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A Morphosyntactic Analysis of Some Fante Habitation Names (econym)

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Abstract

This paper is a toponomastic study of some Fante habitation names from a morphosyntactic perspective. Names are given in particular languages whose morphology, syntax and semantics inform their meaning to a great extent (Batoma, 2006). This implies that understanding place (habitation) names hinges on taking a critical look at the internal structure of the word(s) and the syntactic structure that constitute the name besides sociolinguistics, sociocultural and ethno-linguistics domains. The paper investigates the morphological and syntactic structure of about one hundred and fifty (150) Fante habitation (towns/villages) names. It discusses the typology of Fante habitation names under two broad areas; morphological analysis and syntactic analysis. The morphological analysis revealed that some Fante habitation names can be single stems, compounds, inflections (affixation), and reduplication. The study also found that Fante habitation names at sentential level can function as statements, interrogatives or imperatives, while they can be structurally simple, compound, or complex sentence. The habitation names for this study were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The researcher also supported this approach with semi-structured interviews to ascertain the complete structure of the names since some might have been written wrongly or might have undergone some phonological processes.

Key words: Morphosyntactic Analysis, Fante, Habitation Names, Fante Econyms

1. Introduction

The interaction between the Fantes and the Europeans which dates back to the fifteenth century had immense influence on the former. The Portuguese were the first to come to the Gold Coast (now Ghana) in 1482 and operated from Elmina. They built their first castle Sao Jorge de Mina in 1482 (Buah, 1980). Since then the other Europeans like the British, Danes, Dutch, and Swedes followed. The interaction between the Fantes and the Europeans had political, economic, social and linguistic influence on the Fantes. Linguistically, the Europeans introduced their languages to Ghana. Most important was the use of English which has now become the “unofficial” official language of Ghana. Their presence did not only influence our indigenous languages but the names of settlements along the coast. They bestowed names to some Fante settlements along the coast. For example, Edina/Elmina was traditionally called Enu Ansa but this name is missing for good and only found in the history books. It is no more in use. In the same way, Nsadwer is now commonly known as Dutch Komenda (or Kanka as the locals called the Dutch settlers). Others are Simpa (Winneba), Oguaa (Cape Coast), Akyemfo (Saltpond), Mowure (Moree), Esemma (Shama) and Dwɔma (Manford). Besides, their settlements (the castles/forts) also gave rise to names of some Fante settlements e.g. Abanadze (beneath the castle). In addition, the contact with the Europeans, especially the British resulted in the adulteration or wrong spelling of the names of some settlements. For example, *Effutuakwa* and *Ekurabaadze* were written as *Afootooaequar* and *Aikrobardzie* in 1891 respectively (Sanders, 1985), *Tekyiman* as *Techiman* and *Akyeso* as *Ochiso*. Though some of the names have been corrected, others still maintain the old names as they were written by the British. This phenomenon presents difficulty to the study of habitation names. As Batoma (2006) puts it, the unclear nature of language used in the formation of place names sometimes present problems to their interpretation.

Names are given in particular languages whose morphology, syntax and semantics inform their meaning to a great extent (Batoma, 2006). This implies that understanding place names (habitation names) hinges on taking a critical look at the internal structure of the word(s) and the syntactic structure that constitute the name besides sociolinguistics, sociocultural, historical and ethno-linguistics domains. The study of habitation names is essential in understanding the past of a people or a nation. The study of place names (of which habitation names is part) has a distinguished past in linguistic, archeological and historical research. Other disciplines like ethnologist, philologist and archeologist, historians, and mythologist make use of place names to make sense of them.

The study of place names is termed toponym. Toponymic research contributes greatly to the understanding of the history of a people. It reveals people’s identity, history, social and political relations. Toponym provides the most useful geographical reference system in the world. As a result consistency and accuracy is essential in referring to a place to prevent confusion. This makes this study very important because it is the first time Fante habitation names are been studied from a morphosyntactic perspective to put the names in the right perspective. It helps put the names in the right perspective since what we see written as

names of most towns/villages might have been adulterated by colonial influence and language contact. It also brings the indigenous names into focus since some colonial names bestowed on some communities have overshadowed the indigenous ones.

2. Purpose of the Study

This study involved the morphosyntactic analysis of some Fante habitation names. The purpose of this study was to specifically identify the morphological components of some Fante habitation names. The study also sought to find out the syntax of some Fante habitation names by function and by structure.

3. Research Questions

The main research questions addressed in this study were:

- What are the morphological components of some Fante habitation names?
- What are the syntactic functions and structures of some Fante habitation names?

4. The Fante People

Fante is a dialect of Akan spoken in Ghana. It belongs to the Kwa family of languages. According to Agyekum (2006), the Akans are the largest ethnic group in Ghana. Akan as a language is spoken by about 49.1% of the population of Ghana and about 44% speak the language as a second language. The Fantes, also known as Mfantsefo occupy the coastal region between the Gas of the greater Accra Region and the Nzemas of the Western Region of Ghana. It is spoken in the whole of the Central Region and part of the Western Region with a population of about 1,170,000 speakers. In the view of Abakah (2004), Fante has three main subdialects with Iguae dialect as the reference point. The other two sub-dialects are Anee and Boka to the west and east of Iguae respectively. Some Fante towns include Oguaa (Cape Coast), Akyemfo (Saltpond), Edina (Elmina), Yamoransa, Mankesem, Komantse, Otuum, Akaa, Dewurampɔn and Anomabo.

