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THE ONOMASTICS OF PRINCIPAL ANLO- TOWN NAMES

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A THESIS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH EDUCATION, FACULTY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES EDUCATION AND COMMUNICATION, SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR AWARD OF THE MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY OF ENGLISH DEGREE.

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DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I, DELA AMENYEDZI, declare that this Thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

SIGNATURE : ……

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SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of Thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

NAME OF SUPERVISOR : PROFESSOR KWAKUVI AZASU

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of my late grandparents, Kwaku Adze Amenyedzi and Amenorvi Wunaki, who, even though were not educated, encouraged me to make education my biggest priority.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the origin, meaning and motivation of the names of the principal settlements of the Anlo state and the morphological processes involved in the formation of the names. It classified also the names with appropriate conclusions. The research design used for the study was the descriptive survey. The population for the study was the chiefs, elders and people who had knowledge about the history of the settlements. The purposive and snow ball sampling techniques were employed in selecting the sample. Two sources of data collection were employed. First, documentary analysis was used to retrieve information from existing documented narratives of the area. The second source was interviews conducted with chiefs and elders, and prominent people in the towns which followed suggested methods for collecting oral history data in Ewe. The toponymic typological framework proposed by Tent and Blair (2011) was used to classify the settlement names. The results showed that settlements names originated from the migration history of Anlos. The settlement names make reference to natural features such as hills, valleys, sandbars, marshy areas, streams, vegetation and events encountered during their migration. The names comprised one, two or more morphemes put together through processes of affixation, compounding and borrowing. Also, the thirty-six settlement names could be classified into the nine categories outlined by Tent and Blair. However, some settlement names were difficult to identify as Ewe morphemes.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Names of places are more like artifacts because in context each is strongly attached to the place it refers to. As such, place names have a direct connection to historical reality and preserve interesting clues about the culture of those who use the names. Conceiving of place names as artifacts gives a picture of how one language may "borrow" a place name from another, a historical process which has been occurring for probably as long as more than one language has ever existed.

Onomastics is the study of names, and in this field, toponym is the technical term that refers to a place name, a proper name that refers to a place. Onomastics is of great importance to human existence, because people value names of people and places. In some languages, it is synonymous with the word noun. Names are used as labels to identify persons, places or things, and are equally historical witnesses of how and why the various places are named. The name of a person may be used to trace his family genealogy, culture, language, occupation or town and as well communicate information to others. New settlers often give names to their new homes. They do this because they wish to commemorate in the new name a feature pertinent to their experience. Generally, a person may have up to three names, which sometimes reflect the tradition and historical experience of his/her people.

Names are not just given; givers of any name consider the surrounding circumstances before naming a referent. Naming is a significant socio-cultural phenomenon in any society. Names of people and places are not chosen for nothing. The names of Anlo towns are no exception. Each name conveys a certain message.

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The names of places can often tell you a lot about what the localities were like in the past. The names people give to places reflect the language of the people who lived there or name the place and can indicate who lived there, the topography of the area, notable features that once existed in the past, or the kind of work carried out there. For all these reasons a study of place-names can help the local historian or anthropologist come to a deeper understanding of how a community looked like in the past.

Toponym is one of the types of lexicon which is mostly defined as: (1) a place name; (2) name derived from place name. Toponyms are one of the types of proper names. They are known in English as "proper names". Geographical or place names are the nouns we use to refer to specific characteristics of places and geographic features. Toponyms can be both place names, real or imaginary, as well as names derived from place origins. They can be found in many different areas of education, industry, culture, and current events. It is not unusual to find toponyms used for new places that withdraw from other places, as well as wars, treaties and agreements, food, and fabric, among other items.

According to Ashley (2003), the study of place names is known as toponymics or toponymy and a branch of onomastics. Types of toponym include agronym (the name of a field or pasture), dromonym (the name of a transportation route), drymonym (the name of a forest or grove), econym (the name of a village or town), limnonym (the name of a lake or pond), and necronym (the name of a cemetery or burial ground). Toponyms of any region are developed on the basis of one or several languages and undergo historical and linguistic changes. For correct determination of linguistic stratigraphy in a diachronic analysis of the regional toponymy it is

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necessary to ground the research, first of all, on the history and then on the etymology of the toponym.

Toponymy is a branch of onomastics that studies place names (toponyms), their origins, meanings, use and typology. Place names provide the most useful geographical reference system in the world. Consistency and accuracy are essential in referring to a place to prevent confusion in everyday business and recreation (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1974). Scholars have also found that toponyms provide valuable insight into the history of a particular region. Place names study uses, enriches and tests the discoveries of archaeology and history and the rules of the philologists (Powicke, 1954). Toponyms not only illustrate ethnic settlement patterns, but they can also help identify discrete periods of immigration (Kaups, 1966; Kharusi, & Salman, 2011).

Toponyms, therefore, are usually nouns that are arbitrary used to denote a geographic place name mostly formed from names of particular person, who was very familiar in the history, action which was done there in some period of time, thing without regard to any descriptive meaning the word may have, and from names of rivers or sea.

Tradition has it that the Ewe people are traced back to their original settlement in the Oyo State of Western Nigeria. It is thought they migrated to their present home from Notsie, Togo sometime in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The move is said to be more of an escape than migration from a regime change in the city. Upon first arrival in Notsie, the then king, Adela Atogble, received them well, but after his death the successor, Agorkoli, ruled oppressively upon the Ewe. He ordered all elders killed. The city of Notsie was circumscribed by a large defensive wall which became a barrier to the Ewe devising escape. Upon consultation of a hidden elder, Tegli, the

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Ewe came up with an extravagant plan of escape. For days the women of the group would moisten the wall in one place during their daily clothes washing activities. When the wall was weak enough, the plan then culminated in the gathering of the entire Ewe, Tegli drawing the "Sword of Liberation" summoning the gods, and piercing the wall to fall (Amenumey, 2006).

The Ewes migrated from Notsie at that point and settled at Tsevie. At Tsevie, the Ewes divided into different groups, one of which the Anlos belong to. During the exodus, Agbana one of Torgbi Wenya's children led the advance party. Before moving out, it was usual for scouts who were powerful hunters to go out first and look out for safe routes. Torgbi Tse Tsali Akplormada, a mystic, was one such scout for the Dogbo group, who reportedly cast a sleeping spell on the Notsie people to enable the Ewes to move out undetected amidst drumming and dancing, moving backwards to show footsteps entering rather than leaving. His twin brother Atsu Tsala, left the Notsie settlement earlier, went to Awukugua, performed miracles and healed people with herbs.

The present-day Anlos travelled from Tsevie as one unit, but later divided into two groups under the leadership of Amega Atsu Madokpui Wenya and his nephew Togbi Sri I (aka Kponoe Adza Ashimadi). Torgbui Atsu Wenya led the main group which went south and moved along the seashore westwards, founding settlements along the way. After many encounters and settlements, Wenya's group reached a sandbar and called it "Ke dzi¨ which is presently called Kedzi. Subsequently the group crossed the sandbar and Wenya informed his followers, they had reached the head or the heap of the sand. Consequently, the settlement there was named Keta. They later founded other towns including Tegbi and Woe. As they reached what is now called present-day Anloga, Wenya was found to be very aged and could not

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move on. The name of this settlement was also taken after "Me nlo" (I have coiled) and was contracted to "Anlo". Being the capital of the whole Anlo nation, the adjective "ga" meaning big was added and it became Anloga, and the people Anloawo. Later on, some followers split away from Amega Atsu Wenya's group to settle at where they are today namely Klikor and Weta.

The second group of the Dogbo people was led by Kponoe Ashimadi (aka Sroe I or Sri 1). Sri and his followers took the northern route off the Atlantic Coast and settled at present Klikor where Kli found the settlement. Kponoe then continued by canoe via the Keta lagoon to settle at Fiaxor, and founded various communities on the northern shore of the great Keta Lagoon, but later moved on to join the uncle Wenya at Anloga and took over his leadership role as King of the Dogbo now Anloawo. Earlier, Kponoe's half-brothers Adzofia and Adzoyi co-founded Dzodze. The following brothers of Torgbui Sri I, also children of King Ashimadi, settled at various places giving rise to some differences in clan names. Descendants of his brother Adu Lo led by his son Adisre and Ege Amegayibor, brother of Sri I, settled at Dzodze. Asuma settled at Penyi. Eti settled at Ave. Kofi Akpo settled at Mafi. Other settlements followed later from additional splits, such as Some. These are all people of Dogbo descent and became part of the southern Ewes.

Other groups also split off from Sri's party and founded the settlements of Ave, Fenyi, Dzodze, and Mafi. The founders of Afife also formed part of Sri's party at one time but tarried and founded Afife. The remainder of Sri's party went on to found Kodzi from where Sri later on rejoined his uncle Wenya at Anloga. The towns or settlements actually founded by Wenya and Sri, their families and immediate circle of followers came to constitute one kingdom - Anlo with the capital at Anloga. Other towns that belong to Anlo are Anyako, Seva, Kodzi, Alakple, Atiavi, Asadame,

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Fiaxor, Tsiame, Atito, Atiteti, Atorkor, Whuti, Srogboe, Woe, Tegbi, Keta and Kedzi, to name only a few. In the neighbourhood of Anlo, settlements founded by other members of the Dogbo sub-group who had been part of Wenya and Sri's party at one time or the other also evolved into states like Klikor, Ave, Fenyi, Dzodze, Weta and Afife.

Thus, the people of Anlo state and all these other states described above belonged originally to the Dogbo group under Wenya and constituted essentially one people as they entered their new home in what is now south-eastern Ghana. Another Dogbo sub-group or its divisions founded Be, Togo, in present-day Republic of Togo.

According to UNESCO grouping of languages in 1985, Ewe (Ewegbe) is a community language of Africa and its homeland stretches between three West African countries, namely, the Republics of Ghana, Togo, Benin (Dahomey) and to Badagry in the Federal Republic of Nigeria. According to linguists (and also Westermann and Bryan, 1952), the Ewe language (*Ewegbe*) belongs to a member of the Kwa family of Sudanic languages. As stated by Greenberg (1970), Kwa languages constitute a sub-family of the Niger-Congo family of the Congo-Kordofanian language family of Africa. There are several dialects (variants) of the Ewe language as spoken in Eweland. The dialectical difference, as in the case of all languages with dialects, are found in one or more of the following, namely speech sounds used, choice between synonyms and forms of words, pitch/tonal variations and mode of expressions. Some of these dialects are mutually intelligible. The population of all Ewe speaking people has always been a subject of debate. According to Ladzekpo (1995), various uncoordinated census accounts and estimates, the Ewes may number anywhere between two and five million. This population keeps on increasing from year to year.

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The Anlo is one of the smaller sub-tribes or chiefdoms of the Ewe people. The Anlo settled in the south-eastern parts of the Volta Region of Ghana, many of which are associated with the slave trade that affected the Ewe populations. Their current political system stems from the necessity of military organization to deal with the conflicts in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Anlo adopted the military organisational methods of the Akwamu, including their wing system. The Anlo people were divided by geographical location to create three wings. The Lashibi, coming from the west, defended the left flank, the Adotri the center, and the Woe from the east, defended the right flank. All were under the rule of a loosely governing 'central' authority, the king called Awoamefia (Amenumey, 2006).

From both oral and written histories, before the Anlos settled in their present location, on the coastline of the Gulf of Guinea (Atlantic Ocean) and along the Keta Lagoon, they established a number of settlements which later became towns and villages before the leaders finally settled at Anloga, the seat of the Anlo state. However, many people from the Anlo traditional area know little about the deep history of the names of the places they inhabit. There is no doubt that people know the names of their towns/villages but do not have the slightest clue to what those names originally mean. The events, people, and geographical features that originally gave rise to the many toponyms (place names) are not known to many people.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Place names are of great importance to the history and culture of people. However, the origin, meaning and motivation behind many place names are lost through the passage of time and through the death of those responsible for the founding and naming of these settlements. A review of the literature on place names

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revealed only few studies in the Eweland place names. These studies include the works of Kwaku (1976), Dugbaza (2007), Giraut and Benoit (2012) and Klugah (2013). Kwaku (1976) reports on the toponyms Goviefe Agodome, Goviefe Kowu and Goviefe Todzi. He states that the migration of the Govie people after their exodus from Notsie is traced first to the northern foot of Mountain Adaklu, the inselberg south of Ho. Led by their chief, Go (or Goe), they made a settlement called Goefe (Go's Home). According to Kwaku (1976), disagreements with local people resulted in a further move north-west to their present homeland in the Klito highlands, where they founded what is now the seat of their paramountcy, Goviefe Todzi ("the home of Go's children on the mountain"). However, as the years passed and the community grew, satellite villages were founded on and around the mountain. The chronological order in which these villages were founded is Akloba, Gbogame, Agodome, and lastly Kowu. These five villages make up the 'division' of Goviefe traditonal area.

According to Dugbazah (2007), the Abutia people name a number of places not now to be seen on maps where they attempted to settle after leaving Notsie. Dugbazah (2007) lists Ketu, Tovledu (near present-day Battor) and Agbenutodzi among these temporary settlements. The last of these places, Agbenutodzi, appears to have been close to their present dwelling places, but did not satisfy the womenfolk because it required them to make frequent journeys downhill to fetch water, which, therefore, had to be carried uphill (*to* = mountain; *dzi* = on). Their complaints are variously recorded as "Abua lialia ti mi" and "Abua didi ti ame" which express the 'ɖeɖiteameŋu' or tedium of their task, from which phrases the place name is derived. From Agbenutodzi the people finally moved "downhill" to form the three foundational villages, Abutia Agove, Abutia Kloe and Abutia Teti.

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Giraut and Benoit (2012) reports Togolese place names in the capital Lome can be interpreted as combinations of geopolitical contexts and political goals and technologies. Giraut et al. found that the current neighbourhoods of the capital Lome, Kodjoviakope, Nyekornakpoe, Yovo Kome, Akposso Djigbe, Anecho and Tokoin can be distinguished at the morphological level. One morphological process is compounding. For example, are Kodjoviakope (*Kodjovia – kope*), and Nyekornakpoe (*Nyekor – nakpoe*). There are eight neighbourhoods in Badou which can be distinguished at morphological, social and functional levels. These include Badou Djigbe, Agadja, Ahlomado, Zongo Haossa, Zongo Kotokoli, Ikpabe, and Salaga Kodji (Giraut et al., 2012).

Klugah (2013) extracts scientific historical information from some of the names of places contained in the migration narratives of the Asogli of the Volta Region. The study found out that toponyms are history-preserving tools among the Asogli since they are used to mark certain important occurrences on the migration route. The linguistic approach used also revealed that Asogli migration narrative toponyms have brought various grammatical structures together through the process of agglutination. The study, therefore, concluded that while scholars who adopt the scientific approach may rely, for example, on archaeology, a linguistic approach could provide a complementary alternative for gaining a holistic historical picture of the Asogli.

Unfortunately, no study reports have been found on the place names (toponyms) of the Anlo traditional area. Interaction with people, mostly the youth, in the area reveal that many people from the Anlo traditional area and indeed many Ghanaians do not have the slightest clue what the names of the settlements mean or how they originated. It is true these people know the names of where they come from.

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However, many do not know the people, events, and geographical features that originally gave rise to the place names that exist in Anlo land. This study investigated the origin, meaning and motivation of settlement names of the Anlo state and the morphological processes involved in the formation of the names. This study, therefore, focuses on the origin, meaning and motivation of place names: an onomastics of the settlement names of the Anlo state of Ghana.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the place names that have existed in the history of the Anlo State of Ghana, the origins, meaning and motives behind these names as well as the morphological processes in the formation of the place names. Specifically, the objectives of the study were to:

i. explain the origin, meaning and motivation of these Anlo settlement names;
ii. bring out the morphological processes involved in the formation of the settlement names of the Anlo state;
iii. classify these names according to the typology used with appropriate conclusions, thereby indicating the various names most generally used.

1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions were formulated to guide the study:

i. What are the origins, meanings and motives of settlement names in the Anlo state?
ii. What morphological processes are involved in the formation of the settlementnames?

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iii. How can these names be classified?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study would be beneficial to many a folk that would read it. First, a study of this kind would serve as a record for persons interested in the origin and meaning of names of these settlements or places. Second, it would serve as the bases for other place name studies in the Anlo Traditional state and other localities. Third, the results of the study, could help people to gain an insight into the process of development of places, the name of the places and the current developments going on. Finally, the study report will guide other people to replicate this study in other areas. By examining literature in the field of place naming, it can provide a basis for historical place names studies and develop an understanding of related studies.

1.6 Delimitationsof the Study

The research sought to investigate the origin, formation and meaning of town names of the Anlo state. The study was delimited to the thirty – six historical divisions of the Anlo state. These divisions were chosen because they represented the traditional Anlo communities. It is believed that these communities possess the history of the migration, establishment and naming of the settlements of the people of Anlo. The study was also limited to the morphological processes involved in the formation of the place names.

1.7 Limitations

The focus of this study involved both oral and written literature concerning the establishment of the thirty-six settlements of the Anlo traditional state, the naming of

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the towns, origin of the names, and what motivated the giving of such names. History in minds of men may become corrupted and fade away with the passage of time. Whatever might have been written or delivered orally may be influenced by emotions, values and perceptions. Thus, these subjective tendencies might affect the data collected, especially, the interview.This might create some biases that might influence the findings. In spite of these limitations, the study of the toponyms can contribute positively to a greater understanding of the history of settlements that have existed.

