the area of loanword is compounding. The word ‘compounding’ is the combination of two or more free morphemes to form one new word. This process is also known as derivational since new words are formed and new meanings are given (Thakur, 2010). Below are examples of compounds in Anufo.

Example 9

- a. **bara** (lady) + **buke** (old) = **barabuke** (oldlady)
- b. **awuru** (house) + **dwɛɛ** (issue) = **awurudwɛɛ** (house issue)
- c. **nani** (cattle) + **gbandi** (skin) = **nangbandi** (cattle skin)

d. dzara (lion)	+	bui (claws)	dzarabui (mahogany)
e. angoro (sky)	+	le (canoe)	angorole (aeroplane)
f. sara (moon)	+	mbam (children)	asarambam (stars)

This discussion is on compounding involving English loanwords only and Loanwords + Anufo words.

3.7 The Use of English loanwords only

Under this heading nouns are looked at as how they combine with other nouns to form entire new words. This is N+N compounds in English loanwords in Anufo. In Table 10 there are examples of loan compounds in Anufo. In the data complete words are put together during compounding of words. In Anufo words this process occurs; that is loan nouns compounding. These types of compounds involve only English loan nouns.

Table 11. Loan Noun +Noun Compounding

NOUN	NOUN	COMPOUND	ENGLISH
banki	manidza	bankimanidza	bank manger
Loori	meeti	lorimeeti	driver’s mate
Loori	kaba	loorikaba	lorry tyre/ cover
Tii	kapu	tikapu	tea cup
paasindza	Loori	paasindzaloori	passenger lorry
fimiti	bobko	fimitibuloku	cement block
fikuri	redzisa	fikuriredzisa	school register
Latiriki	babab	latirikibabab	electric bulb

The data in Table 11 are words that are borrowed from English only to form compounds that give different meanings from their individual words. The two loanword-compounds are all nouns that are combined to form new words. These loanwords are mostly words that do not have their counterparts in Anufo. This way of forming new words is one of the commonest ways of word formation processes in Anufo.

English loans and Anufo words combined

In Table 12 examples of loanwords being compounded with Anufo words, the loanwords serve as the stems of the new words. These types of compounds are written as one word in Anufo but it is written either as a hyphenated word or two separate words.

Table 12. English-Anufo compound

LOANWORD	ANUFO WORD	COMPOUND	ENGLISH MEANING
tii ‘tea’	+ kpɔnɔ ‘bread’	tikpɔnɔ	tea bread
titfa ‘teacher’	+ bara ‘woman’	titfabara	lady teacher
turɔku ‘truck’	+ kaba ‘tyre/cover’	turɔku kaba	truck cover/tyre
tii ‘tea’	+ fiɛ ‘pot’	tifiɛ	tea pot
tii ‘tea’	+ nzue ‘water’	Tinzue	tea water
sini ‘cinema’	+ sɔrɔ ‘room’	sinisɔ	cinema / cinema hall

Table 12 gives examples of compounds which have Anufo words being the modifying component of

the compound (i.e the loan nouns always come before the Anufo words) The resultant words give us new words and new meanings as well. This type of compounding (loanword+ Anufo word) is done to show that the modifiers are lexical items that exist in Anufo and therefore are combined with the loanwords to express some concepts in Anufo.

Table 13: Anufo Noun and Loan Noun Compounds

These types of compounds Anufo nouns come before loan nouns, the loan nouns serve as modifiers to the Anufo nouns. The compounds formed are nouns rather than nouns and their modifiers.

Table 13. Anufo Noun and Loan Noun Compounds

ANUFO	LOAN WORD	COMPOUND	ENGLISH
bara ‘lady’	+ dɔɔtɛ ‘doctor’	baradɔɔtɛ	‘lady doctor’
nzuebiɛ ‘bathing’	+ lɔɔba ‘rubber’	nzuebiɛlɔɔba	‘bathing rubber’

The data in Table 13 above are compounds that are formed with native. Anufo words and borrowed words. The Anufo words combine with the words that are borrowed from English to form new words. The Anufo words come first to the borrowed words in the compounds. These kinds of compounding are done to create new words hitherto do not exist in the vocabulary of the language (Anufo).