5. Theoretical Framework

This study is situated in the larger framework of onomastics, which is the study of names. There are two types of onomastics. These are toponym or toponomastics and anthroponomastics. Toponym is the study of place names while anthroponomastics concerns itself with the study of personal names. Onomastics has influenced the recovering and reconstruction of many heritages. For example, the study of African names and naming practices (which includes town names) has been crucial in recovering and reconstructing African heritage. In the words of Batoma (2006; p.2), "a major trend in African Studies today consists of using traces of African culture embedded in African names and naming practices to recover or reconstruct African heritage". The emphasis is placed on two categories of names; ethnonyms and toponyms. The study of names of people and ethnic groups is ethnonyms, while the study of names of places is toponyms. The two categories constitute two important subfields of African onomastics. Toponyms are important data source for research (e.g. historical) because of its durability and fixed nature. In the view of Batoma, this is the linguistic meaning of names, which is also referred to as literal or motivated meaning (Tent & Blair, 2011).

Toponyms (place names) can be classified into different forms. Flom, writing as far back in 1924 on *the study of place-names, with special reference to Norway*, classified place names into habitation names, culture names and nature names. He noted that habitation names also known as eonym include names of habited places which include dwellings, farmsteads, hamlets, villages, cities, parishes, townships, neighborhoods, regional names and names of countries. The culture-names include fields, parts of tilled areas, and grazing lands. It also includes roads, bridges, landing-places, fishing-places, dams, burial-places, play-grounds, etc. The third classification consists of topographical names, hills, mountains, rivers, brooks, lakes and others. In addition to this, place names can be grouped with reference to their formation which includes those of one word or element and those made up of two elements; compounds. This classification has linguistic underpinning. The type of classification crucial to this study is the one with linguistic orientation.

Besides, place names can also be put under two primary divisions; names of natural features and names of human settlement. This study concerns itself with eonym; the study of habitation/human settlement names among the Fantes. African ethnonymic and toponymic studies have concentrated mostly on historical, cultural, geographical, linguistic, archeological, political and sociolinguistic (Humphreys, 1993; Raper, 1998; Roden, 1974; Zwinoira, 1984; Yahyah & Feankl, 1997) but little attention is given to the morphosyntactic study of place names. This study therefore seeks to add another dimension to the study of place names by using a morphosyntactic approach to analyzing habitation names among the Fantes (a sub-ethnic group of the Akans). Though the study does not concern itself with the historical underpinnings of these settlements, the historical part was crucial in sometimes determining the morphological and syntactic structures of the settlements. The historical narrations behind some of the habitation names helped the researcher to determine their accurate morphological and syntactic structures. For example, the historical narration behind the establishment of *Techiman* is that it was a man called Takyi who established the settlement. This indicates that the name is wrongly written. Fantes do not have *ch* in their orthography but *ky*. In its present form, it is difficult to determine the morphological component of the word *Techiman* in Fante. Again, through historical narrations it was found that the town called *Asaasan* in the Edwumako Traditional area in the Central Region of Ghana was founded by two brothers; *Esar* and *Asan* (Esar - Asan) but has come to its present realization because of some phonological processes which will be discussed later.

6. Methodology

This is a qualitative study which involves the morphosyntactic analysis of Fante habitation/settlement names also known as eonym. Eonym is a branch of toponym which refers to names of towns or villages. The data for the study was collected from

both primary and secondary sources. The secondary sources include names collected from Fante cultural books and from maps of towns for the various districts in the Central Region and the Shama District Assembly of Ghana. One book which was very useful in this endeavor is *Yeehyahyia OO!* (Crayner, 1988), which contains many Fante habitation names. The primary data was collected by means of the researcher traveling to towns and villages to collect names. The researcher also interacted with the inhabitants to gather the story/history behind the establishment of the settlements. This was useful because it helped researcher to get the underlying morphological and syntactic structures of the habitation names since some of the names might have been misspelled or might have undergone some changes as a result of some phonological processes or the name might have been Anglicized. For example, *Okyeso and Tekyiman* and Anglicized as *Ochiso and Techiman* respectively. The interview with inhabitants of the towns/villages was essential because as Batoma (2006) and Tucker (1956) put it, lack of writing at the time of establishing some communities led to foreigners imposing their own orthography. For example, the settlement presently called *Sunkwa* (cry for health) is actually *Sonkwaa* (*son* – elephant and *kwaa* – forest) (elephant forest) according to the history of the community (Sanders, 1985). A person researching into place names relies on interviews with local residents to determine names with established local usage. In all, I purposively collected about 150 settlement names over a period of about three months. After collecting the names, I used inductive and creative synthesis approach to data analysis to categorize and code the habitation names under the right morphological and syntactic divisions.

7. Findings and Discussion

7.1. Typology of Fante Habitation Names

For effective typology of place names, Tent and Blair (2011) are of the opinion that it is essential to first distinguish between classification by specific and generic elements and the linguistic substance (i.e. morphology, syntax, and semantics) of a toponym and the mechanism that underlie the bestowal of the name. In this paper, the second classification is the crucial element. The paper analyzes Fante habitation names by looking at their morphological and syntactic components. The morphological component deals with the internal structure of the individual morphemes that constitute the name. This helped to identify the word formation processes involved. The syntactic component dealt with functional and structural nature of Fante habitation names at the sentential level. It indicates whether a particular habitation name is functionally a declarative, interrogative or imperative sentence or structurally a simple, compound or complex sentence. The following is the result of the data analyzed:

7.1.1. Morphological analysis of Fante habitation names

The habitation names were morphologically analyzed under the following components: single root morphemes, compounds, and inflectionals.

7.1.1.1. Single stem habitation names

The analysis of the data indicated that some habitation names are single stem nouns that can be arbitrarily used to identify the communities that bear them. They are made up of single root morphemes and have unique meanings. Examples are *Apaa* (Apam), *Dogo*, *Abora*, *Simpa* (Winneba), *εsema* (Shama), *Kyiren*, *Abaka*, *εkon*, *Esiam*, *Dwɔmɔ*, *Aseebu*, *Otuam*, and *Iguae* (Cape Coast). These names cannot be broken down further into morphemes without destroying the word.