1.8 Organisation of the Study

The study report has been presented in five chapters. Chapter one comprises the background to the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, and significance of the study, delimitations of the study, limitations of the study and the organisation of the study. Chapter two reviews related literature on areas of the problem such as the theoretical framework, the concept of place names,the origin, formation and meaning of place names, how to conduct place name studies, morphological processes involved in place naming and empirical studies on place names. The others are morphological processes involved in the formation of names; and classification of names with appropriate conclusions. Chapter three describes how the study has been conducted. Chapter four presents the results under sub-themes: town names that have existed in the history of Anlo; the origin and meaning of the town names; the morphological processes involved in the formation of the town names; and classification of the town names with appropriate conclusions. Chapter five summarises the study, draws conclusions and proffers suggestions for further studies.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the related literature on the areas covered by the study. The purpose of this literature review is to provide background information about place names and types of place names studies. By examining literature in the field of place naming, it can provide a basis for historical place names studies and develop an understanding of related research. The literature review covers the theoretical framework of the study, the concept of place names, a brief history of the Anlo people and their migration. This literature review also provides information onplaces name formation in Ghanaian languages especially, the Ewe, morphological structure and analysis of place names, conduction of place name researches, and other place name studies.

2.1 The Concept of Toponyms

Toponym is the general term for any place or geographical entity (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1974). Related, more specific types of toponym include hydronym for a body of water and oronym for a mountain or hill. A toponymist is one who studies toponymy. Place names provide the most useful geographical reference system in the world. Consistency and accuracy are essential in referring to a place to prevent confusion in everyday business and recreation. The exact application of a toponym, its specific language, its pronunciation, and its origins and meaning are all important facts to be recorded during name surveys (Ashley, 2003).

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Toponyms are the "signposts to the past" (Gelling, 1988), and provide a special angle for studying the historical and cultural heritage of particular places and even large regions. Toponyms are not just linguistic forms, but also cultural and societal artifacts that offer insights into the history, habitat, and environmental perceptions of a certain culture (Jett, 1997). A place name may bespeak the history of a nation, the culture of a people, or the hopes of those that named the place (Room, 1997). Interpretation of place names helps us examine how their variation from one area to another is related to the historical change of environments from an older to a more recent era (Grootaers, 2003). Many toponyms are derived from natural and manmade landscapes, which map their evolution history and culture: water sources, landforms and bioforms and passageways. An environmental record and indigenous knowledge system has thus been preserved in toponyms (Hartmann, 2007). However, many of the place names in ethnic minority areas such as Yunnan have been obscured by time, political change, and the work of official government map makers, and call for significant investment of time and efforts to uncover the cultural and human history they encapsulate (Wang, 2012).

The application of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) technology represents a major advancement in toponymical studies because GIS enables the systematic examination of spatial patterns of place names and their association with other human and environmental factors. Some of the examples are: Wang et al. (2006) used GIS to examine the spatial patterns of some particular Tai toponyms and their relationship with terrain characteristics in south China and Southeast Asia.

The philosophical, linguistic and onomastic study of names has a long history going back to the ancient Greek philosophers: Permenides, Plato and Aristotle. Anderson (2007) notes: Permenides' association of use of a 'name' with the existence

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of a referent, and Plato and Aristotle's concern with names as referring to particulars rather than universals (denoted by lexical classes), were codified by the Stoics as a distinction that was translated into Latin as a distinction between proprium vs. commune ('proper' vs. 'common'). This is the starting point for the philosophical tradition of concern with names – along with the grammatical identification of names and nouns. One of the primary difficulties in grappling with proper names is in determining the kind of meaning they do or do not possess. John Algeo, former president of the American Name Society, Dictionary Society of North America, and the American Dialect Society, as quoted by Barnhart (1975) says, "A proper name is primarily any word X whosemeaning can be expressed as 'entity called X.' " Barnhart adds, "Proper nouns differ from common nouns because their meanings are not parallel: a proper name results from an act of name-giving to one entity; a common noun is a name that summarizes essential characteristics of a creature belonging to a class of creatures."

Much of the study of proper names actually falls within the scope of pragmatics more than semantics because of the inherent quality of reference. Herrick (1983) approaches place names from the perspective of the social scientist who may consider them as cultural artifacts. Just as potsherds, projectile points, and other material artifacts from an earlier age may be used by archeologists to make reasoned inferences about cultural items and patterns no longer visible, so the social scientists may use names as artifacts and by their analysis gain understandings and make inferences about cultural patterns which are of larger interest and which otherwise would be elusive.

A knowledge of place-names (towns, mountains, rivers, lakes, springs and other geographical sites), can be of great help to history because place-names seldom

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change. Even their phonetic evolution hardly ever leads to radical modifications and seldom affects the old pronunciation and spelling. It is for this reason that the study of place-names can reveal facts relating to the past and so yield information concerning the history, religion and civilization of the first occupants of the places concerned (Herrick, 1983; Cruse (2004).

Garra, Juliarena and Rey (1999) posit that with toponymy, it is possible to analyze the relations between and among people, history, geography and culture. As a discovery tool, cartography along with the closer investigation of place names facilitates a broader spectrum of information which has important impact on education and pedagogical practice. In this way, toponymy and its interpretation may be a significant means for students and teachers to multiply their ability to form meaningful and interdisciplinary activities. Teaching students how to research names and allowing them to develop these critical skills in a spirit full of curiosity gives them the ability to improve their knowledge of history, culture and people gradually. Knowledge of area, time and social order, provided through toponymic approaches instill three fundamental concepts for the development of every individual (Garra, Juliarena and Rey, 1999).

People from different professional backgrounds may be allured to some kind of study of geographical names. To linguists, specializing either in the historical or genealogical aspects of specific languages, or in the taxonomy of languages in general, toponyms contain a treasure of ancient language elements which allows them to under-build their theories or test their hypotheses. Likewise, historians may use toponym research to reveal ancient movements of peoples, or get a hint of cultural exchange patterns in forgotten ages. Moreover, recurrent name elements are known to

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store information on the history of settlement and land reclamation, the economic activities of the original settlers, and political developments (Tjeerd, 2002).

As Cruse (2004) states, naming is one of the three ways a speaker aids a hearer in selecting the appropriate referent; the other two ways being describing and pointing. Proper names are quite different from regular nouns in that they refer to only one entity, whereas common nouns, because of their primarily descriptive rather than referential nature, may refer to any of a class of entities denoted by the common noun. In other words, proper names apply to specific individuals, whereas common nouns refer to groups of individuals.

Cruse (2004) points out that proper names function to individuate members of large sets of similar entities, to distinguish which by means of descriptions would be either cumbersome, if sufficient details were known, or impossible, if they are not known. Cruse goes on to say that referring to someone or a place by means of a proper name is much more economical than referring by means of description. Thus, the concept of a name is indeed a most clever invention, and as such we are reminded again about the image of an artifact.

2.2 Onomastics and Toponymy

Onomastics is the study of all types of names (Freeman, 1985,). Onomastics is divided into two different types of names; anthroponyms, or personal names and toponyms, or place names (Freeman, 1985). Toponymy is "the historical and documentary investigation of the names used in the language of a particular country for the inhabited and formerly inhabited places, uninhabited places and geographical features of that country" (Freeman, 1985,). Toponymy is a formal discipline that originated in Britain during the 1860s (Freeman, 1985). Toponymy or place naming

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has become a discipline because it involves the deciphering of words from different and ancient languages (Freeman, 1985). Toponymic research can help in the analysis of place names and how they are developed (Nicolaisen, 1980). Toponymic research may also help develop an understanding of how place names migrate according to naturally occurring phenomenon, such as rivers or mountain ranges (Nicolaisen, 1980). This research study will use toponymic methods to examine the influences that physical features and cultures have on place names in our study area.

2.3 Onomatology

The study of place names can be complex, and entire studies, much like this one, are devoted to revealing the origin of place names. Onomatology is the study (or science) of names and their origins, including what place names reveal about people and their cultures (Baker, 1972). Through uncovering oral histories and stories regarding place names, this research can develop a better understanding of the sentiments felt toward the name, instead of simply analyzing the factual information about the place. Interviews are an effective way of conducting onomatology studies and can help uncover the meaning of the name and where it had been derived, instead of simply linking it to physical features in the area (Baker, 1972). This research will use onomatology, in an attempt to gain a greater understanding of the culture and stories that have helped develop these place names.

2.4 Lexicography

Lexicography involves the compilation of names, and includes their use and the meaning, which is compiled into one source, such as a dictionary (Baker, 1972). Onomatology and lexicography both take into consideration the importance of the

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legends, histories and cultures that contribute to the naming of places which helps in defining the origins of the names. These factors are important to complete an accurate analysis and understanding of the place names research (Baker, 1972).

The analysis of place names for the current study will be done through researching existing records of place names such as lexicography records, which can be found in public libraries and the Anlo council library. This study will use lexicography by compiling a dictionary of sorts and also by referencing others.

2.5 The Migration of the Anlo and Establishment of Settlements/Townships

Information from literature both oral and written showed that the Ewe speaking people migrated and settled in the areas occupied by them today (Ladzekpo, 1995; Lovell, 2005; Kumassah, 2009). According to oral tradition, present-day Eweland is not the original home of the entire Ewe speaking people. There are several accounts of their migration to the present land from various places such as the Sudan, Nigeria, Benin (Dahomey), and Togoland. All traditions agree that the Ewe speaking people came from somewhere in the north, and though each sub-group gives a slightly different version of the story, it seems to be generally accepted that they migrated from a place called Ketu or Amedzofe, somewhere east of the Niger. Because of security reasons, they left and thereafter settled down in a place called Notsie, in Togoland.

The line of migration of the Ewe is remembered as Ketu-Tado -Nuatsi (Notsie). Some oral historians put the line of migration as Oyo-Ketu-Notsie, or Oyo-Ketu-Tado-Notsie. Whether Oyo or Tado is left out from the line of migration by some groups through forgetfulness or because their stay was very brief and therefore insignificant is not known. At any rate, in all accounts Notsie was their last stop and

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centre of dispersion. The arrival of the Ewe people in Notsie is placed around 1500. There is no evidence of how long they were in Notsie. According to these traditions, in the three main groups, a northern, a middle and southern group, each of which migrated to, and settled in, different parts of Togoland, their present home (Ladzekpo, 1995; Lauman, 2005; Lovell, 2005; Amenumey, 2006; Kumassah, 2009).

From available evidence, it would appear that the Anlo and their neighbours arrived in their present homes sometime around the early part of the sixteenth century. There is no history about the original inhabitants of these areas. However, it is believed that either they fled as the Anlos were coming, or became assimilated into the Anlo population. Some of the implements and tools used by these earlier inhabitants have survived in the form of Sofia or Sokpewo called stones of god. In what is now Anlo territory, there were traces of the former inhabitants at Woe, Atiavi and also at Avenofeme. This final migration saw the Anlos in their present homes by the early 1700's. Later around 1792, as a result of an agreement that miscarried, the residents of Keta migrated to and found Agbozume, which became the capital of a new state of Some. Two of Togbi Wenya's descendants, Awanyedor and Akaga were co-founders of Agbozume (was established after Keta War of 1790).

The majority left in groups. A few who could not go with them left in small batches afterwards. A few fled to seek refuge with relatives at Wuga (Zomayi). When they started coming back after sometime because of their landed property, the Anlos asked help from Kobu Koto (Nana Akoto Kwafo, Akwamuhene) to eject the remnants. Blekusu became the dividing line between Anlo and Some along the coast.

During this and other times, Anloga provided a court of second instance for Aflao and Wheta who readily identified themselves with Anlo. She was, therefore, regarded as the big sister and was referred to in matters of common interest. Together,

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these states constitute greater Anlo.In addition to Anlo Ewes, there are a large number of other Ewe states like Adaklu, Peki, Ho, Tove, Kpeve, Kpando and Hohoe, to their north of Ghana and Be, Gen, Watsi, and others in the Republic of Togo(Ladzekpo, 1995; Lauman, 2005; Lovell, 2005; Amenumey, 2006; Kumassah, 2009).

2.6 Place Name Formation in Ghanaian Languages

Nearly all the languages of Ghana belong to two main families, Kwa and Gur. These are classified under a larger group known as the Volta-Congo languages. Nine languages have the status of being government-sponsored. These are: Kwa: Akan, Dangme, Ewe, Ga, Gonja, Nzema. Gur: Dagaare/Waale, Dagbani, Kasem.Berry (1958) stated that it is common to see the same place name of Ghana written with different spellings. There are a number of reasons for this. First for historical, technological and international reasons the special symbols now included in Ghanaian language letters are not used in place name signs, road signs, or maps. This means that the sounds to which they correspond have had to be represented by Roman letters (the normal English alphabet), and there is no agreed unique way of doing this. The history of orthography, or 'correct writing', in Ghana spans over a hundred years. Second, it is from contraction. Many place names are traditionally held to have been formed from comments made by settlers or founders based on their life experiences. Often it is merely an extract of the comment that is represented in the name. This then undergoes corruption with time. A third reason for inconsistency comes from the effect of 'vowel harmony'. Native English-speakers often find this concept very daunting, yet even in colloquial English it is not uncommon to find a primitive unstandardised form in operation (Obeng, 2000).

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In Akan place names 'ɔ' is often represented as ‘aw’, as in Nkawkaw, and Asukawkaw. The fact that ‘w’ is also used as a consonant following ‘a’, as in Kumawu and Fawumang, adds to the confusion for the uninitiated. In Ewe names, the same sound is often represented by ‘or’, as in Atorkor and Klikor. The common suffix ‘-ko*f*e’ meaning ‘hamlet, village’ in Ewe names shows a double difficulty, because the bilabial sound ‘*f*’ is sometimes represented as ‘f’ and sometimes ‘p’. Thus the forms ‘-kofe’, ‘-kope’, ‘-korpe’ are all in use (Berry, 1958; Obeng, 2000; Batoma, 2006).

2.7 Ewe Place Names

Many Ewe place names are based on contractions of comments made by people involved in migrations into the area in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. This makes it difficult or impossible to make a first guess at the origin of an unfamiliar name. Perhaps the simplest type of place name to be found among the Ewe people is that based on the name of a founder. The Ewe word *kɔfe* is variously translated as cottage, hamlet or village. This is simply appended to the name of the settlement founder, e.g. as in Dzelukofe, or Dzelu's Village. Since the sounds in *kɔfe* are difficult to represent accurately with English orthography, the variants *kope*, *korfe*, *korpe* are often seen in print. Jakob Spieth (1906) translated by Tsaku (2011) gives an interestingly counter-intuitive pastoral description of the formation of such settlements. He states:

> “The villages developed out of towns ... The inhabitants from the interior often walk several hours away from their ancestral home in order to lay out their farms. In the middle of the farm a hut of palm branches is built ... If the external conditions are favourable, perhaps a second and third family settles there. .. More and more family members

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> settle in their hamlets, and in this way a village, termed kɔfe, emerges. What one understands by kɔ is part of the family that lives in town. The village that has emerged usually adopts the name of the man who settled their first."

Frequently a settlement or farm would be made in the location of significant trees. These may have had domestic, social or even religious importance. This has resulted in toponyms which identify location in relation to named tree types. Locative postpositions which are often used are *-me*, meaning 'in, among' and *-ɖome*, meaning 'under'. Examples of this are: Agome, Agodome (Among/Under the Fan Palms), Deme (In the Palms), and Adidome (Among the Baobab Trees). Other typical environmental features are also used to make place names, such as Todzi (On the Mountain), Avedzime (In the Red Forest), and Gbadzeme (In the Flat Place) (Spieth, 1906).

Some toponyms owe their traditions to history. According to Dugbazah (2007), the traditions of the Abutia people (Volta Region, Ghana) name a number of places not now to be seen on maps where they attempted to settle after leaving Notsie. Dugbazah (2007) lists Ketu, Tovledu (near present-day Battor) and Agbenutodzi among these temporary settlements. The last of these places, Agbenutodzi, appears to have been close to their present dwelling places, but did not satisfy the womenfolk because it required them to make frequent journeys downhill to fetch water, which therefore had to be carried uphill (*to* = mountain; *dzi* = on). Their complaints are variously recorded as "Abua lialia ti mi" and "Abua didi ti ame" which express the 'ɖeɖiteameŋu' or tedium of their task, from which phrases the people name is derived. From Agbenutodzi the people finally moved "downhill" to form the three foundational villages, Abutia Agove, Abutia Kloe and Abutia Teti.