3.8 Compounds made with English Nouns and Anufo Adjectives

Here are some of loanwords forming compounds with Anufo adjectives. The new words formed become nouns. It is noted that the inflectional affixes were more than the derivational ones that would be attached to the words. In the area of compounding, it was observed that noun + noun combination was more common than other types of combinations. The combination of the two words are compounds because Thakur (2010) describes compounds as “the combination of two or more free morphemes to form one new word.”

Table 14. Nouns and Adjectives Compounds

LOAN NOUN	ADJECTIVE	COMPOUND	ENGLISH
tarata ‘tractor’	+ dawa ‘old’	Taratadawa	old tractor
tʃitʃa ‘teacher’	+ kpiɛ ‘older’	tʃitʃakpiɛ	senior teacher
loori ‘lorry’	+ fɔfɔɛ ‘new’	loorifɔfɔɛ	new lorry
fukuri ‘school’	+ dawa ‘old’	fukuridawa	old school
firiba ‘silver’	+ kãã ‘small’	firibakãã	small silver

English loan nouns and Anufo adjectives compounds and affixation (that is prefix, suffix and circumfix) were the morphological aspect of borrowing that were looked at.

3.9 Other features of loanwords

Some interesting phenomena in loanwords that are observed in English-Anufo loanwords are semantic/pragmatic features. Some of these English loanwords assume additional meanings of their original words.

3.9.1 Extension of Meaning of Loanwords

Some English loanwords in Anufo assume additional meanings in the recipient language (Anufo). The discussion in Table 14 are examples of such loanwords that have meaning extensions. Native speakers of Anufo extend the meaning of certain English loanwords.

Table 15: Extension of Meaning of Loanwords

ENGLISH WORD	ANUFO WORD	EXTENDED MEANING
Doctor	dɔɔtɛ	an institution / a health facility (hospital)
Tailor	Teela	a sewing machine, seamstress.
Dance	Danse	an instrument/ensembles for spinning
cold store	koosutɔɔ	a deep freezer(s)
Referee	Lafiri	a whistle
nankwasi	nankɔsɪ	a butcher

For instance, the word ‘**dɔɔtɛ**’ which means doctor, a person who practices medicine as their profession assumes additional meaning, a health facility (an institution) where medical practitioners pride their trade. An utterance by participant F.A:

11. **Dambai fɛ yɛlama dɔɔtɛ bambaka bo sɔnɔ da tikpaki kekere na afa yi kɔ. Nka afa imi kɔ dɔɔtɛ bambaka nu ɔ. Bafama imi akɔma Worawora de nka Nkwanta a.**

‘We don’t have a bigger hospital here in Dambai. If somebody falls sick seriously, they have to send the person to a bigger hospital, they will either send the person to Worawora or Nkwanta’.

The word **teela** ‘tailor’ which means a male person whose occupation is making clothing or other items for people now has an extension of meaning referring to **sewing machine** and **females who sew cloths or garments (a seamstress)**. An utterance by participant M.W:

12. **Anoma nkɔɔli gɔ ne ye ntooli teela mbaa la. Kesa teelam gɔ ayo kekere atara dawa ni.** ‘It was yesterday when I went to the market that I bought the sewing machine. This time prices of sewing machines have gone up.’

A word that was also captured in my recordings’ during observation is **danse** ‘dance’. This word is either a verb or a noun. The **instruments /ensembles** use to perform a dance (an ensemble) now assumes additional meaning. An utterance by participant B.B:

13. **Barabuke nshie yooli flɛ ka dekebe ɔ. Iwa nla ngua ka mva ɔ. Nza kaakili nzue dɔ a. Danse bo iwa mfa baali ne n-nya ηuma be. Nzɛ danse nsibo ɔ na sɔnɔ dwodwɔ wo be muɔ ɔ atima ku.** ‘The old lady’s funeral was very interesting. Her son has money like something. Drinks became like water over there. The dance they brought I’ve never seen some of its kind.’