7.1.1.2. Compound habitation names

There are some Fante habitation names which were identified as compounds; made up of two or more stems. Compounding can be put into semantic and formal classifications (Kurosaki, 2009; Syal & Jindal, 2007). Semantic classification of compounds deals with the issue of the head word. There are four types which are *endocentric compound* (consists of a head, i.e. the categorical part that contains the basic meaning of the whole compound, and modifiers), *exocentric compound* (does not have a head, and meaning often cannot be transparently guessed from its constituent parts), *copulative compound* (have two semantic heads) and *appositional compound* (have lexemes with two (contrary) attributes). Formal classification of compounds on the other hand, is where compounds are classified based on the word classes that compose it. Formal classification is adopted in this paper to classify compounding since a greater number of the habitation names are a composition of nouns which carry their own meaning. Such classification gives the following combinations to form compounds: *noun + noun*, *noun + verb*, *noun + adverb*, *adjective + noun*, *adjective + adjective*, *adjective + participle*, *adjective + verb*, *noun + verb*, and *preposition + verb/adverb/noun* but in this paper, not all the above are applicable to Fante habitation names. The linguistic complexity of Fante habitation names is a direct consequence of the variety and richness of the semantic load and socio-cultural information that the names are made to carry. Depending on the amount of information being encoded, Fante habitation names can be derived from nominals and other word classes to form compounds. The following compound types were identified in analyzing Fante habitation names:

7.1.1.2.1. Noun + Noun

This category of habitation names is made of two independent nouns combined to denote the name of the place. The resultant noun can be a solid compound, hyphenated compound or open compound. The following are examples:

- *Solid compounds*: The habitation names in this category are made up of two independent nouns which are written as one. Examples from the data are:

Name of Place	Morphological analysis Noun + Noun	English Gloss	Free English translation
1. Anomabo	Anoma + bo	Bird + rock	Bird's rock
2. Tekyman	Tekyi + man	personal name + town	Takyi's town
3. Kɔmfɔeku	kɔmfɔ + eku	Priest + personal name	Priest Eku
4. Asɛpanyin	asɛm + panyin	Case/issue + elder	Big case/issue
5. Kwaaman 6. Eduyaw	Kwaa + man Edu + Yaw	forest + town Personal name + Thursday born	forest town Edu born on Thursday

The data above indicates that examples 2, 3 and 6 are eponyms because the towns/communities bear the name of the founders. Another eponym found is Kwesi Gyan which is the full name of the founder of the community.

- *Open Compounds*: Other noun-noun compounds remain open in the resultant name. Examples are

Name of Place	Morphological analysis Noun + Noun	English Gloss	Free English translation
1. Edwumako Amea	Edwumako + Amea		Amea in Edwumako area
2. Gomua Pɔtsen	Gomua + Pɔtsen		Pɔtsen in Gomua area
3. Gomua Aseebu	Gomua + Aseebu		Aseebu in Gomua area
4. Agona Nsabaa	Agona + Nsabaa		Nsabaa in Agona area
5. Ekumfi Atakwa	Ekumfi + Atakwa		Atakwa in Ekumfi Area
6. Breman Essiam	Breman + Essiam		Essiam in Breman area

Such towns have their first names qualifying the second names. The first name is a modifier to the second name; an appositive. For example, Awutu and Senya distinguish the two Breku towns and in the same way, there might be two or more *Abaasa* towns in the Central Region of Ghana but Gomua attached to one restricts the reader from focusing on the other town bearing the same name *Abaasa* to concentrate on the one in the Gomua traditional area and not the one in the Enyan area; Gomua becomes a modifier to *Abaasa*. The same stands for Abora Dunkwa/Gomua Dunkwa, Edwumako Osedzi/Gomua Osedzi, Bepɔso Dunkwa/Gomua Dunkwa and Breman Essiam/Gomua Essiam. The first name indicates the traditional area/jurisdiction in which the community is found. For example, Edwumako Besease in the Edumako traditional area in the Central Region of Ghana is distinguished from Ejiso Besease which is in the Ejiso traditional area in the Asante Region of Ghana. What must be noted is that some of these communities use only their second names as their display label but majority use the two to avoid confusion. The examples above are those who have displayed the two nouns as their labels. For example, all Gomua towns use the two -names as label. This is so because most towns in this traditional area were named after existing towns sometimes in the Central Region or elsewhere in Ghana and even outside the borders of Ghana. Examples are Gomua Kwahu, Gomua Koforidua, Gomua Abora, Gomua Kumase, Gomua Denkyira, Gomua Mankɛsem, Gomua Nkran, and Gomua Gyaaman. Gomua Lome for instance, was named after the capital of Togo. Some towns in this category have Noun + Noun + Noun morphological structure e.g. Abora Kwaaman made up of *Abora* (traditional area) (Noun) + *Kwaa* (forest) (Noun) and *Man* (town) (Noun). Others have Noun + Noun + Adjective + postposition e.g. Gomua *Mankɛsem made up of Gomua (the traditional area) (Noun) + man (town)(Noun) + kɛse (big) (Adjective) + mu (in) (postposition).

Others examples of settlements with noun-noun open compound names indicate activities that used to be performed or is still been performed in the area. Examples are

- a. Ahwer + Nkwanta Ahwer Nkwanta
N + N N N
Sugarcane + junction Sugarcane Junction

The present community used to be a junction where sugarcane farmers in the area who have no access to feeder road will bring their harvested sugarcane to be transported to the market centers. People later settled there. Though the sugarcane activity is no more, the place still bears the name Sugarcane Junction. The same scenario goes for Kusi Nkwanta (Rat Junction) where the place was a point where hunters brought their catch (mostly rats) for sale to market women.