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Kwaku (1976) reports on the toponyms Goviefe Agodome, Goviefe Kowu and Goviefe Todzi. He states that the migration of the Govie people after their exodus from Notsie is traced first to the northern foot of Mt. Adaklu, the inselberg south of Ho. Led by their chief, Go (or Goe), they made a settlement called Goefe (Go's Home). Disagreements with local people resulted in a further move north-west to their present homeland in the Klito highlands, where they founded what is now the seat of their paramountcy, Goviefe Todzi ('the home of Go's children on the mountain'). However, as the years passed and the community grew, satellite villages were founded on and around the mountain. The chronological order in which these villages were founded is Akloba, Gbogame, Agodome, and lastly Kowu. These five villages make up the 'division' of Goviefe. According to Kwaku (1976), two more divisions to the north of Goviefe, namely Woadze and Have, also claim Go as their apical ancestor, though there is apparently some debate as to whether this person was male (Go) or female (Goe). The three divisions therefore make up a traditional 'state' which is known as Goeviwodutaeto, or 'the three towns of the children of Goe'

2.8 Importance of Place Names

Place names have been created to help people identify settlements and to refer to places in an area (Freeman, 1985). To Freeman, they were developed both to help recognize places and their location in relation to other places. The study of place names began in Canada when the federal government began to create maps of Canada, and found that many names on different maps contradicted one another (Freeman, 1985). If different names were used for one place, the government discussed with community members what names were preferred by the residents. Discussing and correcting contradicting place names helped the government

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determine the official names for these places (Freeman, 1985). As a result of these name changes, many modern maps of Canada have adopted the local names for places as the official name. When the Canadian Geographic Names Board compiled maps with official names, their purpose was to record the correct location and spelling of the place name, not to gather the history of the area (Freeman, 1985).

The study of local toponymy and of place-names within the wider district can considerably add to our understanding of the local landscape of assembly sites, their topography and functional arrangements, and their wider context. A variety of place-name elements make reference to places of congregation for a number of different purposes: judicial, political, commercial, religious and social. Sometimes these names coincide with known meeting-places, perhaps an indication of the range of functions that could take place there. Natural or man-made features may have been used to mark and identify meeting-places, or as integral parts of the procedures associated with assembly: mounds or platforms, pillars or trees may have provided focal points for speakers; ridges or depressions in the landscape may have served as natural auditoriums; and in some cases man-made benches may have been provided (Freeman, 1985; Tent and Blair, 2011).

It has been observed that little is known about the history of some place names or how these names have changed over time. This research looked into the history of the place names in the Anlo state of Ghana to determine the culture and history of the area, and the stories of the people who lived there. Currently, there has been a limited amount of documentation of the history of place names. This is reflected in the information available, regarding the study areas of town names in Ghana. Place names are of great importance to Anlo's history because they can reveal a great deal about the culture and history of the Anlos.

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Jett (1997) highlighted how place names can tell the "history, cultural attitudes, and values of the people that used them". Place names document the history of people living in an area and highlight their interactions with their environment and surrounding area (Jett, 1997). Place names are important in identifying the sites of historic events. Some place names are not easily identifiable and their exact location is not recorded (Westerdahl, 1980).

Place names may reveal the history of the people that would otherwise have been forgotten. For example, David Henige wrote an article on "The Book of Mormon", and how historic place names recorded in this book have been used to find the present day locations of where Mormon people lived many years ago (Henige, 2007). These places were located through early records, which were based on the physical features of the land (Henige, 2007). Henige notes that without place names, Mormon culture and history of the area would have disappeared and been forgotten (Henige, 2007). By analyzing current and historical place names, research can determine important aspects about the culture, history, and lives of the people who have inhabited the area.

2.9 How Places are Named

Places are named in many different ways. Place names may be reflective of a political or economic state, or may be linked to the founder or prominent member of the community (Whitbeck, 1911). Place names may also be assigned in a commemorative manner, recognizing people or significant events (Rayburn, 1994). A commemorative event may also be the celebration of a company opening or to honour a significant person (Whitebeck, 1911). For example, many place names in Canada are from the era of wars (e.g. World War One) and commemorate the places where

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battles were fought and soldiers died (Rayburn, 1994). Some place names also have religious or spiritual connotations, or may be based on physical features of the area (Rayburn, 1994). Often, place names are based on rivers, valleys, creeks or other physical land features in the area. Factors such as these may either be revealed through research in libraries, archives or through interviews with local historians and other experts.

Sometimes, places are named after other places. Names from one place can sometimes be borrowed and then used again to name a different place (Rayburn, 1994). It is true that one existed before the second was founded. This means that the first was borrowed to name the second place. According to Rayburn (1994), many place names in other countries have influenced place naming in Canada, and continue to do so for towns, cities, gardens, parks, roads and street names.Rayburn added that many places were named when early explorers and settlers arrived in Canada. These settlers wished to rename parts of Canada after places from their home country. For example, Portuguese travelers from the sixteenth century landed on the coasts of Newfoundland and named places with Portuguese names, such as Bonavista and Burgeo. Many of these Portuguese names either remain in Portuguese or have been translated to English.

Some places have been named after species of animals and birds. Deichmann (1985) explained that in Atlantic Canada there are numerous names that have been named after animals and birds. Places have been named after animals and birds because these names tend to be memorable. For example, there is a place named “Red Fox” in Newfoundland.

Place names have changed over time for a variety of reasons. Sometimes, place names change because the town or city in the area wishes to change the name of

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a place or physical feature. If a town is unhappy with the name of a place, they may petition to have it changed to another name. An example of a change such as this is the city of 'Berlin, Ontario' being changed to 'Kitchener, Ontario' during World War One (Rayburn, 1994). This often occurs with names that may be considered 'sensitive' or offensive to some people. Sensitive place names are names that may offend people because they are not politically acceptable in our society. For example, many places or lakes with the name "Squaw" have been changed because they are offensive to Aboriginal peoples. Similarly, other place names have been changed if their meaning of aboriginal origin is an offensive word in other languages (Rayburn, 1994).

A long process is involved in changing the name of a place, and it often involves many appeals to the Geographic Board and interviews with community members. Sometimes residents simply do not like the name of a place or physical feature, such as a river, because it may adversely affect their community (Rayburn, 1994). Such was the case for the city of Lethbridge, which is on a river that was originally known as 'Belly River'. The residents of Lethbridge were unhappy with the name because they felt it to be embarrassing and crude, and after many appeals to the Geographic Board the name was changed to 'Old Man River' because the name was linked to the history and natural features in the area (Rayburn, 1994).

Henige (2007) also looked closely at place names. He argued that if a place name remained as it had been originally, the community would be provided with local memories. Henige provided the example of the pilgrims in the nineteenth century, for whom place names were important because they evoked a memory of the place. When they would later visit it, they would be reminded of the history and culture of their ancestors (Henige, 2007).

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This perspective of place names that have been changed due to colonialism will help contribute to the Historical Place Names study for Anlo towns. By recognizing that European place names may have replaced Native place names in the study area it is important to track the changes in place names and the reasons for these changes. This research project determines whether Anlo place names have been changed over time.

In many cases, a place will have different names that are not the official name. Wright (1929) explains that local people often have names for places such as physical land forms that do not appear on official maps or documents. These are known as 'vernacular' names, which mean the name for a place that is known by the local population, although they are not official. For example, there is a mountain called the "White Mountain" in the United States that overlooks Puget Sound.As new settlers or visitors travel to an area, they tend to bring about changes in the place names. This is especially the case when there are newcomers from different cultures or educational backgrounds from the original settlers. It is common for names of places to become ingrained within the people who had inhabited the area for a long period of time. For example, farms or estates that have been known for generations to belong to one family can acquire a name simply because it has been that way for a long time (Wright, 1929).

Wright (1929) observes that place names continuously change when there are new settlers in the area, although many places have unofficial names held by the original or local inhabitants in the area. Wright stresses that place names are important because they allow us to track the changes of names, and also provide other meanings of the name that may have existed at other times. In order to change place names officially there is a long process that must be followed by the township or city.

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2.10 Comparison of Place Names

Wright (1929) compared Western European with North American place names. He found that Western European place names were denser geographically, and have very complicated meanings and interpretations compared to North America. He noted that many place names in North America have indigenous origins and thus require knowledge of the area and language to understand these names. This is partly because many indigenous place names have undergone transformation over the centuries due to European settlers. When studying aboriginal place names it is important to understand the history of the place, which will help to understand its aboriginal origin.

2.11.1 Sense of Place

The concept of "sense of place" is very important to place names research (Butz & Eyles, 1997). "Sense of place" involves a feeling of being in a particular place, whereas "place" merely refers to where one is known and where one knows others. It is important for people to feel attached to a particular place, as this provides a sense of belonging (Butz & Eyles, 1997). Moreover, place is a centre for human existence and it is important in helping define the identity of an individual. Sense of place can also be influenced by residential status (Hay, 1998). Hay argues that if a person lives in one location for an extended period of time, they may well develop a sense of place. Relph (2001) also talked about sense of place in a book titled "10 Geographic Ideas that Changed the World". He argued that sense of place connects people to the world, and that it ties people to their surroundings.

Sense of place has always been important among First Nations peoples. Wilson (2003) conducted a study on sense of place among Aboriginal peoples. She

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argued that a place has the ability to shape the identity of a person. Her study focused on the Anishinabek, an aboriginal group in North America. Wilson (2006) found that the Anishinabek emphasized being 'close to nature'. The land where they settled was not simply viewed as a place that shaped or influenced their identity, but they also became part of the land. It was essential for the aboriginal group that the land provided all the necessary resources for survival. By examining these views, it can be concluded that sense of place is a useful factor in understanding place, and one's connection to it.

2.11.2 The Structure of Place Names

There are three general structures for place names; *descriptive names, non-descriptive names* and *mixed-type* names (Freeman, 1985). Descriptive names describe characteristics of the place or land features (Freeman, 1985). Non-descriptive place names are: named after people, events; borrowed from another country; religious connotations; casual names or metamorphosed names (Freeman, 1985). The third type of place name structure is mixed-type names.

2.12 Conducting Place Names Research

Place name researches have been conducted by many researchers using different methods. Westerdahl (1980) highlights some of the important principles that must be followed when conducting place name research. In his article, entitled "On Oral Traditions and Place Names", Westerdahl highlights the principles of place name research and the rules these studies must follow. He specified that place names research must follow three main principles. The first is that the names must be in old written forms, which means that it cannot include documents or charts. The second

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principle is that place name research has to follow the morphological rules of linguistic problems. Lastly, place names should provide factual information which explains the traditions and history of the area of interest. By following these three principles when conducting place names research; research can be conducted in a professional, accurate, and representative manner.

Scott (2001) emphasized the importance of recognizing changes that have occurred in place names and why these changes take place. Scott states that any place name change has an impact on the community and all community members, although this impact is not always fully recognized. When place names are changed, the connection and sense of place that people have to a place may be lost, along with important historical and cultural meanings (Scott, 2001). Scott suggests thatby developing an understanding of the multitude of factors that influence the naming of a place, researchers can anticipate the attachments that individuals feel to a place. This can highlight the different connections that exist, and ensure that a Eurocentric point of view is avoided when interpreting place names. Ensuring that the research or researchers do not adopt a Eurocentric point of view is important because such an opinion can create an "us" versus "them" relationship between the researchers and other people who have played a role in naming places.An Eurocentric point of view may also lead to failing to recognize the full and accurate history and culture of the place names.

Ganong (1911) cited in Freeman (1985) outlined three methodological approaches to conducting place names research on aboriginal place names. The first approach is "The Conventional Stage", which is where interpretations are made of aboriginal place names, and authorities are asked what the names mean. This method involves very little analysis or questioning of findings. The second approach is "The

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Interrogational Stage", where interpretations of the names are gathered from different sources and researchers seek the meaning that matches the names (Freeman, 1985,). There is very little analysis of the meaning of these names. The final approach, and the one that Ganong recommends using, is "The Investigational Stage" which involves a positivist methodology. This means collecting as much information from as many sources as possible to develop a meaning of the place name. This third research approach ensures the greatest validity in place name meaning, and uses several different methods to ensure that gathering of data is representative. This research project used the third methodological approach, which involved gathering information from several sources to determine the correct place names and their meaning. (Freeman 1985).

2.13 Morphosemantic Analysis of Town/Place Names

Morphological analysis is an attempt made to capture the structure of language at the word level or concerned with the 'forms of words' (Matthew, 2000). The term was first used in the study of the 'forms' of living organisms in Biology (Agbedo, 2000). It has the basic concept of word and morpheme. Mohammed and Badejo (2000) satisfy that names depict the beliefs and cultural values of a people. They also identify that it is possible to add prefixes to other lexical items to form names.

Semantic analysis generally deals with meaning in language, It is concerned with the relationship between word form and extra linguistic entity it represents. The relationship isregarded as being psychologically real since it manifests in the speaker's or hearer's mind as aconcept, which is regarded as a crucial intermediary between word form and its referent (Agbedo, 2000). Raper (1983) cited in Ntuli (1992a) points out that connotation as apsycho-linguistic concept has to do with the

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association of a name with some extra-linguisticentities which the hearer sometimes makes upon hearing a name. Place names, according toVárnai (2003), have a kind of semantic content and they have to be cultural in meaning. Theestablishment of this meaning according to Raper (1983) cited in Ntuli (1992a) is consideredas the first necessary step required in onomastic investigation.

Letsoela (2015) made a semanticanalysis of Sesotho place names (evidence from bus stop names). The study examines the names of bus stops in Lesotho with a view to unveiling the factors that could have motivated the awarding of such names. Findings indicate that the names could be classified into four categories: descriptive, metaphorical, experiential and mythological. The names in the Descriptive category are merely referential, carrying only the denotative meanings. Names in the Metaphorical category, on the contrary, reflect the sophisticated thought processes of those who award such names. With regard to the names in the experiential category, it can be argued that they point to the importance the Basotho people attach to historical events. They are therefore symbolic. Lastly, names in the Mythological category indicate that myths play such a big role in the culture of Basotho people that they are given permanent reference in the form of bus-stop names. The study concludes that through the names of bus stops, Basotho narrate their experiences, emotions and belief systems, among other things.

Lalitha (2015) made a thorough linguistic analysis of place names in Coorg (Kodagu), a district in Karnataka state, India. The study attempted to trace the changes that have occurred in the place names of this district due to various factors which include geographical location of the district, influence of the languages of the other states and districts sharing borders with it, perceptions of the Non-Kodava speakers such as the Kannadigas and British. The analysis of the place names of

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Coorg revealed that the place names of Coorg district have their own unique character in the background of language. Geographical boundaries of the Coorg district also play a vital role. The place names were influenced by Malayalam language from border of state of Kerala, Kannada from Hassan district and Hunsur taluk of Mysuru district and Tulu from Dakshina Kannada district. “Kodava” language, being a member of the Dravidian language family has influences from other Dravidian languages as well. Also, major languages of the lineages of the rulers who ruled Coorg over time, English of the British and the languages of the tribes such as Yerava and Kuruba have made their own influence on the place names in this district.

2.14 Studies on Place Names

Klugah (2013) posits that scholars seek to present the history of the Ewe in two main ways, namely, the symbolic and the scientific. Thus, migration narratives constitute good examples of the symbolic historical genre. Using Tent and Blair’s toponymic typology, Klugah (2013) tried to extract scientific historical information from some of the names of places contained in the migration narratives of the Asogli of the Volta Region. The study found out that toponyms are history-preserving tools among the Asogli since they are used to mark certain important occurrences on the migration route. The linguistic approach used also revealed that Asogli migration narrative toponyms have brought various grammatical structures together through the process of agglutination. The study, therefore, concluded that while scholars who adopt the scientific approach may rely, for example, on archaeology, a linguistic approach could provide a complementary alternative for gaining a holistic historical picture of the Asogli.The conclusions drawn are that except for a few steps, which were not applicable to the toponymicanalysis of Asogli migration narrative

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toponyms,it canbe said on the whole,thatthe analytical framework of Tent and Blair has been helpful to this linguistic analysis. One such step, which was inapplicable, was the identification and differentiationbetweenthe specific elements and their generic counterparts. This difficulty was due mainly to variations in languages.

The implication is that the model needs a little modification to work perfectly for Asogli migration toponyms in particular and Ewe toponyms in general. Considering how robust Tent and Blair's model is, any attempt at modifying it to suit Ewe toponyms would be a bold step toward developing a framework that could help to analyse all Ewe toponyms, the study, undoubtedly, touches on relatively uncharted groundsin the study of Ewe languageand Ewe history. Therefore, it appears that it yields only minimal results now but all the same opens sufficient room fordeveloping research in the subject. This fact notwithstanding, the analysis brings to the fore three important features of Asogli (Ewe) toponyms. They are: a) Toponyms are constructed in Ewe through the process of agglutination; b) the elements that feature in Asogli migration toponyms belong to various word classes. For example, one finds nouns, adverbs, adjectives among others in thestructure of these toponyms. In effect, the toponyms have various grammatical structures; and c) toponyms are used to mark certain important occurrences on the migration route and are therefore truly history-preserving tools among the Asogli.In conclusion, while one may have oral tradition andarchaeology as sources of historical fact, oneother way of drawing historywould be through linguistic analysis. This is shown from this analysis of toponyms.

Mireku-Gyimah and Mensah (2014) study the original native names of some towns in the Tarkwa Mining Area in the Western Region of Ghana. The objective is to rediscover their meanings and why and how the original native names were changed to the current documented ones. It is a study of Ghanaian toponymy as

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human settlement. The authors interviewed chiefs/sub-chiefs, natives and other knowledgeable persons, who are the custodians of the unwritten literature behind the names, which have been transmitted orally by the natives from generation to generation. The study finds that the original native names in Akan derive from names of rivers, cherished historical events and important persons and that the change from the native names to the current documented names arises from European influence in two main forms: unconscious use of non-Akan (anglicized) spelling, or conscious replacement of the Akan native names. The change has led to the dilution or obliteration of Ghanaian literature and culture. Today, the original native names and their meanings are lost or getting lost on society, owing to use of the "foreignized" names in written documents. It is recommended that Ghana reverts to use the original native names to preserve the related literature and historical significance.