The word **koosutɔɔ** ‘coldstore’ a large, refrigerated room for preserving food at very low temperatures has assume the meaning of one of the items that are frozen in this facility; that is either fish or meat. It is not uncommon to hear people making statements like I’m going to buy ‘coldstore’ to prepare my soup. The utterance below is from participant C.S:

14. **Ahini lenyɔ nnu akɔ nzuɛnɔ muɔ ɔ anyama dzombaa na ato. Iyo sɔ ɔ koosutɔɔ ye yeto to toro a.**

‘These days when you go to the lakeside/riverside you won’t even get fish to buy. It is the frozen fish/meat that we buy to prepare our soup.’

Another interesting word you hear from people especially the youth is **lafiri** ‘referee.’ This word came up during one of the focus group discussions around the issues of soccer when I went round

to collect data for this project. A participant S.R:

15. **Nlafiri ne amini. Maniniε aniniε afie, maŋu mε. Nziε makalima be ɔ, Mɔnεkyiε nnyama be na mfa di yε maakye ne.**

‘My whistle is missing. I’ve searched, searched, and got tired, I didn’t see it. If I don’t send for one, I can’t get any for our match on Sunday.’

. There was this Akan (Twi) word which came from a contributor of our focus group discussion sessions. The word is **nankwase** ‘a butcher’. The utterance below is from participant M.S:

16. **Nshibeε bara mbaale anoma nasɔ. Manyama akɔ aku ama mε. Nkɔ kutooli nankɔse beyooli toro maali a.**

‘My mother in-law came yesterday in the evening. I couldn’t get a fowl to kill for her.

I therefore went and bought meat from the butchery to prepare soup for her’.

There may be varied reasons that can be accounted for the meaning extensions of loanwords. One of the reasons is that most of the words whose meaning are extended were/are not in Anufo and so the speakers use the superordinates of those words as the words themselves. Another reason is that the speakers misconstrue the meaning of the loanwords. They use the ‘container’ for ‘what is in the container’. An example is ‘cold store’ for chicken/beef hence their meaning extension.

4.0 Findings and Conclusion

4.1 Morphological processes that affect loanwords in Anufo

At morphological level discussion of loanwords, the affix /- m / which is a plural marker in Anufo is attached to loanwords to form the plurals. Affixes that showed the tenses of the few verbs were also noted. A few of the inflectional and derivational affixes could be attached to the loanwords. Word compounding was also dealt with under the morphological aspect. It was noted that there was noun + noun combination that was combination of English loanwords and Anufo indigenous words. It was noted that in compounding of loan + loan the process of elision of sounds and syllables did not occur but in the combination of Anufo word + loanword, elision occurred in some cases. Language teachers should be mindful of loanwords found within students’ native languages and seek to apply this in the learning process for positive transfer. Focus on implementing loanword approach should turn to investigating the efficacy behind the deployment of the approach coupled with a multimedia-based curriculum. There are some morphological processes that affect loanwords in Anufo. Loanwords in Anufo must go through some morphological processes before they are nativised because morphemes have their specific place of attachment; that is either as a prefix, a suffix or a circumfix. So, when a word is borrowed into Anufo it must be conformed to Anufo language system.

4.2 Semantic/Pragmatic Findings

At semantic/pragmatic level discussion of loanwords, some English and Akan (Twi) loanwords assume additional meanings in their usage in daily conversations. The loanwords get meanings other than their denotational meanings. Loanwords such as dɔɔte ‘doctor’, teela ‘tailor’, danse ‘dance’, koosutɔɔ ‘cold store’ and lafiri ‘referee’ are English loanwords that assume additional meanings. Akan (Twi) loanwords that also have meaning extension is **nankwase** ‘butcher’. The word nankwase which means ‘a butcher’ in Twi has now assume the meaning of meat that is sold by a butcher by speakers of Anufo.

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