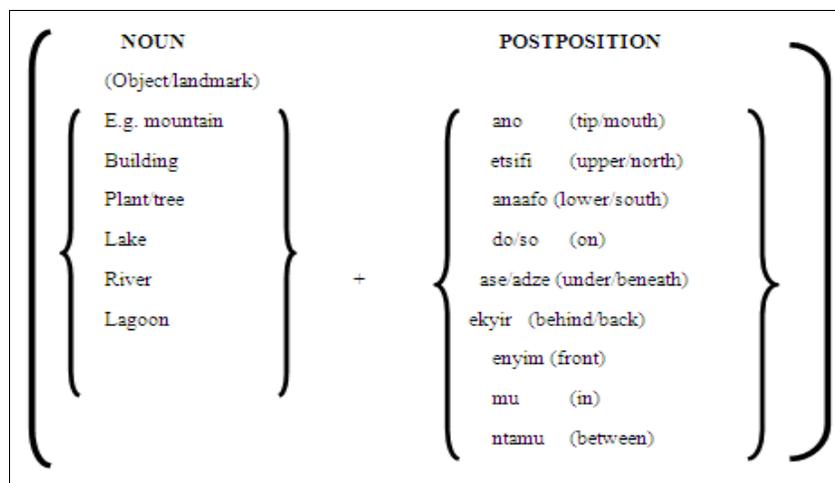
- b. Kusi + Nkwanta
N + N (Rat Junction)
Rat + junction

7.1.1.2.2. Noun + Postposition

The study also identified that some Fante town names are made up of nouns and postpositions as compounds. Majority of habitation names collected belong to this category. In these examples, the noun is a name of an object or a landmark e. g. *tree, river, mountain, building* and the postposition is a locative e.g. *so/do* (on), *ase/adze* (under/below/beneath), *ano* (front/tip), *ekyir* (back/beyond), *ntamu* (between) and *mu* (in). The noun and the postposition are written as one word (solid compound). This indicates that the early settlement or the community began around or in the vicinity of the object/landmark in question. For example, *Praso* (on the Pra River) indicates that the settlement started on the fringes of the Pra River. In the case of towns/villages with “mu” post-positional endings, the final vowel ‘u’ is elided in the final realization of the towns/village’s name. For instance, *Nkatse* (groundnut) + *mu* (in) becomes *Nkatsem*. Examples include the following:

Name of Place	Morphological analysis Noun + Postposition	English Gloss	Free English translation
1. Kumase	Kum + ase	name of tree + under	Under the kum tree
2. Besease	Bese + ase	Cola + under	Under the cola tree
3. Ekutuase	Ekutu + ase	Orange + under	Under the orange tree
4. Abanadze	*Aban + adze	Castle + beneath	Beneath the castle
5. Onyaadze	Onyaa + adze	Silk tree + beneath	Beneath the silk tree
6. Abɛadze	abɛ + adze	Palm tree + beneath	Beneath the palm tree
7. Ayensudo	Ayensu + do	Name of river + on	On the Ayensu River
8. Kokwaado	Kokwaa + do	Mountain + on	On the mountain
9. Bepɔso	Bepɔ(w) + so	Mountain + on	On the mountain
10. Taedo	Tae + do	Plateau + on	On the plateau
11. Nsuekyir	Nsu + ekyir	Water/river + behind/back	Behind/at the back of river
12. Bakaekyir	Baka + ekyir	Lagoon + behind	Behind the lagoon
13. Nsuano	Nsu + ano	River + front /tip	Tip of the river
14. Bakaano	Baka + ano	Lagoon + tip/front	Tip of the lagoon
15. Nkatsem(u)	Nkatse + mu	Groundnut + in	In the groundnut
16. Akyenm(u)	Akyen + mu	Salt ponds + in	In the salt ponds
17. Adzentam(u)	Adze + ntamu	Something + between	Between something
18. Apemenyim	Apem + enyim	Thousand + front	In front of thousand
19. Benyaadze	Benya + adze	Name of god + beneath	Beneath the Benya god
20. Ehyiam	Ehya + mu	Meeting + at/in	At the meeting place

The data also showed a few examples of Noun + postposition habitation names which are not written as solid compounds. This is *Ntwaaban + anaafɔ* (Ntwaban + lower/south – Lower Ntwaban), *Ntwaban + etsifi* (Ntwaban + upper/north – Upper Ntwaban). Habitation names of this kind have the postposition as an elaboration of the habitation name in question. This indicates that one community is partitioned into two; upper and lower (with each having its own traditional ruler) either a geographical feature or because the other settlement came later. This can be likened to North and South Carolina in the United States of America. Habitation names with this composition can be represented pictorially as below.



7.1.1.2.3. Noun + Noun + postposition (mu/ase)

Some Fante town names have a compound morphological structure made up of a noun followed by a noun and a postposition. The first noun is mostly the name of a person/object, while the second noun is *kurow/man* (town/village) and the postposition *mu* (in). The first noun is the possessor or owner of the community (the one who started the habitat) e.g. *Badu + kurow + mu* (in Badu's town). Such compounds are written a solid for the name of the community. One thing worthy of noting is that in almost all cases there is some elision. Elision in Fante is a phonological process by which a vowel, a consonant and sometimes a syllable, which is an intrinsic property of a morpheme in the isolative style, is dropped in the combinative style (Abakah, 2004). In Akan, the high/close back vowel [u] is elided when it precedes [r] (Dolphyne, 2006). In the same way, when *kurow* (town/village) has *mu* (mu) as a postposition the final vowel [u] is elided and this causes the semi-vowel [w] closing the morpheme *kurow* to be elided because Fante does not allow [wm] sequence which makes *kurow + mu* to be said and written as *krom*. Examples *a-l* below illustrates this. Most habitation names in this group are eponyms. Eponyms are the names of persons or a group of persons after or for whom a place is named (i.e. the founders). The following are examples:

Name of Place	Morphological Analysis Noun + Noun + Postposition	English Gloss	Free English Translation
1. Ankokrom	Anko + kurow + mu	Pers. Name + town + in	In Anko's town
2. Asɛmkrom	Asɛm + kurow + mu	Pers. Name + town + in	In Asɛm's town
3. Badukrom	Bedu + kurow + mu	Pers. Name + town + in	In Badu's town
4. Beefikrom	Beefi + kurow + mu	Pers. Name + town + in	In Beefi's town
5. *Bronyikrom	Bronyi + kurow + mu	Whiteman + town + in	In Whiteman' town
6. Edukrom	Edu + kurow + mu	Pers. Name + town + in	In Edu's town
7. Esaakrom	Esaa + kurow + mu	Pers. Name + town + in	In Esaa's town
8. Halmkrom	Halm + kurow + mu	Pers. Name + town + in	In Halm's town
9. Kwam krom	Kwam + kurow + mu	Pres. Name + town + in	In Kwam's town
10. Kwamekrom	Kwame + kurow + mu	Pers. Name + town + in	In Kwame's town
11. Kakokrom	Kako + kurow + mu	Pers. Name + town + in	In Kako's town
12. *Kramokrom	Kramo + kurow + mu	Muslim + town + in	In Kramo's town
13. Mensakrom	Mensa + kurow + mu	Pers. Name + town + in	In Mensa's town
14. Mendskrom	Mends + kurow + mu	Pers. Name + town + in	In Mends' town
15. Ogokrom	Ogo + kurow + mu	Pers. Name + town + in	In Ogo's town
16. Nyaakrom	Nyaa + kurow + mu	Pers. Name + town + in	In Nyaa's town
17. Twiekukrom	Twieku + kurow + mu	Pers. Name + town + in	In Twieku's town
18.* Ekutukrom	Ekutu + kurow + mu	Orange + town + in	Town of orange
19. Egyaakrom	Egyaa + kurow + mu	Pers. Name + town + in	In Egyaa's town
20. Ndasekrom	Ndase + kurow + mu	Thanks + town + in	In the town of thanks

With the exception of examples 5, 12 and 18, all habitation names in this group are mostly eponyms (eponymous habitation names are very common among the Fantes, especially in the rural areas). In some cases, the second noun is *man* (town/village). In addition to the [u] elision as described above, [n] ending is elided and because there is no [nm] cluster in Fante, the [n] is dropped and [a] assimilated/raised to [e] because of the influence of the elided [u] as in examples *a* and *b* below. In the case of (a) below, the /n/ ending *Enyan* is replaced with /a/. Examples are

Name of Place	Morphological analysis Noun + noun + postposition	English Gloss	Free English Translation
a. Enyaamem	Enyan +man + mu	Personal name + town + in	In Enyan's town
b. Kromem	Kurow + man + mu	Town + town + in	In the big town
c. Ekumpoano	Eku + po + ano	Priest's name +sea + tip (beach)	In Eku's beach
d. Komfoeku anafo	Komfo + eku + anafo	Priest + personal name + north	North Komfo Eku
e. Komfoeku etsifi	Komfo + eku + etsifi	Priest + personal name + south	South Komfo Eku

Examples *d* and *e* are examples of elaboration names. They are the same community which has been divided into north and south with each having its own traditional administration. In some few instances, the three morphemes are all maintained without any deletion as in *Abehenase* (Abɛ + hen + ase) (palm tree + chief + under/beneath) (*Abehenase – beneath the chief palm tree*) and *Dɔmenase* (Dɔ + mena + ase) (love + broom + under) (*Dɔmenase - beneath the love broom*).

In the case of Ekumpono (eku + po + ano), there is an insertion of the normalizer /m/ to make *po + ano* a noun (*mpoano*).

7.1.1.2.4. Noun + Adjective + postposition

The study also identified that some Fante habitation names are compounds made up of a noun, an adjective and a postposition. Morphologically, it is a noun + adjective + postposition. This can be seen as postpositional phrase which is equivalent to prepositional phrase in English but written as a noun. In instances where the adjective is followed by the postposition “mu” (in), the high close rounded vowel /u/ is elided. The town’s name is written without the /u/. Examples are in the table below

Name of Place	Morphological analysis Noun + Adj. + Postposition	English Gloss	Free English translation
1. *Mankɛsim	Man + kɛse + mu	Town + big + in	In the big town
2. Anhweabam	Anhwea + ba + mu	Sand + small + in	In the small sand
3. Krofoform	Kurow + fofor + mu	Town + new + in	In the new town
4. Nankɛsedo	Nan + kɛse + do	Leg + big + on	On the big leg/path
5. Ekurabaadze	Ekura + ba + adze	Village + small + under	Beneath the small village
6. Nkwantakɛsedo	Nkwanta + kɛse + do	Junction + big + on	On the big junction
7. Onyaafunase	Onyaa + fun + ase	Silk tree + rotten + under	Under the rotten silk tree

In example (1) above, two phonological processes (elision and vowel raising) has taken place. The vowel /u/ ending the postposition is elided. Though the vowel is elided, its ATR influence is still felt to assimilate the high vowel /e (i)/ to become /i/; *man* (town) + *kɛse* (big) + *mu* (in) becomes *mankɛsim*. There was an instance from the data to indicate that there is a habitation name with Noun + post position + Adjective + post position as in *Kumase Kakrabamu* [*kumase kakrabem*] with morphological components as *kum* (type of tree) + *ase* (under) + *kakraba* (small/little) + *mu* (in) (in small/little Kumase).