According to Giraut and Benoit (2012), Togolese place names in the capital Lome can be interpreted as combinations of geopolitical contexts and political goals and technologies. The first layer of place names recorded in the capital city area is typical from the geopolitical context of colonial conquest with the German colonial rule. The German colonial rule built the city and name the main streets after prestigious figureheads related to the German empire (Kayser, Bismark or to the head of the German African colonies). However, after the First World War, the German colonial empire was put under the mandate of theLeague of Nations. Day-to-day administrative affairs in former German Togoland werehanded, under the stewardship of the League of Nations, to the United Kingdom and France.The shift from German to French administration in the eastern part led to the implementationof numerous changes including the renaming of places in the capital city Lomé: each andevery name relating to Germany being banned and replaced by others relating to France

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orFrench colonial history. Another limited round of place renaming took place from 1960, incelebration of the country's independence from French colonial rule. The 1967 military coup meant political and military empowerment of people from the North over the political elite fromthe South showing in many ways where the new power came from. Place renaming occurredagain, even in rural areas. In the 1970s, a name cleansing – topononymic as well aspatronymic – took place under the new political ideology of "African authenticity".Nevertheless, by law, each and every Togolese citizen had something to do with these changes.

Currently, the neighbourhoods of the capital Lome comprise Kodjoviakope, Nyekornakpoe, Yovo Kome, Akposso Djigbe, Anecho and Tokoin. These names can be distinguished at morphological level. The morphological processes, for example, are Kodjoviakope (*Kodjovia – kope*), and Nyekornakpoe (*Nyekor – nakpoe*). There are eight neighbourhoods in Badou which can be distinguished at morphological, social and functional levels. These include Badou Djigbe, Agadja, Ahlomado, Zongo Haossa, Zongo Kotokoli, Ikpabe, and Salaga Kodji (Giraut et al., 2012).

Nicolaisen (1987) studied the farm names of the two northernmost islands of Orkney, a total of 136 names. 116 of these are of Norse origin. Nicolaisen identified 39 different generics and 41 specifics. These are compared to name elements found in Rygh's *Norske Gaardnavne* ('Norwegian farm names', NG). In nearly every case (even where Nicolaisen does not identify it, as for *eyrar*), there is a Norwegian parallel. In most cases the actual compounds are also found in Norway. On this basis, he concludes that the Orkney names are imitative: "there cannot be any doubt that the element of imitation is predominant and that any innovative impulse is almost completely absent". Nicolaisen list a few name elements specific to Orkney: ON *bölkr* and *stæði*, and Celtic *trave* (cf. Gael *treabh*) which is used of earth fences in the

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northern parts of Orkney. Some name elements develop new meaning, the most important one being *bólstaðr*.

Hunn (1996) conducted a cross-cultural research seeking semantic universals in place-name systems. Over 1000 place-names in the Sahaptin Indian language of north-western North America are analyzed for syntactic, semantic, and distributional regularities. Comparisons are drawn with Dena'ina Athabaskan, Yurok, and local English place-name systems. The study revealed that binomial place-names are rare in Sahaptin, though common in other languages. Sahaptin place-names very frequently are descriptive of biological and topographic features of sites. Many Sahaptin place-names describe features of land and water as if in motion. Place-names are sacred in origin; thus no places are named for persons. Quantitative analysis of the spatial distribution of place names unexpectedly reveals a striking correlation between place-name density and population density which holds for a sample of 14 languages. This appears due to a tendency for an individual's repertoire of place-names to be limited to approximately 500. An unexpected finding of this study follows the application of the notion of lexical density to cross-linguistic comparisons. In a sample of 14 languages from native North America, Mexico, the Pacific Islands, and Australia, it was discoveredthat a powerful correlation existed between the lexical density of place-names and the population density of the associated society. To fully explain this striking regularity will require additional research. But the correlation may be attributable to individual psychological constraints on information processing (Hunn, 1996).

Bugybayeva, Omarova, Sydykova, Kenan, Bogatov, Bogatova (2014) studied the modern Kazakh values. They found that values such as nation, language, culture can be analyzed through its word-stock of geographical terms - toponyms. They stated

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that toponyms of any country, in general, can reveal linguistic and cultural peculiarities national language: history of the nation, its famous people, development, famous events, national characteristics and others. Their research analyzed the word-formation analysis and ontological features of Kazakh toponyms, peculiar characteristics of well-known place names in the country and classified them according to their structure and gave detailed word-formation analysis of toponyms. While analyzing structural forms of toponyms, they paid attention to anthropological principles of regional names of geographical places: cities, towns, villages, streets, sea, rivers, deserts, and forests, ethno-cultural and historical places of Kazakhstan.

Bugybayeva, Omarova, Sydykova, Kenan, Bogatov, Bogatova (2014) concluded that Kazakh toponyms are based on historical facts, famous people and events in the history of the country. They have Turkic language character and Slovanic language influence. According to the semantic peculiarities they are divided into several groups: geographic nomens, subdivided into orographic, hydrographic, and landscape terms: metals, minerals, and rocks, types of settlements and fortresses, kinship terms, religion and mythology, cult places and buildings and others. According to their structure, toponyms can be divided into: simple and compound toponyms. Compound toponyms have geographical terms: su, tobe, tau, which are very productive in the formation of toponyms. In general, toponyms are proof for the cultural and historical facts in the history of the facts.

Molchanova (1979)'s study of the toponymys of Gorno-Altai region of Russia bordering on the South Altai, mentioned that toponyms of that region cannot always reveal their meaning with the help of the Altai language. Some of the toponyms can be studied with the help of ancient Turkic language; the other is connected with Kirgiz, Kazakh, Khakass, Shor, Tuvinian languages (Magin, 2011). Abdrakhmanov

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(1991) ascribed one of such disputable groups of toponyms to the Altai period, but warns about the conditionality of such classification. This group of geographical names of East Kazakhstan includes Altai, Arkat, Burkat, Bakanas, Yertis, Zerendi, Katonkaragai, Kokidaba, Kalba, Karagem, and Taraty. The analysis of the toponyms, showed that the toponyms are closely connected with historical facts and geographic variety of the country. It was also revealed that the etymology of the toponyms, had to do with the formation and development of toponyms in Turkic languages in general. The meaning and structure of toponyms, had to do with analysing linguistic features of Turkic language, too. On the other hand, the role of Slovanic toponyms also plays very important role in the formation Kazakh toponyms. Being one of former republics of the Soviet Union, thousands of Russian toponyms were borrowed from Russian language after the October revolution for about 70 years. This period was the most productive in the formation of toponyms in whole history of the country, because the country was under the rules of United Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR). The third period that changed the formation of toponyms was the latest 20 years independence of the country. There were coined national toponyms and most of Russian toponyms were replaced to national place names.

Zhang (2012) conducted a research in Yunnan, with the largest number of minority languages in China, labelled as “The Museum of Dialects”. The rich diversity of ethnic groups is reflected in its toponyms (place names). The objectives of this study are to (1) construct a GIS database of toponyms in Yunnan at the prefecture, county and township levels from a comprehensive toponymical dictionary series of China; (2) analyze the spatial distribution of Han, Tibeto-Burman (Zang-Mian) and Kam-Tai (Zhuang-Dong) toponyms and its association with environmental factors; and (3) examine the historical evolution of toponyms. Results of the study

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show that the highest concentrations of Zang-Mian toponyms are in north and the eastern mountainous areas, and Zhuang-Dong concentrate in the southwest and southeast areas with lower elevations. Statistical analysis reveals that Zhuang-Dong toponyms tend to have lower elevations than Han toponyms, and Zang-Mian toponyms tend to in places higher than Han toponyms. Both minority groups of toponyms are slightly farther from rivers but closer to railways or the major cities than Han toponyms. The standard distance and standard deviation methods help reveal the historical trend of gradual expansion of Han settlement in Yunnan as recorded in the time stamps of toponyms. In Ming Dynasty, Han people spread out into south and north, especially the north area. In the Qing Dynasty, Han people expanded to the frontier areas. This suggests that the most significant spread of Han settlement in Yunnan happened in the Qing dynasty.

One indication of historical change is reflected in place names over time" (Wang, 2011). Many older minority names are named after geographical features. Therefore, they can be recognized at present time. On the other hand, many other older minority place names have been obliterated or modified in the process of sinification (Wang, 2011).

Butler (2012) conducted a study on names. This research uses literary resources as evidence against the argument that names are potentially semantically meaningless entities. A secondary goal is to highlight and discuss the value of onomastics from both a literary and linguistic perspective. The thesis proposes a methodology for the assessment of literary sources based on genre, arguing that names and genre in turn, may be defined through their respective engagement with thematic considerations, providing a relevant critical structure by which to assess the application or construction of names within fiction. The proposed methodology is first

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used to assess the place names within dystopian literature, taking Orwell's *1984* (1949), Huxley's *Brave New World* (1931), and Zamyatin's *We* (1924) as exemplar texts for the genre. The emblematic themes identified within the onymic patterns (propaganda, classification and regulation) all share a common thematic root: power and control. In order to assess the validity of this approach, the fictional worlds depicted in a selection of other dystopic texts are also examined. A special study is made of terrapsychology and fictional ontology, as well as of three distinct subgenres of the gothic. Case studies of the latter are each focused around a different ontological mode (fictional, part-fictional, and non-fictional place names), covering the fantastic world of Peake's Gormenghast setting (two texts published in 1946 and 1950), Lovecraft's variant New England county (six texts, 1922 to 1936), and the representative contemporary setting of Brook's *World War Z* (2006), respectively.

These studies were exploratory in nature and illustrated the great potentials of spatial analysis in toponymical study. However, several observations from the studies call for more in-depth investigation of settlement and migration history of various ethnic groups in the region. One major challenge, encountered in this study, is the lack of historical written records of minority groups. Another direction to advance this line of work is by fieldwork and interviews of local experts on the subject.

2.15 Theoretical framework of the Study

The toponymic typology developed by Tent and Blair (2011) was adopted for this study. Toponymy, in its broad sense, involves the study of the origin and meaning of names of places (Cano, 2008). Toponyms, as used in this research, imply names of settlements in the Anlo state whose analyses could provide significant meaning and historical information. According to Radding and Western (2010), toponyms are

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given intentionally to impart a certain meaning; they are not arbitrary and are better considered as 'symbols' because they have layers of meanings that go beyond ordinary words. Toponyms are essentially history preserving devices for groups of people; hence studying toponyms involves attempts at answering "wh" questions such as what is being named? Where is it located? Who named it? When was it named? And why was it given such a name?

Apart from Tent and Blair's (2011) toponymic typology, which is chosen to guide this study, there are other toponymic typologies. These include those proposed by Mecken (1967), Stewart (1975), Baker and Carmony (1975), Glaser (1994), Smith (1996), among others. These works build on each other's findings in their order of succession (Tent and Blair, 2009). For example, Baker and Carmony's (1975) typology is regarded as an improvement on the work of Stewart. They introduced three new categories which were absent in Stewart's model. Baker and Carmony's typology consists of names for a person; names of other places; location names; descriptive names; inspirational names; humorous names; Indian and pseudo Indian names; names from other languages other than English; incident names; folk etymology; coined names; mistake names; and legend names.

This typology is critiqued mainly for its use of ambiguous terms, which in effect, allows overlapping classification. An example of this weakness is observed in the overlap between the categories (i) Descriptive names, (ii) Indian and pseudo Indian names and (iii) Names from other languages other than English. The weakness here is that all three categories could be descriptive in nature allowing the possibility of one toponym to belong to all three categories at the same time. This makes it difficult to judge when a particular category helps to explain a given toponym. For such reasons, the typology of Baker and Carmony fails to distinguish clearly between

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its categories. Other typologies have been criticized for being too language specific or for being too restricted to only certain kinds of toponyms or still for being overly ambiguous.

The literature consulted on toponymic typologies indicates that Tent and Blair's model is perhaps the latest toponymic model. Its strength lies in its comprehensive character and its capacity for generalisability. This brings out the authors aim at making their model universal such that it could be used to analyse toponyms of different groups of people and cultures. Tent and Blair challenge existing models for their failure to meet two basic requirements. First, they are not robust enough for testing a wide variety of toponyms. Second, as in the case of Baker and Carmony referred to above, Tent and Blair feel that existing models lack clarity in terms of toponymic generalisation.

In their own theory, Tent and Blair conducted toponymic analysis at three main levels, namely, form, naming process and motivation. The form concerns the generic elements of the toponym. Frequently, generic elements are influenced by the 'geographic feature terms that apply' (Tent and Blair, 2011). For example, in a toponym like River Murray, 'river' serves as the generic element. The naming process, which is the second level, involves the linguistic substance in the toponym, which discusses the morphological, syntactic and semantic elements in the toponym. The third level deals with the motivation for the toponyms, which concern the specific elements identified in the toponym. This level takes the analysis into the namer's mind and speculates about the source and significance of such a name to the namer. Based on the levels of analysis, Tent and Blair believe that one can design an effective typology only by distinguishing between specific and generic elements and identifying the linguistic substance (morphology, syntax and semantic) of a typology

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as the mechanism that underlies the bestowal of the name. The combination of these three levels, Tent and Blair believe, should yield a good typonymic analysis and an effective classification of toponyms.

Tent and Blair (2011) propose a nine category typological model for classifying toponyms. The first, they named the descriptive type. The descriptive type will usually consist of the description of three inherent characteristics – topographic, relational and locations - where the topographic will take one or two forms of the physical appearance, that is, qualitative or metaphoric. In the case of a relational description, the toponym will relate the features of the place to others either chronologically or spatially. If it is a locational description, it will be based on orientational features. The second group, which they referred to as associative, is local, occupational or structural. The local usually indicates something of a topographical or biological nature seen with certain features. The occupational type may concern habitual activities associated with the feature while the structural indicates a manufactured structure associated with the feature. Occurent is the third category. An occurent toponym relates to an event, incident or occasion by recording the event, incident, occasion (or date), or action associated with the feature.

The fourth category, they called, evaluative. An evaluative toponym is either commendatory by giving a positive response to a feature as in 'Fair Cape' or condemnatory which is characterised by a negative response to a feature. The fifth category is the shift. Shift toponyms use a toponym in whole or in part from a location feature. The shift can either take the form of a transfer from another place, a feature shift or probably a relational shift where a qualifier is used to indicate orientation from an adjacent toponym of the same feature. The sixth category, which they called indigenous, is those that use indigenous words into the naming process. These

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indigenous words are either original toponyms or words of the language. The seventh group is the Eponymous group. These toponyms commemorate a person or an entity, both living and non-living. The eighth kind, which is the linguistic innovation, has to do with introducing a new linguistic form through the manipulation of language. Here they talk of blends, anagrams and humour as the language manipulation methods. The final category is referred to as erroneous. This involves introducing a new form through garbled transmission, misspelling and mistaken meaning.

The nine categories proposed by Tent and Blair are very important to this study because they will help to classify the names of the thirty-six Anlo communities easily. The nine categories will be used to analyse the town names that exist in the Anlo traditional state. This study will use this typology because it is the latest among the typologies and it improves on other typologies. The three main levels of the toponymic typology, namely, form, naming process and motivation are very important to the study as they will form the basis of the classification. Even though this model by Tent and Blair may have some shortfalls, the study considers it to be the most flexible.

2.16 Summary of Literature Review

Toponyms or place names are the signposts to the past and provide special areas for studying the historical and cultural heritage of particular places and even large regions. Toponyms are not just linguistic forms, but also cultural and societal artifacts that offer insights into the history, habitat, and environmental perceptions of a certain culture. A place name may explain the history of a nation, the culture of a people, or the hopes of those that named the place. Interpretation of place names helps

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us examine how their variation from one area to another is related to the historical change of environments from an older to a more recent era.

Many toponyms are derived from natural and manmade landscapes, which map their evolution history and culture: water sources, landforms and bioforms and passageways. An environmental record and indigenous knowledge system has thus been preserved in toponyms.

There are three general structures for place names; *descriptive names, non-descriptive names* and *mixed-type* names. Descriptive names describe characteristics of the place or land features. Non-descriptive place names are: named after people, events; borrowed from another country; religious connotations; casual names or metamorphosed names. The third type of place name structure is mixed-type names. The morphology of place names shows that they have prefixes and suffixes.

Place name researches have been conducted by many researchers using different methods. When place names are changed, the connection and sense of place that people have to a place may be lost, along with important historical and cultural meanings. Three approaches to conducting place names research include the conventional stage, interrogational stage and investigational stage. At the first stage, conventional stage, authorities are asked what the names mean. The interrogational stage involves interpretations of the names that are gathered from different sources and researchers seek the meaning that matches the names. The last, interrogational stage, involves collecting as much information from as many sources as possible to develop a meaning of the place name. This stage ensures that the greatest validity in place name meaning, and uses several different methods to ensure that gathering of data is representative.

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CHAPTER THREE

METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the methods used for the study. The research design, the population, sample as well as the sampling procedure are all discussed. In addition, the research instruments (including pilot testing), data collection procedures and data analysis are described.