7.1.1.2.5. Noun + Adjective/numeral

The data also showed that some habitation names had noun + adjective or numeral compound. This indicates that the first word in the name is a noun and the second word an adjective or a numeral. The adjective or the numeral is a modifier or specifier to the noun which is the head word. The use of -pɔn can be likened to -polis as in Indianapolis, Mineapolis in the United States of America. *Pɔn* in this case is an augmentative to indicate “largeness”, while *kuma* is diminutive indicating the town in question is small/little as compared to its counterpart. The following are examples of such habitation names:

Name of Place	Morphological analysis Noun + Adj/Numeral	English Gloss	Free English translation
1. Ekuropɔn	Ekurow + pɔn	Town + big	Big town
2. Manpɔn	Man + pɔn	Town + big	Big town
3. Nkwantanum	Nkwanta + num	Junction + five	Five way junction
4. Nkwantan	Nkwanta + nan	Junction + four	Four way junction
5. Gyirikuma	Gyiri + kuma	Gyiri (personal name) + small/little/junior	Little Gyiri (town)
6. Mankron	Man + akron	Town + nine	Nine town(s)
7. Bobikuma	Bobi + kuma	Bobi (personal name) + little/junior	Little Bobi (town)

7.1.1.2.6. Noun + noun + adjective

The study identified an instance of a habitation name made up of a noun, noun and an adjective. An example is *Kwaamankɛse* consisting of *Kwaw* (noun – somebody born on Thursday) + *man* (noun – town) + *kɛse* (big), which literally means *Kwaw’s big town*. This is an example of eponymy. Phonologically, there has been an elision and replacement (insertion). The semi-vowel /w/ closing *Kwaw* is elided and replaced with /a/ because /w/ and /m/ is not a cluster in the language.

7.1.1.3. Reduplication

According to Crystal (2007), reduplication is the process of repetition whereby the form of a prefix/suffix reflects certain phonological characteristics of the root. In Akan, reduplication is the partial or complete repetition of the root. An example of partial reduplication in Akan (Fante) is *hwɛ* (look) which when reduplicated become *hwehwɛ* (search), while a complete

reduplication is *tu* (uproot) with its reduplicated form as *tutu* (uproot – in a repeated form). In another example, *nsu* (water) when reduplicated becomes *nsunsu* (watery). Reduplication is a word formation process in Akan. The open word classes (nouns, verb, adverbs, and adjectives) can all be reduplicated. What must be noted is that in some cases when words are reduplicated, some phonological processes like elision and assimilation occurs. This word formation phenomenon was found to exist in Fante habitation names. The following were examples found in the data:

Name of Place	Morphological analysis noun + noun	English Gloss	Free English Translation
1. Nkyeekyir	ekyir + ekyir	far + far	Far away
2. Aboabo	abo + abo	rock + rock	Rocky place
3. Asaasan	Esar + Asan	Personal name + personal name	Asar and Asan

In example 1 above, there is an insertion of the alveolar nasal /n/ which is a nominalizer in Fante to turn the postposition *ekyir* to a noun (*nkyir* – where one comes from- ancestral land). There is also deletion and vowel lengthening. The high front vowel /i/ and the liquid /r/ are deleted in the base form and compensated for with /e/. This is a phenomenon referred to as compensatory lengthening. Example 2 is a complete reduplication where the base and the duplicant are the same. In example 3 above, there is intervocalic deletion, vowel lengthening and vowel lowering. In the first place there is intervocalic deletion where the liquid /r/ is deleted and replaced with /a/. Also, the front mid-vowel /e/ is lowered to /a/ to ensure vowel harmony so *Esar + Asan* now becomes /asa:asan/.

7.1.1.4. Inflectionals

Inflections are affixes involved in word-formation. Inflections can be derivational or inflectional affixes. Inflectional affixes denote grammatical relationships such as plural, past tense and possession (Crystal, 2007). This phenomenon is present in Akan (Fante). Some inflectional morphemes in Akan are *-nyi* (representing human and singular as in *Ghananyi* meaning a Ghanaian or person from Ghana) and *-fo* (representing human and plural as in *Ghanafo* meaning Ghanaians or people from Ghana). Another inflection of this category is *-nom* which is also a plural marker showing relationship among people e.g. *enuanom* (siblings), *enanom* (mothers), *yernom* (wives). In analyzing the data, a few inflectional habitation names were identified. The following were found:

Name of Place	Morphological analysis Noun + Affix	English Gloss	Free English translation
1. Ansafo	Ansa + fo	Personal name + plural marker	People from Ansa
2. Eguafo	Egua + fo	trade + plural maker	traders
3. Akyemfo	Akyem + fo	Name of asafo company + people	People of Akyem asafo company
4. Nananom	Nana + nom	ancestor + plural maker	ancestors
5. Nsanfo	Nsan + fo	No retreat +	People who do not retreat

7.1.2. Syntactic Analysis – habitation names and sentential level analysis

To understand the analysis made in this section, it is prudent to explicate on the sentence structure in Akan (Fante). The minimum requirement of the Akan sentence structure (Fante) is Subject + Verb + Object (SVO). This section looks at the syntactic structure of some Fante habitation names. It looks at Fante habitation names and sentential level analysis. The data collected indicated that some habitation names are complete sentences. These names were analyzed into two broad categories. The names were analyzed by sentence function and then by sentence structure. It was found that by function some of the habitation names are declaratives, commands while others were questions. The analysis also portrayed that by structure some of the habitation names were compound sentences while others were found to be complex sentences. The following are the analysis:

7.1.2.1. Sentential habitation names and sentence function

Sentences by function are divided into declaratives, commands and questions (interrogative). A declarative sentence according to Crystal (2003) refers to verb forms or sentence or clause types which are typically used in expressing statement. Sometimes, they are referred to as indicative sentences. A command sentence on the other hand, usually has no subject and the verb is in the imperative mood. Interrogative sentences are typically used in the expression of questions. They usually are marked with interrogative words like which, why, what, when and who. Sometimes, the inverted forms of declaratives become questions. Fante sentences conform to the definition of the various sentence types describe above. The analysis of the data indicates that some Fante habitation names can be declaratives, commands and questions (interrogatives). Examples are as follows:

7.1.2.1.1. Sentential habitation names with declarative function

A critical analysis of Fante habitation names collected indicated that some are declarative sentences. They are statements. They were found to be written as single items, as isolated words or as hyphenated words. Some are made up of a noun, which is the subject, a verb and a Noun, which is the object (SVO) while others consist of a noun (subject) and a verb (SV). In some cases, we have noun (subject), verb and adjective (used predicatively) (SVAdj.). Examples include the following:

Name	Structure			
1. Mbofra-mfa - adwen Children should think	mbofra children N (subj)		mfa should take (aux)V	adwen think N (obj)
2. ɔboyambo stone grinds stone 'Other are stronger than others'	ɔbo Stone N(subj)		yam grinds V	bo stone N (obj)
3. *Borɔfoyedur 'English is heavy' 'English is difficult'	borɔfo English N (subj)	is V		heavy Adj.
4. Obinnyimkyena 'somebody (neg.) knows tomorrow somebody' 'Nobody knows tomorrow'	Obi N (subj)	nnyim know (neg)V		(ɔ)kyena tomorrow Adv.
5. Asemasa 'case (perf) finish' 'case closed' Case has closed	asem case N case		asa finish (perf)V has closed.	
6. Sika besa Money (fut) finish Money will finish	Sika Money N		bɛsa (fut)finish (fut)V	

In example 3 above, there is vowel raising. The open-mid vowel /ɛ/ is raised to closed-mid vowel /e/ under the influence of the high/close vowel /u/ to ensure that the vowel harmony phenomenon in Akan(Fante) is observed.

7.1.2.1.2. Sentential habitation names with Interrogative function

The data showed just an instance of habitation name which is an interrogative sentence.

Ha so wodze a?

(Here also yours is) Is here also yours (Is this place also yours?)

The particle *a* is the interrogative marker. It must be noted that the particle *a* syntactically can sometimes function as a relative clause initiator/marker meaning *that* or *which* or *who* as in the sentences below:

1. Mobɔwar banyin *a mepɛ* (I will marry a man that I like)
mobɔwar banyin – (I will marry a man)
... a mepɛ - (that I like)
2. Kyerekyerɛnyi no *a ɔbaa ha no ewu* (The teacher who came here has died)
Kyerɛkyerɛnyi no ewu (The teacher has died)
... *a ɔbaa ha no*... (Who came here)
3. Nyame *a ɔbɔɔ wiadze no nnda* (God who created the world does not sleep).
Nyame ...nnda (God does not sleep)
... *a ɔbɔɔ wiadze no* ... (who created the world...)

7.1.2.1.3. Sentential habitation names with imperative function

As indicated above an imperative sentence has no subject. This is the same in Fante. An imperative sentence in Fante will only have a subject when it is in the plural. The subject in each case is implied and is *ɔwo* (you). Examples are as follows:

1. Twer Nyame
V N
Lean God (Lean on God)
2. Brahabyɔm
Bra ha (na) bɔbɔ me
V Adv. (conj) V Pro
come here (and) beat me (come here and beat me)

3. Fawomanyɛ
 Fa wo man (na) yɛ
 V Pro (Poss) N (conj) V
 Take your town (and) do take your town and do (govern your town)
4. Fa w' adze
 V N(Poss) N
 Take your thing

In example 2 above, there is an elision so *Bra ha bɔbɔ me* becomes *Brahabɔbɔm*. There is an elision of the vowel [e] ending the pronoun *me*. In Fante, the vowel ending a pronoun is elided when it is an object pronoun.

7.1.2.2. Sentential habitation names and sentence structure (simple sentence, compound sentence, complex sentence)

7.1.2.2.1. Habitation names with simple sentence structure

A simple sentence in Akan (Fante) has a single idea which implies that it has a single verb. A Simple sentence can be composed of a single verb, a noun (subject) and a verb and most often a noun (subject), a verb, and a noun (object). Using this information, the simple sentence will be (N) + V + (N/Adj). The Nouns (Noun Phrases) are optional but the V (Verb Phrase) is compulsory. The following are examples from the data:

1. Borɔfoyedur ---- Borɔfo yɛ dur
 N V Adj (predicative use)
 English is heavy (English is difficult)

In this example, there is vowel raising to ensure that the vowel harmony in Akan (Fante) rule is observed. The front open-mid vowel /ɛ/ is assimilated to the front close-mid vowel /e/ under the influence of the back close vowel /u/.

2. Obinnyinkyena ----- Obi nnyim (ɔ)kyena
 N (neg)V N
 Somebody (neg) know tomorrow
 Nobody knows tomorrow
3. obonyambo ----- ɔbo nyam bo
 N V N
 Stone grinds stone
4. Kafodzidzi ----- Kafo dzidzi
 N V (redupl)
 debtor eats
5. Asemasa ----- Asem asa
 N (perf) V
 Case has finished
6. Sikabesa ----- Sika besa
 N (fut) V
 Money will finish
7. Memmpɛasɛm Me mmpɛ asɛm
 Pro (neg) V N
 I don't like trouble
8. Nyamedɔm Nyame dɔ me
 N V Pro
 God loves me

In example 8 above, there is vowel elision in the object pronoun. In Akan (Fante), the vowel ending the object pronoun is always elided or silent.

9. Aɛwosika ----- (ɔwo) aɛ wo sika
 N (perf)V Pro (pos) N
 You have acquired your money
10. Ohiamadwen ----- Ohia ma adwen
 N V N
 Poverty gives thinking (poverty breeds thinking)

7.1.2.2.2. Habitation names with compound sentence structure

A compound sentence according to Crystal (2007) consists of two or more main clauses. Such clauses are joined by coordinating conjunctions like *and*, *but*, *or*. A compound sentence in Fante is also made up of two or more clauses which are joined by coordinators like *na* (*and*), *naaso* (*but*), *anaa* (*or*). In some cases some compound sentences do not have an explicit coordinating conjunction. These are sometimes known as 'asyndetic coordination'. This phenomenon is common in Fante compound sentence structure. The following were examples from the data:

1. Brahabɔbɔm ---- Bra ha (na) bɔbɔ me.
Come here (and) come hit me (come here (and) hit me)
Bra ha (come here) - (main clause)
(na) (and) - conjunction
Bɔbɔ me (come hit/beat me) - (main clause)
2. Fawomanyɛ --- Fa wo man (na) yɛ (wo man)
Take your town, do (your town) - (take your town, govern it)
Fa wo man (take your town) – (main clause)
(na) (and) - conjunction
Yɛ (govern)-- (main clause)

7.1.2.2.3. Habitation names with complex sentence structure

A complex sentence in Fante, like that of English is made up of at least a subordinate clause and a main clause. In Fante, the subordinate clause is marked by (*sɛ*) *a*. The (*sɛ*) components is optional but the *a* (particle) and the *comma* are compulsory elements. In all the habitation names collected for this study, the *sɛ* element is dropped but for analysis purposes, it is included and put in parenthesis.