3.1 The Research Design

The research design that was used for the study was the descriptive survey. The study involved the origin, meaning and motivation of the settlement names of the Anlo state of Ghana. This cannot be measured directly but through eliciting the views of the people. It is against this background that the descriptive research survey was used. Descriptive surveys focus on determining the status of a defined population with respect to certain variables. There is no administration or control of treatment as is found in experimental research (Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh, 1990; Babbie, 1990).

The descriptive survey was chosen because it has the advantage of producing good amount of responses from a wide range of people. In addition, it provides a meaningful picture of events and seeks to explain perception and behaviour on the basis of data at a point in time. Also, the descriptive design can be used with greater confidence with regard to particular questions of special interest or value to a researcher. Furthermore, in-depth follow-up questions can be asked and items that are unclear can be explained using descriptive design (Frankael and Wallen, 2000; Babbie, 2001).

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On the other hand, in using the descriptive survey design, there is a difficulty of ensuring that the items designed are clear. Misleading items can affect responses significantly depending on the exact wording of the items (Seifert and Hulfnung, 1994). To eliminate these disadvantages, the instruments were subjected to a pre-test to increase the content validity. The ambiguous and misleading items were also revised.

3.2 Population

The population for the study was the chiefs, elders and people of the Anlo state of Ghana. The Anlo state comprises thirty-six principal settlements. These settlemtents were the original, older and first settlements established by the Anlo Ewes. They were the faithful allies to the Anlos in all their past wars. They are the major settlements recognised by all Anlos. The Anlo principal settlements are Anyanui, Dzita, Atorkor, Srorgboe, Wuti, Anloga, Woe, Tegbi, Dzelukorfe, Keta, Vodza, Kedzi, Blekusu, Agavedzi, Adina, Adafienu, Denu and Aflao. The others are Agbozume, Klikor, Afiadenyigba, Weta, Afife, Aborlorve, Anyako, Sasieme, Abor, Tsiame, Asadame, and Atiavi. The rest are Kome, Shime, Avenor (Avenorfeme), Penyi, Dzodze and Ave (Afiadenyigba). These settlements are now in three municipal/districts of Ghana namely, the Keta Municipal, Ketu North District, Ketu South District. (See Appendices B, C and D). Thus, the chiefs, elders and people of these towns formed the population for the study.

3.3 Sampling and Sampling Technique

The purposive sampling technique was employed to select the chiefs, elders and prominent citizens who know the history of the towns for the study. The

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purposive sampling represents a different non-probability sampling technique which relies on the judgement of the researcher when it comes to selecting the units**,** for example, people, cases/organisations, events, pieces of data that are to be studied. Usually, the sample being investigated is quite small, especially when compared with probability sampling techniques**.** The main goal of purposive sampling is to focus on particular characteristics of a population that are of interest, which will best enable researchers to answer the research questions formulated for the study. Qualitative research designs can involve multiple phases, with each phase building on the previous one. In such instances, different types of sampling technique may be required at each phase. Purposive sampling is useful in these instances because it provides a wide range of non-probability sampling techniques for the researcher to draw on (Patton, 2002). The purposive sampling was complemented with snowballing. In snowballing sampling, the researcher begins with the few respondents who are available to him. These respondents subsequently recommend any other person who will be useful in providing the needed information. This continues until the researcher is satisfied with the sample required (Sarantakos 1994). At the various communities or towns, the chiefs and elders as well as some prominent people were interviewed to enable the researcher collect and compile information on the town names, the origin and meaning of the names and motivation for giving the names.

3.4 Research Instruments

The researcher used two instruments in collecting data for the study. These were documentary analysis and interview. The focus of the study was to investigate the towns or settlements established by the Anlo Ewe during their migration and settlement at Anlo (now Anloga), the origin and meaning of the town names, and the

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morphological processes of the town names. Therefore, these instruments would be able to collect the information from both the oral and written sources for the study.

3.5 Documentary Analysis

The purpose of the documentary analysis was to collect data from existing documents concerning the establishment of the town names of the Anlo state, the origin and meaning of the town names, and the morphological processes of the names. All the research questions outlined demanded documentary evidence. The documentary evidence enabled the researcher to obtain data from written historical sources and the morphological processes of analysing place names.

3.6 Interview

The chiefs, elders and some influential people in each of the thirty-six towns of the Anlo state were interviewed in order to elicit information from them.

A 7-item guide (refer to Appendix A) was designed by the researcher. The instrument focused on the following:

1. Who named the town?
2. What led to naming the town with that name?
3. What motivated the namer(s) to give such a name?
4. What is the meaning of the name?
5. (a) Has there ever been any change in the name of the town name?

   (b) If yes, what caused the change of name?

   (c) What is the meaning of the old name?

   (d) What is the meaning of the new name?

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The interview was a focus group discussion (FGD). A focus group discussion was organised for the chiefs, elders and selected influential people who know the history of the towns to enable them express their views on the founding, naming, origin and meaning of the town names and what motivated the people to give the town names. A focus group discussion is a research tool to gather together people from similar backgrounds or experiences to discuss a specific topic of interest. It creates an accepting environment that puts open discussion by a skilled moderator. It is used to learn more about opinions on designated topic, and then to guide future action (Krueger, 1988). The researcher served as the moderator as well as the note taker. He led the discussion and wrote down consensuses drawn by the participants on the establishment, naming, origin and meaning of the town names.

3.7 Pre -Testing

The instruments were pre-tested in Akatsi area. These people are also Ewes who also migrated from Notsie in Togoland. Also, the Akatsi area shares boundary with the people of Anlo traditional area in their present towns and villages. The people of Akatsi, therefore, have the same characteristics as the Anlo in terms of their migration history and establishment of their towns and villages.

3.8 Data Collection Procedure

3.8.1 Documentary Analysis

The first stage of data collection involved the study of the written migration history of the Anlo (Ewe) people. Other documentary studies involved the study of the morphological analysis of place names, the ontology of the Ewe language, and the morphology of place names in Ewe. The purpose of the documentary study was to

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establish whether there was historical evidence of the naming of the Anlo towns. The researcher made extensive use of the research questions outlined and the relevant literature to ensure the effectiveness of the documentary evidence.

3.8.2 Interview

The data collection process through interview began on 15th November, 2014 and ended on 30th July, 2015. Data was collected at various towns that comprised the Anlo state. The interviews followed Yow's (2005) suggested methods for collecting oral history. The researcher used the interview guide to steer the course of the interview. Before each interview session, the purpose of the study was explained to respondents in order to build good rapport. Where necessary, probing questions were asked to either elicit further information or seek clarifications on unclear issues. Each interview session was recorded on a tape recorder. The interviews were conducted in Ewe, their native language; therefore, there was the need to transcribe the raw data for analysis.

In summary, the toponyms or place names for this study were collected from Anlo migration narratives through qualitative research methods outlined by Glesne (2011). Two sources of data collection were employed. First, documentary analysis was used. Data were retrieved from existing documented narratives by individuals, traditional priests as well as historians. The second source was interviews conducted with chiefs and elders, and prominent people in the towns, who were purposively sampled based on their knowledge of the Anlo migration history. The interviews followed Yow's (2005) suggested methods for collecting oral history. First, the researcher prepared an interview guide to steer the course of the interview. Second, informants were contacted a week earlier to schedule dates for each interview. During

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each session, the purpose of the project was explained to informants in order to build good rapport. Where necessary, probing questions were asked to either elicit further information or seek clarifications on unclear issues. Each interview session was recorded on a tape recorder. The interviews were conducted in Ewe, the native language. The narratives were later transcribed into English. Data were collected from the thirty-six Anlo towns. The respondents chose to speak Ewe, their native language; therefore, there was the need to transcribe the raw data by the researcher for analysis.

3.9 Analysis of Data

The analysis adopted for this study was based on the toponymic typological framework proposed by Tent and Blair (2011). Cano (2008) postulates that toponymy involves the study of the origin and meaning of names of place. The names studied were names of settlements established by the Anlo people during their settlement after migration from Notsie. The analysis of these settlement names was to unearth their meaning, motivation for choosing the names and the morphological processes of the names. Radding and Western (2010), posit that toponyms are given intentionally to impart a certain meaning; they are not arbitrary and are better considered as 'signs' because they have layers of meanings that go beyond ordinary words. Toponyms are essentially history preserving tools for groups of people; hence studying toponyms involves attempts at answering "wh" questions such as what is being named, where it is located, who named it, when it was named and why it was given such a name?

Other toponymic typologies that guided the analysis include those proposed by Mecken (1967), Stewart (1975), Baker and Carmony (1975), Glaser (1994), Smith (1996), among others. These works build on each other's findings in their order of succession (Tent and Blair, 2009). Baker and Carmony's (1975) work, for example,

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consists of names for a person; names of other places; location names; descriptive names; inspirational names; humorous names; Indian and pseudo Indian names; names from other languages other than English; incident names; folk etymology; coined names; mistake names; legend names.

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CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents details of the findings as regards the naming of the principal settlements of the Anlo state. The results are in three sections. These are the origins, meaning and motivation of the settlement names; the morphological processes involved in the formation of the settlement names and; the classification of the settlement names with appropriate conclusions.

4.1 Origin, Meaning and Motivation of the Settlement Names

Place names identify the sites of historic events. A place name may bespeak the history of a nation, the culture of a people, or the hopes of those that named the place (Westerdahl, 1980; Jett, 1997; Room, 1997). Interpretation of place names helps us examine how their variation from one area to another is related to the historical change of environments from an older to a more recent era (Grootaers, 2003). Many place names are derived from natural and manmade landscapes, which map their evolution history and culture: water sources, landforms and bioforms and passageways. An environmental record and indigenous knowledge system has thus been preserved in toponyms (Hartmann, 2007).Thus, place names are not just linguistic forms, but also cultural and societal artifacts that offer insights into the history, habitat, and environmental perceptions of a certain culture. However, some place names are not easily identifiable and their exact locations are not recorded.

Research showed that names of the places form an important part of the history of the people of the Anlo State. The place names stand as memorials of men and events in the past. They throw light on the scenes and movements of former ages,

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and, therefore, cannot be neglected in our study of the development of Anlo land. In Anlo, the practice of naming settlements was to name the first settlements after events; later in time, settlements came to be named after personalities (individuals).

The section presents systematically the origin, meaning and motivation of the thirty-six principal settlements of the Anlo State starting with Anyanui at the River Volta estuary and ending with Ave Afiadenyigba which is inland, far away from the coast.

4.2 Data Presentation

Anyanui

The settlement called Anyanui was founded by the Klevia clan of Anlo. After staying in Anloga for sometime, the Klevia clan decided to move and look for a place for themselves. They moved westwards and came to settle at their present home called Anyanui. The place was first named after their divinity called "Nunyanu" (ugly thing). They named the town after the divinity because they believe it is that divinty "Nunyanu" protected them from their enemies and other calamities. Later, there were rumours that people were using the name of the divinity of the town to do bad things. People from neighbouring communities started saying negative things about the town. Indeed, the name "Nunyanu" (ugly one/thing) gave the town a negative perception. Some said the people were doing bad things because of the name of the town. This did not go well with some of the elders of the town. They, therefore, decided to change the name. The name was then changed from "Nunyanu" to "Anyanui".

The name "Anyanui" does not have any meaning in the Ewe language. It is a corruption of the original name which is meaningful. The corruption is deliberate to hide the original meaning of the name, "Nunyanu". It is true that some letters in the

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original name reoccur in the new name but the meaning is totally eroded making the new name meaningless.

The motivation for naming the settlement "Anyanui" was to change the negative perception people had about the community. The name was changed to detach the community from the divinity. A meaningless name was chosen so that people will not read another meaning into the new name.

Dzita

The first account indicates that the origin of the name of this settlement is the source of potable water for the people called "Vita". According to the people of Dzita, the actual name of the community is "Vita". Vita is the name of a water body in the community. The water body is believed to be the abode of the divinity of the community and they believe the town got its name from the name of the divinity. "Vita" is taken from the appellation of the divinity which says "Vitataliba mefoasi tor o" which means "a crawling baby does not play with a river". When the baby is allowed to play with water, it will only get drowned in it.

The meaning of the town can be retrieved from two words that make the name "Vita". "Vi" means "child or baby" and "Ta" means "crawl". Putting the two together will give us the meaning "baby crawl". Unfortunately, the people cannot tell how the name changed from "Vita" to "Dzita" except to say that the name was corrupted by people.

The motivation for naming the place "Vita" is to honour the divinity of the community, whose abode is the water body.

There is, however, a second account of the name "Dzita" by some members of the community. Even though they agree that the settlement was named after the abode

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of the divinity which is the water body, they believe the name Dzita is not a corruption of "Vita". To them, the name "Dzita" is made up of two words. "Dzi" is a word used for rain by some Ewe speakers and "Ta" refers to a small water body, a pond or lake. What this means to them is that "Dzita" refers to a water body whose main source of water is the rain. They believe the settlement was named after the water body that served as the source of potable water for the first settlers. This argument makes sense to some extent since their analysis of the name could be true. Dzita is located between the sea and the lagoon, hence the potable water from rain. The researcher thinks the second account probable since it contains the very words used to write the name of the settlement today.

Atorkor (Atɔkɔ)

The study found out that the origin of the name "Atorkor" can be traced to the hunting expedition of the founder of the settlement, "Adelako". While staying at Anloga, some people roamed the area to hunt and to look for food. One of Torgbui Sri's children who was a hunter identified a place between the sea and the lagoon where he went to hunt often. He was known as "Adelako". With time, he realized there was the need for a place to keep his catch during his hunting expedition. He put up a place which was called "Adekpoe or Adekorpe (Ade's village)". This was where he stayed to hunt for a number of days before going back to Anloga. Later, more people came to settle around him at "Adekpoe". Some of the people went into making pots because of the availability of clay along the lagoon. Others went into fishing in both the sea and the lagoon. They smoked their fish to preserve it. It is revealed that some Akans heard of the fish and started coming to buy the smoked fish and pots. A common language was a problem to both sides but they managed to transact business. It was reported that mosquitoes were prevalent in the area. The Akans did not like this

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condition so they will want to buy their items early and go back. To communicate this to the Anlos who did not speak the same language with them, they resorted to repeating the Akan version of "I want to buy and go" which is "metor, mekor".

The meaning of the name can be derived from two words in the name "Atorkor". "Tor and Kor" are Akan lexemes which mean "Buy" and Go" respectively. Put together, the actual meaning of the place is "buy and go". The phrase became something that both the Ewes and Akans used whenever it was getting late during their business days. With time, it became the name of the settlement Adela Ako founded. Later, the Europeans came to settle there and hid their slaves there because the people were not hostile to them. Because the Anlos were not the speakers of the Akan language, the name was corrupted and it became "Atorkor". The motivation for naming the place "Atorkor" was to commemorate the trade that took place between the Anlos and the Akans in the past.

Srorgboe (Srɔgboe)

In the case of Srorgboe, it is said that the origin of the community can be traced to the presence of a plant known in the Ewe language as "Sreti". It is believed that this plant (cactus) was what the founder of the place used to identify where he stayed anytime his relatives asked of where he settled. The founder, Torgbui Sru Akpate, was one of the people who moved from Anloga to settle at the new place. He moved with his nuclear family to settle at a place which is currently known as "Srorgboe". Whenever he visited his relatives at Anloga and they asked him of where he lived, he answered that he was staying at "sreti gbor". For convenience, the people shortened the name into "sregbor". This became the first name of the place.

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The actual meaning of the name is "with "sre" plant or at the "sre" plant's place". The name "sregbor" was however corrupted into "Srorgboe" which is meaningless in the Ewe language. The corruption does not follow any known morphological process.

The motivation for naming the place as such was to show the type of plants that existed in that part of the land before the first settler arrived there. According to the respondent, the location of the very "sreti" used to name the town still exists.

Wuti (Ɔuti)

The next settlement to Srorgboe is Wuti. Wuti is one of the settlements located between the sea and the Keta lagoon. It is located to the west of Anloga, where Torgbui Wenya finally settled. The story of the origin of this community has it that one Torgbui Treku who was a fisherman from Anloga came there to fish. In those days, there were no cars so it was difficult for him to transport his catch to Anloga. Torgbui Treku decided to look for a place where he would keep his catch. He chose the shade of a big tree known in the Ewe language as "Wuti" (silk cotton tree). That was where he kept his catch and rested whenever he was tired. Later, he started spending the night there. Whenever he went back to Anloga and his people asked of the whereabouts of the fish he caught, he told them he kept it under the "Wuti" (silk cotton tree). Torgbui Treku later moved and settled at "Wuti" (under the Wu) which became the name of his settlement.

The meaning of the name "Wuti" is "in the shed of "wu". The particular tree being referred to here is the one commonly used to carve canoes because of its size. The silk cotton tree usually is tall and big and it is suitable for the carving of canoes. It was the name of this tree that was used to name the town.

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The motivation to give the name “Wuti” to the place is that the “wuti” served as the first shelter for the first settlers. The name reminds the people of the first abode of the ancestor who founded the place.