1. Anntseammbua - (*Sɛ*) Anntse a, mmbua.
(if) don't hear, [neg] respond (if you don't hear, don't respond)
(*Sɛ*) anntse a, (if you don't hear) - (subordinate clause)
mmbua (don't respond) - (main clause)
2. Kɛtseambuanda - (*Sɛ*) Kɛtse a, mmbua nnda
(if) go hear, [neg] sleep over (if you hear, don't sleep over it)
(*Sɛ*) kɛtse a, (if you heard) - (subordinate clause)
mmbua nnda (don't sleep over)- (main clause)
3. Dɔmeabra - (*Sɛ*) Dɔ me a, bra.
(if) love me, come
(*Sɛ*) Dɔ me a, (if you love me) - (Subordinate clause)
bra (come) - (main clause)

8. Conclusion

This study sought to analyze critically Fante habitation names from a morpho-syntactic perspective. Data used in the study were from both primary and secondary sources. In all, a hundred and fifty (150) habitation names were collected among Fante communities. The study discussed the typology of Fante habitation names under two broad areas; morphological and syntactic analysis. The morphological analysis revealed that some Fante habitation names can be single stems, compounds, inflections (affixation), and reduplications. The study also found that Fante habitation names at the sentential level can functionally be statements, interrogatives or imperatives, while they can be structurally simple, compound, or complex sentences.

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Appendix: SOME FANTE HABITATION NAMES

NAMES	NAMES	NAMES	NAMES	NAMES
1. Anomabo	21. Apaa/Apam	41. Abɛadze	61. Esaakrom	81. Dɔmenase
2. Tekyiman	22. Otuum	42. Ayensudo	62. Halmkrom	82. Abɛhenase
3. Kɔmfoeku	23. Aseebu	43. Kokwaado	63. Kwamkrom	83. Mankɛsim(u)
4. Aɛmpanyin	24. Dogo	44. Bepɔso	64. Kwamekrom	84. Anhweabam(u)
5. Kwaaman	25. Kyiren	45. Taedo	65. Kakokrom	85. Krofoform(u)
6. Eduyaw	26. Abaka	46. Nsuekyir	66. Hannakrom	86. Nankɛsedo
7. ɛsema	27. ɛkon	47. Bakaekyir	67. Kramokrom	87. Nkwantakɛsedo
8. Nsadwer	28. Esiam	48. Nsuano	68. Mensakrom	88. Ekuropɔn
9. Simpa	29. Anomabo	49. Bakaano	69. Mendskrom	89. Manpɔn
10. Kɔmɛnda	30. Komfoeku	50. Akyenm(u)	70. Nyaakrom	90. Nkwantanum
11. Mowure	31. Aɛmpanyin	51. Adzentam(u)	71. Ogokrom	91. Nkwantanum
12. Dwɔma	32. Eduyaw	52. Apemenyim	72. Twiekukrom	92. Gyrikuma
13. Oguaa	33. Kwaaman	53. Benyaadze	73. Ekutukrom	93. Mankron
14. Akyemfo	34. Nkatsem	54. Ehyiam	74. Egyaakrom	94. Bobikuma
15. ɛdina	35. Praso	55. Ankokrom	75. Ndasekrom	95. Aboabo
16. Ekurabaadze	36. Kumase	56. Aɛmkrom	76. Enyaamem(u)	96. Asaasan
17. Effutuakwa	37. Besease	57. Badukrom	77. Kromem(u)	97. Nkyeekyir
18. ɔkyeso	38. Ektuase	58. Beefikrom	78. Ekumpoano	98. Ansafo
19. Tekyiman	39. Abandze	59. Bronyikrom	79. Komfoeku	99. Eguafɔ
20. Abora	40. Onyaadze	60. Edukrom	80. Komfoeku anaafɔ	100. Akyemfo
101. Nananom	110. Nyame Bɛkyerɛ	119. Hasowodzea	128. Abotarye	137. Ayensuano
102. Nsanfo	111. Asoemmbua Eku	120. Twer Nyame	129. Mankoadze	138. Ekutukrom
103. Mbofra-mfa- adwen	112. Adomnnsa	121. Brahabɔbɔm(e)	130. Gyangyanadze	139. Mankron
104. ɔbonyambo	113. Musunkwa	122. Fawomanyɛ	131. Mangoase	140. Nsanfo kuma
105. Borɔfoyedur	114. Akoannsow	123. Fawoadze	132. Ataabaadze	141. Nsanfo Panyin
106. Obinnyinkyena	115. Atwerɛboannda	124. Dɔmeabra	133. Pɔmadze	142. Abora Abaka
107. Aɛmasa	116. Memmpɛasɛm	125. Anntseammbua	134. Andwom(u)	143. Abora Dunkwa
108. Sikabɛsa	117. Kafodzidzi	126. Kɛtseannda	135. Dwenase	144. Ekumfi Nakwa
109. Ohio-ma- adwen	118. Nyamedɔm(e)	127. Apɛwosika	136. Ntweaban Anaafɔ	145. Gomua Osedzi
146. Gomua Nduam(u)	147. Gomua Gyaaman	148. Breman Essiam	149. Agona Bohyɛn	150. Ekumfi Akwetsi