Anloga (Anlɔga)

The traditional capital of the Anlo state is Anloga.The origin of the name can be traced to the journey Torgbui Wenya made with his followers. After staying at Keta for a short period, Wenya took his people further west. They walked along the coast and settled at the location called Anloga presently. Over there, Wenya became tired due to old age. He realized he could not lead his followers further. When his followers asked him when they were going to leave, Wenya replied "Nye amea menlo, afi adeke yiyi megale nunye o" (I am exhausted and bent over and I can't go any further). The settlement took its name from "menlo" (I am bent and tired) which became 'Anlo'; the word 'ga' (big) being added to denote the town's status as clan capital.

The meaning of the town therefore is “big bend or big coil”. The word “ga” is added because currently the town is the headquarters of the Anlo state where the paramount chief lives. The motivation for naming the town as such is to keep in memory the final settlement of the great leader who led the Anlos from Notsie to their present day in Anloland.

Woe

Woe is the next settlement to Anloga on the eastern side. The origin of Woe can be traced to one of the events that took place during the migration of the Ewes from Notsie to present day Anlo. After leaving Notsie and travelling for many years,

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the Anlos founded a number of settlements. After founding Kedzi, Keta and Tegbi, Torgbui Wenya and his followers remembered that they left their royal stool at Notsie. This worried them because they needed the stool for their king when he is installed. After deliberations, they decided that Torgbui Sri's son should go for it. They believed he could do it because he was young and energetic. The boy's mother, afraid of the journey advised her son to go and hide. The man then went into hiding in a forest not far from Tegbi. The people became worried about his disappearance and began looking for him. After searching for a long time, they found him in the forest and asked him, "woe nye ya va be de afi siaa?" which means "are you the one who came to hide here?". The phrase "woe" from this question then became the name of the forest he hid in. Later, some people came to settle there and the place developed into a whole community known presently as "Woe".

The meaning of the name "Woe" is "it is you or you". The source of the word "Woe" which was used to name the settlement is the phrase that was used to ask the man who ran away for the fear of being sent to Notsie. "Wo" is a pronoun in Ewe. The "e" added to it is an intensifier which combined with the pronoun "wo" to confirm if really the boy was the one who ran from going to Notsie. The motivation for naming the place after this event was to keep in memory the running away of Torgbui Wenya's nephew from going back to Notsie for the royal stool.

Tegbi

Tegbi is a settlement east of Woe. This settlement too was founded by Torgbui Wenya, the man who led the Anlos from Notsie to their present settlements. He founded Tegbi after Kedzi and Keta. According to the respondents, the name can be traced to a settlement in Notsie called "Tegbe". Their divinity was known as "Mama

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Tegbe". Coming from Notsie, the Anlos carried the icon of "Mama Tegbe" along. On reaching Keta, they needed a place where they could keep the icon of the divinity. It is believed that the divinity herself chose a place called "Kumatsoagbegbor" as her place of abode. A shrine was then built for the divinity over there. From then, all those who visited the shrine referred to the place as Tegbe and the name "Kumatsoagbegbor" gave way to "Tegbe".

The meaning of the name Tegbi cannot be retrieved because the name was borrowed from Notsie where the Anlo migrated from. The name is therefore meaningless in the Ewe language.The motivation to name the place "Tegbe" was to honour the divinity who the people believed protected them from their enemies and calamities throughout their journeys.

Dzelukorfe (Dzelukɔfe)

Dzelukorfe is located between Tegbi and Keta, along the coast of the Gulf of Guinea. The settlement Dzelukorpe was founded by one Torgbui Dzelu. It is known that Torgbui Dzelu was a traditional healer from Anyako, another settlement in the Anlo state. He travelled to the area to sell his herbal medicines and to heal those who were sick. With time, he established himself there by putting up a structure there to attend to patients who travelled from Keta and its surrounding villages to see him. He later became the owner of the settlement and it was called after him.

The meaning of Dzelukorpe can be derived from the two words that make up the name. These are Dzelu and Korpe. The word korpe is variously translated as cottage, hamlet or village. This was added to the name of the founder of the place to name the settlement. The meaning of Dzelukorpe therefore is "Dzelu's Village". The place was so called because it was founded on a land believed to be for the people of

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Keta. Since the town, Keta, existed already; any settlement on their land was a village. The village, Dzelukorfe, developed to become a settlement on its own and had its own chief. The motivation for naming the place after Torgbui Dzelu was to commemorate his healing powers when he was alive.

Keta

Keta was the second settlement founded by Torgbui Wenya along the coast of the Gulf of Guinea. Its origin is attributed to one of the pronouncements made by Torgbui Wenya during the migration of the Anlos. From Kedzi, Torgbui Wenya and some of his followers moved further west. After crossing the sandbar, Torgbui Wenya told his followers, "Mieva do kea ta", meaning that “they had reached the head of the sand”. The name “Keta” was derived from this pronouncement.

The meaning of “Keta” is “sand head” or “the head of the sand”. This name gives the description of the land that existed over there when they arrived there. The motivation for naming the place Keta is to show that, during their migration, they walked on a stretch of sand until they got to the head of the sand.

Vodza

The origin of Vodza can be traced to one of the slave markets that existed at that place during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. The community called Vodza is located close to Keta on the eastern side. It was not founded as a human settlement initially, so it had no name at first. The place used to be a slave market where the Danes bought slaves from the blacks. Years after the slave trade ended, a man called Dzogbedor moved to settle there. Many people joined him later. It is not clear who named the place as “Vodza” but it is believed that the town was later named after the

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"Vodu" (idol) of the town called Vodza. One interesting thing is that, because nobody can claim to be the founder of the place, it is difficult to enstool a chief in the community. This makes it difficult to trace the actual root of the name.

The meaning of the name Vodza is not readily recoverable. The name Vodza is believed to come from a foreign language because it has no meaning in the Ewe language. The motivation for naming the place Vodza is to honour the god of the town who they believe protects them from physical and spiritual calamities.

Kedzi

The origin of Kedzi can be traced to Torgbui Wenya, the man who led the Anlo Ewes from Notsie into present day Ghana. After leading his people through thick and thin, they came across a vast land of sand (sandbar) and then the sea. On reaching there, Torgbui Wenya is reported to have said with relief "Mie do eke dzi azo" which means, "We have at last arrived on sand". The name Kedzi was then retrieved from the pronouncement of Torgbui Wenya and used to name the place. It is believed that Kedzi was the first town Torgbui Wenya founded.

The meaning of the name Kedzi is "on sand or on top of sand". This is because the land there is sandy. The motivation for naming the place Kedzi is to commemorate their meeting the coast with a lot of sand. It is also to keep in memory the pronouncement of their leader Torgbui Wenya.

Blekusu

The origin of the name Blekusu can be traced to the camp created by the Portuguese who came to settle there because of slave trade. They named the camp "Barrack du Koos". The Ewes who were mostly illiterate at the time could not

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pronounce the name well and ended up corrupting it into “Blekusu”. When the slave trade was over and the whites left, some Anlo Ewes went to settle there and kept the corrupted Portuguese phrase as the name.

The name “Blekusu” is meaningless in the Ewe language as the words used are not Ewe words.The motivation for keeping the name “Blekusu” is to keep in memory the camp that existed there during the slave trade in the past.

Agavedzi

The origin of Agavedzi can be traced to one of the elders who stayed at Notsie known as Aga. Aga was the one who was bitten by a relative of Torgbui Agorkorli and the Anlos hid him and lied that he died. This lie caused Torgbui Agorkoli to pronounce death sentence on his relative. Later when the people of Notsie realized that it was a lie that Aga died, they decided to look for him. The Anlos knew that if the king got to know that truly Aga was alive, they would be in serious trouble so they helped Aga to escape. On reaching present day Ghana, Aga first settled at Aborlorve and later moved to look for his own place. He went and settled in a small forest between the lagoon and the sea. His relatives who came to meet him there referred to the place as “Agavedzi” because he was the first man to settle there. What it means is that even though Torgbui Aga founded the place, he did not name the place himself.

The meaning of Agavedzi is “Aga’s forest area”. This meaning could be retrieved from the words that form the name of the place. The motivation for naming the place after Torgbui Aga is to honour him for being the first to occupy the forest and to show that the land there is for him.

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Adina

The origin of the settlement can be traced to a town in the Central Region of Ghana called Elmina or Edina. It is believed that people from this town were the first to come and settle there for fishing and trading purposes. When they were there, they named the place "Edina" after their hometown. It was this name that was corrupted by the Ewe speakers into "Adina". Later when the people left, some Anlo Ewes came to settle there and maintained the name.

The meaning of the name Adina cannot be retrieved from the Ewe language. This is because it is a borrowed word. The name is, therefore, meaningless in the Ewe language. The motivation to name the place Adina is to keep in memory the first group of people who came to settle on that land.

Adafienu

The origin of the name, Adafienu, can be traced to a conflict among the people of Xedzranawo, a town that shares boundary with Denu. An account has it that the people of Adafienu were first staying together with the people of Xedzranawo until a serious conflict arose among them. The conflict was so serious that it divided the members of the community into two groups. When the conflict became very serious, one group decided to move a bit further away from their opponents. This was because they believed "ada dewo fiena nu" to mean "anger boils many things or anger generates many things". They left because both parties were very angry and could do anything to harm each other. Their departure was to prevent any dangerous attack on them by their opponents.

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The meaning of Adafienu is "anger boils thing or anger destroys".The motivation for naming the settlement Adafienu was to show that they did not want to do anything out of anger so they left the territory of their opponents.

Denu

The people of Denu were first among the Anlo group that first settled at Keta. At Keta, the group was under the leadership of Torgbui Sape Agbo. It happened that a conflict arose between the people of Keta and the Danes who came to the coast for slave trade. The Danes contacted the Anlos to help them fight the people of Keta. This led to a phony war between the people of Keta and the Anlos. The phony war later degenerated into a real fight. This fight forced Torgbui Sape Agbo to lead his people to look for a peaceful place. After walking for some time, they came to the people of Klikor and were welcomed there. After staying in Klikor for some time, some young men led by Torgbui Baku, decided to move again to look for a place for themselves. They moved towards the sea and came across the people of Viefe who had already occupied the area. The young men asked the people of Viefe to give them a place to settle. The elders of Viefe agreed and gave each of the young men a virgin forest to clear and settle on. The virgin forest was described as "thick thorny forest with dangerous reptiles and animals". This place was given to the young men to scare them so that they will not be able to clear the land and settle there. Nobody believed that the young men could attempt clearing the thick forest. Surprisingly, the young men were able to bring down the fearful forest. This amazed the people of Viefe and they exclaimed, "Ameawo de avea nu" which means the men have conquered the forest. The phrase "Denu" was retrieved from the statement made to name the place.

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The meaning of "Denu" is "defeat it". This meaning was from the statement made when the young men were able to overcome or conquer the thick thorny forest they were given.The motivation for naming the place "Denu" is to keep in memory the great work done by the young men who first settled at the place.

There is, however, a second account which agrees that some young men came to the people of Viefe and asked of a place to settle. This account believes that in response to the request made by the young men, the leaders of the people of Viefe told the young men to go and stay at "Dea nu" which means "the edge of the palm plantation". This account believes the name "Denu" was retrieved from the description given to the location given to the young men. Even though the second account also makes sense, there is no trace of where the palm plantation existed. In fact, the first account discredited this idea and said there was no palm plantation in the area according to history.

Aflao(Ƒlawu)

The people of Aflao were one of the last groups to arrive in the territory now known as Ghana. Before entering the present territory called Ghana, they last settled in a community in Benin called Fla. The people of Fla were hostile to them and maltreated them. This was what forced them to pack their things and leave for a peaceful place. On crossing the border that separates Togo and Ghana, they decided to settle very close to the border. This did not go well with the other Anlo groups that were ahead of them. They therefore sent a message to them asking them to move further westward. Their concern was that since the new place was still close to Dahomey, their enemies from Dahomey could trace them and attack them. In response, they told their kinsmen that they were able to handle the maltreatment from

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the people of Fla, so did not believe that their enemies from Benin can do worse. To them, the terrible experiences at Fla seasoned them enough for any other encounter.

The original name was "Flawu" from the phrase "Fla tor wu" which means, "Fla's maltreatment was more and had toughen them". With time, the morpheme "tor" which shows possession was dropped and the name became "Flawu". They think it was the Europeans who could not pronounce the name well who added the "A" to it to make it "Aflao". The motivation for naming the place "Flawu" was to keep in memory the bitter experiences they endured under the people of Fla.

Agbozume

The people of Agbozume were first among the Anlo group that first settled at Keta. At Keta, the group was under the leadership of Torgbui Sape Agbo. They were called the "Agudzeawo" because they lived on the eastern part of Keta from where the morning sun is perceived. It happened that a conflict arose between the people of Keta and the Danes who came to the coast for slave trade. The Danes contacted the Anlos to help them fight the people of Keta. This led to a phony war between the people of Keta and the people of Anlo. The phony war later degenerated into a real fight. This fight forced Torgbui Sape Agbo to lead his people to look for a peaceful place. After walking for some time, they came to the people of Klikor and were welcomed there. The people of Klikor later gave them land to settle on. It was normal in those days that new settlers will perform some rituals to protect a new settlement. To perform this ritual, the "Agudzeawo" used a ram to perform the necessary rites and buried the head of the ram at the center of their new community. The story has it that after a few days, a plant germinated at exactly where the head of the ram was buried. This event surprised the people and gave rise to the phrase, "atiade mie de agboa fe zu me" (a

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plant has germinated at the middle of the ram's horns). They began to call the place "Agbozume" (the middle of the ram's horns). The word "zu" is a term used to refer to places where important rituals are performed.

The meaning of the name "Agbozume" is "a ram's ritual place". This is to show that the settlement was where a ritual was performed with a ram and a tree germinated there.The place was named after the amazing event of a plant growing in the middle of the land where the head of a ram was buried. This was done to keep in memory the event of the establishment of the settlement.

Klikor (Klikɔ)

The origin of this town can be traced to the division of the Anlo group on entering present day Ghana. From Tsevie, the group moved and entered present day Ghana where they decided to move in two groups under different leaders. Torgbui Atsu Wenya led the main group which went south and moved along the sea shore westwards, founding settlements along the way. The second group was led by Kponoe Ashimadi (aka Sroe I or Sri 1). Sri and his followers took the northern route off the Atlantic Coast. Torgbui Kli and his family were parts of this group. It was during this journey that Kli founded and settled at present day Klikor.

The meaning of Klikor can be retrieved from the two words that form the name of the town. Kli is the name of the founder and "kor" means "area or suburb or territory". The meaning of the name therefore is "Kli's area".The motivation for naming the place after Torgbui Kli is to honour him for acquiring the land there for his kinsmen to come and settle on.

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Afiadenyigba (Anlɔ)

The origin of the name Afiadenyigba can be traced to Torgbui Salu, a fisherman who founded the place. As part of his fishing expedition, he left his relatives at Anloga in search for crabs. After roaming for a long time, he came to settle in a forest at a place which is known in present day as Afiadenyigba. When he was not returning to Anloga, his relatives became worried and decided to look for him. After roaming from one settlement to another, they found him at his new settlement. His relatives then persuaded him to follow them back to Anloga but he refused. In his response, he told his relatives that; "afiadeke nyigba mewoa nu na ame woduna o" which literally means "there is no land anywhere which provides food for people". By this, Torgbui Salu wanted his people to know that location was not important to human survival. To him, what was important was work and that wherever you are, there is the need to work in order to eat. From this encounter, the name "Afiadenyigba" emerged.

The meaning of the name "Afiadenyigba" is "a land somewhere". The phrase is part of a whole sentence which was used to name the town. The natives themselves use the whole sentence as appellation of the town whenever they want to. The motivation for naming the place "Afiadenyigba" was to keep in memory the wisdom in what Torgbui Salu told his relatives when they first found him in the forest.

Weta (Ʋeta)

The origin of Weta can be traced to some people who moved from Klikor to look for farmlands. It is recalled that some of the Anlo families who stayed at Klikor went out to look for a place where they could farm and get food for their families. They found a fertile land close to a valley and started farming there. Later, some

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people put up farm houses there and started spending the night there. On realizing that the place was safe, some moved their families from Klikor to the place. When they were asked of where they had moved to, they answered that they lived at "Weta" which refers to "the high side of a valley". This was the beginning of a new settlement which is still called by the name "Weta".

The meaning of the name "Weta" is "the height above a valley". This gives a description of the topography of the area they occupied.

The motivation for giving the name "Weta" to the place was to give a description of the place to the relatives at Klikor who may want to look for them. This description of the area will therefore guide those who will want to locate them later.

Afife (Afife)

The origin of the name "Afife" can be traced to the animals which occupied the land before the arrival of the first settlers. The "Afife" ancestors were formally known as "Adimeawo" because they stayed at the part of Notsie known as "Adime". They were believed to have journeyed with the Anlo entourage during their escape from Notsie. In their new territory, they first settled at Alakple and later moved to Dorveme near Tsiame. Afterwards, they decided to move on and arrived at their present settlement, which had already been captured by the people of Weta. They, therefore, asked the people of Weta to allow them to occupy some part of the Weta land. The people of Weta then allocated to them their present place to settle. However, before occupying the land, the place had been a major habitat for a host of a species of gazelle known in the ancient Ewe language as "Efi". As a result, the leaders of the people remarked, "Efiwo fe afee nye afisia" (this is an abode for "efiwo"). This sentence originates the name "Efife". The "E" later changed to "A".

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The actual meaning of the place is “the home of gazelles”. This is derived from the two words used to form the name. “Efi” which is the Ewe name for gazelle and“Afe”, the Ewe word for home.

The motivation for naming the place Afife was to preserve the history and knowledge that the place was a home for animals. Through this name, many people get to know that the naming of the town “Afife” was based on the presence of a lot of gazelles that occupied the place at first.

Aborlorve (Abɔlɔve)

The name of the town “Aborlove” can be traced to the group called “Aborlorwo” who also stayed at Notsie but left earlier than the group led by Torgbui Wenya. After searching for a comfortable place to settle, the Aborlor group found a forest and decided to settle there because they believed the land on which the forest existed was fertile and could help cultivate food crops. Later, when one of the Anlo groups led by Torgbui Sri arrived in the area, they fought with the Aborlors and sacked them out of the forest. This was because they claimed the Aborlors were doing bad things. After conquering and sacking the Abolors from the forest, they referred to the forest as “aborlorwo fe ave” or the forest of the Aborlors. It was this forest that developed to become the current town called “Aborlorve”.

The meaning of the name “Aborlorve” is “Aborlor forest”. The motivation for naming the place Aborlorve is to keep in memory the fact that it was the Aborlors who founded the place.

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Anyako

The origin of the town can be traced to Torgbui Anya, a man from Tsiame, another Anlo settlement who founded the place. The location is an island on the Keta lagoon. In the days of establishment of settlements, the Anlos realized that there was the need for a place where they could keep some of their soldiers for war. The island was chosen to house soldiers who will help during wars between the Anlos and their enemies. Torgbui Anya was the first to move there. The island was then referred to as "Anyakpo" which means "Anya's island". For easy pronunciation, the place was called "Anyakpo" initially. With time, it changed to "Anyako". No reason is given as to why it changed to the present pronunciation.

The meaning of the original name "Anyakpo" is "Anya's island". The elision of the phoneme "P" reduced the name to "Anyako". The motivation for naming the place after Torgbui Anya was to honour him for being the first to go and settle on the island.

Sasieme

The settlement of Sasieme was founded by Torgbui Aglanu and his family. After staying in Tsiame, another settlement in Anlo land, Torgbui Aglanu and his family decided to go and look for a place of their own. They moved and settled at the place known presently as Sasieme. Life over there initially was difficult because of the scarcity of water. To solve the problem of water, they dug a well at a place not far from the community. After sometime, it was necessary for anyone going to fetch water to remove some sand from the well to be able to get water to fetch. It was then that an old woman called "Sa" went to fetch water from the well. In order to get water home, she removed some sand from the well and waited for water to come. Just when

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she had enough to fetch, a man came to rob her of the water she had worked for. This annoyed "Sa" and she used her calabash to hit the man. Amazingly, the man died from this encounter. The issue became a big case which was reported to the elders of the community. A day was therefore set to adjudicate the issue. On the day of the adjudication, Mama Sa, in an attempt to dodge any punishment ran away from the community never to return again. When later in the day they could not trace the whereabouts of the woman, they started saying "Sa si le nya me" (Sa ran away from the case). The sentence became popular in the settlement and became the name given to the place.

The meaning of the name "Sasieme" is "Sa ran from it". The pronoun "it" refers to the case that was to be adjudicated before Mama Sa ran away. The event of Mama Sa running away motivated the people to name the place Sasieme to commemorate the escape of the old lady "Sa" from her crime.

Abor (Abɔ)

The community of Abor was founded by the people of Tsiame. After settling in Tsiame, the people realized that they needed to grow some crops which will be their source of food. They found a place they considered fertile and started growing crops there. They referred to the place as their "Abor" (garden). Later, it became necessary that some should stay close to the garden to maintain it because the going and coming was making them tired. They started putting up farm houses and after sometime, the place became a settlement on its own but the name "Abor" remains till today.

The real meaning of the name of the town "Abor" is "a garden". The motivation for naming the place Abor is that, the place served as their main source of

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food in the early days. The name was therefore given to commemorate their farm work there in the early days of their settlement.

Tsiame

The last group that arrived at Anloga during the migration was led by Torgbui Fia. On reaching Anloga, the group realized that the place was over crowded so it would be difficult to get a place to settle. Getting food was also difficult so Torgbui Fia led his followers to look for a different place where they could settle permanently. Because Torgbui Fia was a hunter, he led his people to go and stay in a forest known today as "Kleveme". Staying there posed some problems because there was no water around. Torgbui Fia left them to go and look for water. He found a river far away from the forest. At first, the women and children walked to the river to fetch the water and go back to the forest. After sometime, they became tired of going up and down for water so they decided to get closer. The group left the forest and came to settle close to the river which became their permanent settlement. When they got there, they were happy to have enough water so they said they have come to stay with the water because "tsie nye ame" (water is human). They therefore named the place "Tsiame".

The meaning of the name Tsiame is "water is human". This means that no human can survive without water. With abundant water around, the people survived and lived happily.

The motivation for naming the place, Tsiame, is to state the importance of water to human beings or living things in general.

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Asadame

The place was first called "Awasadame" (war parade/assembly ground). During the days of the Datsutagba war, a group made up of the Gas, Adas, Adansis and Fantes led by the English advanced towards the Anlo territory. The people of Tsiame, a community in the Anlo land decided to fight them but they were defeated by the group. They tried a second time but again, they were defeated. This was a worry to the whole Anlo land so Torgbui Atieku from Anloga came to Tsiame. He suggested that they should get a place where all Anlo soldiers will assemble and prepare to meet the group at war. This they did and the third time they went to war with the Akans, they won at Datsutagba. To keep the army intact and ready for war always, they maintained the place and called it "Awasadame". With time, some soldiers settled and established themselves there and the place grew to become a community called "Asadame". The morpheme "Awa" which means war was deleted because they stopped fighting wars.

The meaning of the name "Asadame" can be derived from the words put together. "Asada" is a word used to refer to an assembly or parade. "me" is a word that shows place. The meaning of "Asadame" therefore is "assembly place" or "parade ground".

The motivation to name the place "Asadame" is to keep the place as a meeting place for all Anlo chiefs. Indeed, the place remains one of the important towns for the Anlo state where they meet to perform important rituals.

Atiavi (Atsiavi)

The origin of the name can be attributed to a wonderful deed of the divinity of the town to save her children from their enemies. The place was first called "Glime"

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and the people who lived there were farmers. They had big farms that many people envied. According to the narrative, it was common those days for people to go to war with people and when they win, they take over the possessions of those they have defeated. So was the case that a group came to fight with the people of "Glime" so they could take over their farm lands. As the group approached "Glime", the divinity of "Glime" (Mama Efa) became human (a woman) and was carrying a pot of water. This water she offered to the enemies of Glime freely and they also drunk. It is known that after drinking the water, the enemies got drunk and went into slumber. This enabled the people of Glime to attack them and kill some of them. Those who survived managed to escape. In their report to their kinsmen, they said that "Etsia vivi" which means the water the woman served them was so sweet and that was what got some of them drunk and they were defeated. When the people of Glime heard about the report, they decided to change the name of the town to "Etsia vivi". This they did in memory of their divinity who they believed helped them to defeat their enemies. "Etsia vivi" became the name of the place but with time, it got corrupted to "Atiavi". No reason is given to the change in pronunciation but some think it was the whiteman's pronunciation that caused it.

The meaning of the town "Atiavi cannot be readily recovered from the current name. The current writing and pronunciation of the name take away the original meaning of the name of the place. The original name is "Etsia vivi" which means "the water was sweet". This meaning however is eroded since the pronunciation changed. The motivation to name the place after the incident was to keep record of the role the goddess of the place played in the defeat of their enemies.

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Kome

The origin of the name "Kome" can be traced to the nature of the area at the time the first settler arrived there. The name was derived from the presence of floating vegetation known in Ewe as "Ako". The place is located at the northern side of the Keta lagoon. On the lagoon was grown floating vegetation which covered the surface of the fresh water before the arrival of the first settlers. In order to give a proper description of the place they occupied, they named the place after the presence of "Ako".

The meaning of "Kome" can be derived from the two words that form the name."Ako" is the Ewe name for floating vegetation that grows on water."Me" in this context means "among or in the mist of". Putting the two together gives the meaning "in the mist of floating vegetation". The phoneme "A" has been elided making it difficult for non-natives to guess the meaning of the name.

The motivation to give this name to the place was to give a description of the place they occupy. That is, anyone who knows what "Ako" is will know at once that the people of "Kome" live by water and their main occupation will be fishing. This is because "Ako" grows only in water.

Shime

The origin of the name "Shime" is traced to the nature of the land at the place. Shime is not a name of one settlement but a collection of communities who settled in that part of the land. The place is so called because it is a marshy area full of the reeds used for weaving mat. It is clear the first settlers settled there because of the abundance of the reeds for weaving mat. This is why weaving of mat is done on large

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scale in the area. The name "Shime" was given to the place because it gives a clear description of the type of land in the place.

The meaning of the name "Shime" is "marshy area". The motivation for naming the place "Shime" is to give a vivid description of the nature of land that exists in the area.

Avenor (Avenɔfeme)

The name "Avenor" is a descriptive name that refers to the type of vegetation in the area. After journeying for several years, the first settlers witnessed different types of vegetation. When they arrived in the area known presently as "Avenor", they realized the forest in the area did not contain tall trees and was not as thick as those they saw on their journey. They therefore referred to the vegetation in the area as "Avenor" which means "female forest". To them, the thick forests with tall and big trees they saw during their journey constitute a male forest. They later named their first settlement which is the current capital of all Avenor settlements as "Avenorfeme".

The meaning of the name "Avenorfeme" is "home of female forest". The motivation to name the settlement "Avenorfeme" is to show that it is the capital of all "Avenor" settlements.

Penyi (Fenyi)

The people of Penyi were also among the Ewes who stayed at Tsevie, during the migration of the Ewes. After staying there for some time, their group was led by Torgbui Ashormor out of Tsevie to look for a place of their own. One their way, they met the chief of Noepe, a community in present day Togo. This chief and his people

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also stayed at Tsevie but left earlier. During their conversation, it came to light that the people of Noepe under the leadership of their chief left Notsie years earlier. Ashormor and his people moved further to look for a safe place for themselves. They moved towards the west and came across river Aka. After crossing this river, they decided to settle there because they have travelled for years and were exhausted. It was then that their leader said that they had travelled for long and "Pe va yi" (a year has passed) to reflect their endurance over the period of walking.

Originally, the name was "peyi". Two morphemes can be identified in this name. "Pe" means "year" and "yi" means "has passed or gone". With time, the name became Penyi but the second morpheme "nyi" does not give any meaning close to the original meaning. No reason is known for the change in pronunciation and this could be attributed to generational gap that has been created.

Dzodze

The people of Dzodze are known as "Dzodzeawo" or "Dzovadzeawo". During the migration of the Anlo Ewes from Notsie, the people of Dzodze were led by Torgbui Adzofia alongside Torgbui Sri and Torgbui Wenya. At Tsevie, a settlement in Togo, they left in groups. The group that was led by Adzofia later settled at Kevi, another community in Togo. Because they were running from their enemy, Torgbui Agorkorli, they did not stay at Kevi for long. They moved further. Moving westwards, they came across a river called "Aka". The River Aka presented a difficulty to westward movement. Torgbui Adzofia consulted his war "vodu" that he carried along and magically, they crossed the flooded river with ease to the surprise of many. On crossing the river, the people surveyed the area to be sure it was safe. They realized that dangerous animals were not around and there was a river to serve as

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source of water. They also observed that the land was fertile so they could go into farming. They decided to settle there and Torgbui Adzofia established his war "vodu" there and called the place "Deife" to mean Dei's place. A different group that later arrived at the place saw smoke in the air to mean that there were people around. They traced the smoke and found Torgbui Adzofia and his people. They were surprised because there was nothing to show that some people were ahead of them. When the leader of the group that arrived, Avorgbedor, asked Adzofia and his people how they got there, Adzofia replied, "De mie *dzo* va *dze*" (We flew and landed), from which the name *Dzodze* was derived. Other late comers asked a similar question and the answer was same.

At first, there were there morphemes used to name the town. Dzo- va- dze. Dzo means "fly". Va means "Come". Dze means "to land". But for convenience, the name was reduced to two morphemes, Dzo-dze. The morpheme "va" was elided. The actual meaning of the name is "we flew and landed". The motivation for naming this settlement Dzodze is to keep in memory the words of the first settlers who settled there.

Ave (Afiadenyigba)

The origin of the name "Ave" is traced to the vegetation at the place. Ave is not a name of one settlement but a collection of communities where people settled in that part of the land. The place is so called because of the vegetation. The land there is covered by forest. It is clear that the first settlers settled there because of the forest which served as a source of food for the animals they reared. It was revealed that the first settlers in that part of Anlo were animal husbanders. The name "Ave" was given to the place because it gives a clear description of the type of vegetation in the area.

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The meaning of the name “Ave”, is, forest.The motivation to name the area, “Ave”, is to give a clear description of the vegetation of the area.

The origin of Afiadenyigba, one of the settlements in the Ave traditional area, can be traced to Torgbui Gakpa. The people of Ave Afiadenyigba are believed to have migrated with other Anlo groups from Notsie but separated themselves from the group at Kevi, a settlement in present day Togo. Torgbui Gakpa who travelled with his brothers did not want to stay at one place for a long time. Anytime he wanted to travel further, his brothers would protest. Torgbui Gakpa did not listen to his brothers so he kept moving until he arrived at present day Afiadenyigba. Before he arrived, there were people there and the place was called “Dzayime”. He found the place as a good place for animal husbandry. He therefore settled there and started rearing animals because of the availability of grass for feed. Later, his brothers who remained at their first settlement looked for him and found him at his new place. On seeing the number of animals their brother had kept, Torgbui Gakpa’s brothers, who were amazed, asked how he managed to keep such a number of animals. In response, Torgbui Gakpa told his brothers “afiadenyigba megbea nuwordu na amea deke o” (no land refuses to produce food for anyone). This saying later became the name for a place that was first called Dzayime.

The meaning of Afiadenyigba is “a land somewhere”. The meaning of the rest of the statement is used as appellation for the name of the settlement.The motivation for naming the settlement after what Torgbui Gakpa said was to keep the wisdom in what the old man said. It was also to honour Torgbui Gakpa for his hard work in animal husbandry.

The findings of the study, therefore, showed that the settlement names of the Anlo state originated from their migration history. The settlement names make

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reference to natural features such as hills, valleys, sandbars, marshy areas, streams, vegetation (forests) as well as events and happenings they encountered during their migration history. The names for natural features depended on how exactly the place is defined, and what exactly the concept of a place is used for. The natural features were originally given names to distinguish nearby hills, streams, forests, and sandbars and these features can be thought of as places, in that they represent distinct geographic locations. For example, settlement names such as Keta, and Kedzi make reference to sandbars; Weta, (hill) and Shime (marshy area); and Avenor, Agavedzi, Ave Afiadenyigba and Denu (forests); and Atiavi (Stream). Some of the names signify events. Names within this category are Atorkor (trading with Akans); Vodza and Blekusu (slave trade with the Danes); and Asadame and Anyako (wars).However, some of the names became less useful as they are applied on a larger scale. The origin of these settlement names may be forgotten.

4.3 Morphological processes involved in the formation of the settlement names

This section reports the morphological processes of the names of the settlement of the Anlo State from Anyanui near the estuary of River Volta on the coast to the Ave Afiadenyigba in the hinterland.

Anyanui

The name "Anyanui" cannot be broken down into morphemes because the formation did not follow any morphological process. The name is meaningless in the language making it difficult to identify individual morphemes that were put together to form it.

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Dzita

The original name "Vita" is made up of two morphemes ("Vi" and "ta")."Vi" means child and "ta" means crawl. The two morphemes were put together by the process of compounding. In this process, "Vi" is the root morpheme and "ta", the suffix is the bound morpheme.

From the second account, the name "Dzita" is made up of two morphemes ("Dzi" and "ta"). "Dzi" is a word used for rain by some Ewe speakers and "ta" refers to a small water body or pond or lake. What it means is that "Dzita" refers to a water body whose main source is the rain water. These two morphemes were put together by the process of compounding with "ta" as the root morpheme and "Dzi" the prefix as the bound morpheme modifying the root morpheme.

Atorkor (Atɔkɔ)

The name "Atorkor" was derived from the Akan language making it difficult to identify Ewe morphemes from it. The name came about as a result of corruption of a phrase (atɔn akɔ) from the Akan language. "Atɔn" means to buy and "akɔ" means to go. These Akan morphemes were borrowed to name the settlement.

Srorgboe (Srɔgboe)

It is impossible to retrieve morphemes from the name "Srorgboe" because of the corruption in the writing and pronunciation. The original words used to name the town are missing totally making the name meaningless in the language.

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Wuti

The name Wuti has two morphemes ("Wu" and "ti"."Wu" is an Ewe word for silk cotton tree and "ti" means "under" (a diminutive of "te"). These two morphemes were put together by the process of compounding. In this process, the first morpheme is "wu" and "ti" the bound morpheme.

Anloga (Anlɔga)

It is difficult to identify all the morphemes in the name Anloga. This is because the naming process did not follow any known procedure. However, two morphemes can be retrieved from the name. These are:

nlo – is an Ewe word which means coil

ga – an adjective which means big

These two morphemes were put together using compounding. "Nlo" is the root morpheme and "ga" is the bound morpheme. The introduction of the sound "A" as a prefix was done to facilitate easy the pronunciation.

Woe

The name "Woe" has two morphemes ("wo" and "e"). "Wo" is the Ewe word for the second person singular pronoun and "e" is an intensifier used to lay emphasis on the pronoun.The two morphemes were put together by affixation. "Wo" is the root morpheme and "e", the suffix is the bound morpheme.

Tegbi

It is difficult to identify any morpheme from the name "Tegbi". This is because the word is a foreign language and the source not known. The morphological

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process identified here is borrowing. The name was borrowed from a foreign land and used to name the place.

Dzelukorfe (Dzelukɔfe)

Dzelukorpe is made up of two morphemes ("Dzelu" and "korpe")."Dzelu" is a name of a person and "korpe" is variously translated as cottage, hamlet or village. This was added to the name of the founder of the place to mean "Dzelu's Village". The morphological process used here is compounding. Compounding is the word formation process in which two or more lexemes combine into a single new word.

Keta

The name Keta has two morphemes put together. The morphemes are "Ke" which means sand and "ta" means height or top of. The two morphemes were put together with the process of compounding. In this process, "Ke" is the root morpheme and "ta" is the bound morpheme. It is observed here that the bound morpheme performs the function that prepositions perform in English but here, the morpheme occurs after the noun it modifies. This is observed in the word formation of Ewe lexis. The morpheme "ta" is, therefore, referred to as postposition because of where it occurs.

Vodza

It is difficult to identify any morpheme from the name "Vodza". This is because the word is a foreign language and the source not known. The morphological process identified here is borrowing. The word was borrowed from Danish language and used to name the settlement.

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Kedzi

The name Kedzi has two morphemes put together. The morphemes are "Ke" which means sand and "dzi" which means top. The two morphemes were put together with the process of compounding. In this process, "Ke" is the root morpheme and "dzi" is the bound morpheme. It is observed here that the bound morpheme performs the function that prepositions perform in English but here, the morpheme occurs after the noun it modifies. This is observed in the word formation of Ewe lexis. The morpheme "dzi" is therefore referred to as postposition because of where it occurs.

Blekusu

It is difficult to identify any morpheme from the name "Blekusu". This is because the word is a corruption of the Portuguese phrase. The name came about as a result of the mispronunciation of the original Portuguese phrase. The morphological process identified here is borrowing. The name was borrowed from a foreign language and corrupted.

Agavedzi

The name "Agavedzi has three morphemes put together. "Aga" is a name of a person, "ave" is the Ewe word for forest and "dzi" in this context means area. These three morphemes were put together by compounding. In this compounding, vowel elision occurred. That is why the "a" which is the first sound in "Ave" does not occur in the new name "Agavedzi". In this process, "ave" is the root morpheme and "Aga" is the prefix and "dzi" is the suffix.

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Adina

It is difficult to identify any morpheme from the name "Adina". This is because the word is a Fante word borrowed from the Central region of Ghana. The morphological process identified here is borrowing. The name was borrowed from a Fante and used to label the settlement.

Adafienu

The name Adafienu has three morphemes.These are "Ada" (anger), "fie" (boil) and "nu" (a thing). The three morphemes were put together by the process of compounding. "Ada" is the root morpheme and "fie" and "nu" are bound morphemes.

Denu

Two morphemes can be identified in the name Denu. These are "De" the root morpheme which means "overcome" and "nu" the bound morpheme meaning "it". The process of putting these two morphemes together is affixation.

Aflao (Flawu)

The name "Aflao" is made up of two morphemes. "Fla" is the name of a community in the present day Benin where the people of Aflao stayed before relocating to their present settlement. "Wu" means "more than or exceed". The two morphemes were put together by the morphological process of compounding.

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Agbozume

Three morphemes can be identified in the name "Agbozume". These are "Agbo", "zu" and "me". "Agbo" is the name of ram in Ewe. "Zu" refers to a place where rituals are performed. "Me" in this context means area. The three morphemes were put together by the process of affixation. "Zu" is the root morpheme, "Agbo" is the prefix and "Me" is suffix.

Klikor (Klikɔ)

The name "Klikor" has two morphemes. These are "Kli" which is the name of the founder and"kor" which means "suburb or area". The two morphemes were put together by compounding to have the name "Klikor".

Afiadenyigba (Afiadɔ)

Two morphemes can be identified from the name "Afiadenyigba". These are "Afiade" which means "somewhere" is the bound morpheme and "anyigba" which means "land", is the root morpheme.The two morphemes were put together by the process compounding. In this process, there is vowel elision because the first sound of the second morpheme does not show in the writing and pronunciation of the name.

Weta (Ʋeta)

The name Weta has two morphemes put together. The morphemes are "We" which means "valley" is the root morpheme and "ta" which means "height" is the bound morpheme.The two morphemes were put together with the process of compounding. In this process, "We" is the root morpheme and "ta" is the bound morpheme. It is observed here that the bound morpheme performs the function that

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prepositions perform in English but here, the morpheme occurs after the noun it modifies. This is observed in the word formation of Ewe vocabularies. The morpheme "Ta" is therefore referred to as postposition because of where it occurs.

Afife (Afífe)

The name Afife is the abridged form of a whole sentence, "Efiwo fe afee nye afisia". It comprises two morphemes. "Efi" is the Ewe name for gazelle. "Afe" is the Ewe name for home. These two morphemes can be retrieved from the name "Afife". The two morphemes were put together by the process known as compounding. One significant thing that can be observed here is vowel elision where the first sound of the second word, a vowel is taken out so that instead of having "Efi afe" the name became "Afife". The initial "e" changed "a" as a result of mispronunciation.

Aborlorve (Abɔlɔve)

Two morphemes can be retrieved from the name Aborlorve. "Aborlor" is the name of a group of people who stayed in Notsie but left earlier than the Anlos. "Ave" is the Ewe word for forest. The two morphemes were put together by compounding. In this formation, vowel elision was employed. Thus, instead of Aborlor + ave giving Aborlorave, the first sound of the second morpheme was elided to make the name "Aborlorve".

Anyako

The name "Anyako" is supposed to have two morphemes. "Anya" is name of a person. Ko was originally "kpo" which refers to island. However, the "Kpo" was

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corrupted into “ko” making it difficult to classify it as a morpheme. The two morphemes were put together by the process of compounding.

Sasieme

Initially, the name was a sentence made up of five morphemes (words) “Sa si le nya me”. Thus, “Sa” (a name of a woman) + “si” (ran) + “le” (from) + “nya” (case/ issue) + “me” (the). For convenience, the name was reduced to “Sasieme” which has four morphemes (“Sa” (a name of a woman) + “si” (ran) + “e” (a pronoun representing “nya” (case/issue)) + “me” (from)). The name, therefore, became Sasieme by the process of compounding.

Abor (Abɔ)

The name “Abor” is a single morpheme name. “Abor” is the Ewe name for garden. It was this word that became the name of the settlement.

Tsiame

Two morphemes can be retrieved from the name Tsiame. “Tsi” is the Ewe name for water. “Ame” refers to human beings. These two morphemes were put together by compounding to form the name of the settlement.

Asadame

The name “Asadame” is made up of two morphemes.“Asada” the root morpheme means assembly or parade. “Me” which is the bound morpheme shows place in the Ewe language. The process used to put the two morphemes together is compounding.

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Atiavi (Atsiavi)

The name "Atiavi" came about as a result of the corruption of a phrase "etsia vivi". The corruption resulted because the people tried to shorten the original name. It is, therefore difficult to bring out the morphemes in "Atiavi". This is so because "Atiavi" as it is written does not convey any meaning in the language. The meaning eroded completely because of how it is written and pronounced presently.

Kome

The name "Kome" has two morphemes. "Ako" is the Ewe word for a floating vegetation."Me" in this context means "among or in the mist of". The two morphemes were put together by compounding with "Ako" as the root morpheme and "me" as bound morpheme showing place. The first phoneme of the root morpheme is elided in the current writing of the name.

Shime

The name "Shime" is made up of two morphemes. These are "Shi" which refers to a waterlogged or marshy land and "me" which means "area" in this context. The two morphemes were put together by compounding with "shi" as the root morpheme and "me" as the bound morpheme. The meaning, therefore, depends on the combination of these two morphemes.

Avenor (Avenɔfeme)

The name "Avenorfeme" consists of four morphemes. These are "Ave" which is the Ewe word for forest, "nor", the Ewe word which denotes female, "afe" the Ewe name for home, and "me" which means "within". The four morphemes were put

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together by the process of compounding. “Ave” is the root morpheme and the rest are bound morphemes.

Penyi (Fenyi)

Two morphemes can be retrieved from the name “Penyi”. “Pe” means “year” and “yi” means “passed”. The two morphemes were put together by compounding to mean “a year passed”. The inclusion of the phoneme “n” in the name makes it difficult to guess the meaning of the name.

Dzodze

The name “Dzodze” consists of two morphemes. “Dzo” means fly and “dze” means to land. The two morphemes were put together by compounding. That is, the two morphemes were put together to form one name which was used to name the town.

Ave (Afiadenyigba)

The name “Ave” is a single morpheme which means forest. Afiadenyigba has two morphemes: “afiade” means “somewhere” and “anyigba” which means “land”. These morphemes were put together by compounding. Vowel elision was employed to take away the first vowel of the second morpheme – “anyigba”.

The results of the study, therefore, showed that the Anlo settlement names comprised one, two or more morphemes. Names comprising two or more morphemes were put together or combined through the processes of affixation, compounding and borrowing. Affixation is the process of adding a morpheme to a word to create either a different form of that word or a new word with a different meaning. Compounding

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involves the joining of two separate words to produce a single form. A compound is made up of two or more lexemes that have been combined. Borrowing is the process by which a word from one language is adapted for use in another. The only single morpheme settlement name is Abor. The settlement names which involved the process of affixation are Anyako, Sasieme, Dzita, Wuti, and Anloga. Others are Woe, Keta, Kedzi, Adafienu, Denu, Aflao, Agbozume and Afiadenyigba. The rest are Penyi, Avenorpeme, Asadame, Kome, Shime amd Ave Afiadenyigba. The process of compounding was used to put together morphemes to form settlement names such as Afife, Aborlorve, Dzelukorpe, Agavedzi, Tsiame and Dzodze. Settlement names whose morphological processes were identified as borrowing include Tegbi, Blekusu, Vodza and Adina. However, some settlement names such as Anyanui, Atorkor and Srorgboe were difficult to identify as Ewe morphemes.

4.4 Classification ofthe Anlo Settlement Names

The names of the settlements of the Anlo state were classified based on the typological model proposed by Tent and Blair. Tent and Blair (2011) proposed a nine category typological model for classifying toponyms. The first, they named the descriptive type. The descriptive type consists of the description of three inherent characteristics – topographic, relational and locations. The second group, associative, is local, occupational or structural. Occurent is the third categorywhich relates to an event, incident or occasion by recording the event, incident, occasion (or date), or action associated with the feature.The fourth category, evaluative, is commendatory by giving a positive response to a feature. The fifth category is the shift. Shift toponyms use a toponym in whole or in part from a location feature. The sixth category, which they called indigenous, is those that import indigenous words into the

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naming process. The seventh group is the eponymous group which commemorate a person or an entity, both living and non-living. The eighth kind, which is the linguistic innovation, has to do with introducing a new linguistic form through the manipulation of language. The final category is referred to as erroneous and involves introducing a new form through garbled transmission, misspelling and mistaken meaning (Tent and Blair, 2011).

The results of the classification of place names revealed that all the thirty-six Anlo settlement names could be put into any of the nine categories of place names outlined by Tent and Blair (2011). The first descriptive type of the settlement names of Anlo state includes Wuti, Kedzi, Keta, Weta, Afife, Kome and Shime. This type of classification consists of the description of three inherent characteristics – topographic, relational and locations. The names relate to the features of the place to others either chronologically or spatially. The only settlement name that falls under the second classification, associative, is Srorgboe. This name indicates something of a topographical or biological nature seen with certain features in the area. The third classification, occurent, settlement names include Anloga, Woe, Denu, Adafienu, Aflao, Agbozume and Sasieme. These names relate to an event, incident or occasion by recording the event, incident, occasion (or date), or action associated with the feature. The fourth classification, evaluative names, has to do with Tsiame and Atiavi. These settlement names had given a positive response or a commendatory comment to a feature-water. The fifth class, shift, of settlement names include Atorkor, Tegbi, Vodza, Blekusu and Adina. These names had used names in whole or in part from a location that had been transferred from another place. The sixth classification is the indigenous. The indigenous settlement names are Dzita, Afiadenyigba, Abor, Asadame, Avenorfeme, Penyi, Dzodze and Ave Afiadenyigba. These names are

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believed to have used indigenous words in the naming process. These indigenous words are either original place names or words of the language. The seventh classification, the eponymous group, comprises Dzelukorpe, Agavedzi, Klikor, Aborlorve and Anyako. These settlement names commemorate a person or an entity, both living and non-living. The eighth classification is the linguistic innovation. No name falls into this category. The final category is the erroneous. Anyanui is the only name that had the features for this category. This name involves introducing a new form through garbled transmission, misspelling and mistaken meaning.

4.5 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has presented the results of the study. The results of the study reveal that the names of the principal settlements of the Anlo state originated from their migration history and culture. The names had been linked to physical features and events the Anlos encountered during their migration. The morphological processes involved in the formation of the names were the use of affixation and compounding, to put two or more morphemes together. However, some names have borrowed morphemes unfamiliar to Ewe ontology. Finally, the settlement names were classified into the nine categories proposed by Tent and Blair (2011). It could be seen from the narrations that all the thirty-six Anlo settlements have some historical narrations that led to the naming of the settlements.

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CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations for the study concerning the origin, meaning and motives of the settlement names of the Anlo state.

5.1 Summary

This study investigated the origin, meaning and motivation of the names of the thirty-six principal settlements of the Anlo state and the morphological processes involved in the formation of these names. It also classified the names with appropriate conclusions, thereby indicating the various names most generally used. The research design that was used for the study was the descriptive survey. The study involved the origin, meaning and motivation of the settlement names. This cannot be measured directly but through eliciting the views of the people. It is against this background that the descriptive research survey was used.

The population for the study was the chiefs, elders and people of the principal settlements of the Anlo state. The Anlo state comprises thirty-six principal settlements. These settlements are Anyanui, Dzita, Atorkor, Srorgboe, Wuti, Anloga, Woe, Tegbi, Dzelukorfe, Keta, Vodza, Kedzi, Blekusu, Agavedzi, Adina, Adafienu, Denu and Aflao. Others are Agbozume, Klikor, Afiadenyigba, Weta, Afife, Aborlorve, Anyako, Sasieme, Abor, Tsiame, Asadame, and Atiavi. The rest are Kome, Shime, Avenor (Avenorfeme), Penyi, Dzodze and Ave (Afiadenyigba). The chiefs, elders and prominent people of these towns who had knowledge about the history of the towns formed the respondents for the study.

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The purposive and snowballing sampling techniques were employed in selecting the sample for the study. The purposive sampling technique was employed to select the chiefs, elders and prominent citizens who know the history of the settlements for the study. The purposive sampling was complemented with snowballing

The researcher used two instruments in collecting data for the study. These were documentary analysis and interview. The focus of the study was to investigate the origin, meaning and motivation of the names of the towns or settlements established by the Anlo Ewe during their migration history and the morphological processes of the town names. The instruments were pre-tested in the Akatsi area. These people are also Ewes who also migrated from Notsie in Togoland.

Two types of data collection were employed. First, documentary analysis which involved the study of written migration history of the Anlo Ewe was used. Data were retrieved from existing documented narratives by individuals, chiefs as well as historians.

The second source was interviews conducted with chiefs and elders, and prominent people in the towns. The interviews followed suggested methods for collecting oral history. First, the researcher prepared an interview guide to steer the course of the interview. Second, respondents were contacted a week earlier to schedule dates for each interview. During each session, the purpose of the study was explained to participants in order to build good rapport. Where necessary, probing questions were asked to either elicit further information or seek clarifications on unclear issues. Each interview session was recorded on a tape recorder. The interviews were conducted in Ewe, the native language. This allowed the respondents to express themselves well. The narratives were later translated into English. Data

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were collected from the chiefs, elders and prominent people who know the history of the thirty-six principal Anlo settlements.

The analysis adopted for the classification of the settlement names was based on the toponymic typological framework proposed by Tent and Blair (2011). Tent and Blair suggested nine classifications in the determination of settlement names.

5.2 Key Findings

1. The findings of the study showed that the settlement names of the Anlo state originated from their migration history. The settlement names make reference to natural features such as hills, valleys, sandbars, marshy areas, streams, vegetation (forests) as well as events and happenings they encountered during their migration history. The names for natural features depended on how exactly the place is defined, and what exactly the concept of a place is used for. The natural features were originally given names to distinguish nearby hills, streams, forests, and sandbars and these features can be thought of as places, in that they represent distinct geographic locations. For example, settlement names such as Keta, and Kedzi make reference to sandbars; Weta, (hill) and Shime (marshy area); and Avenor, Agavedzi, Ave Afiadenyigba and Denu (forests); and Atiavi (Stream). Some of the names signify events. Names within this category are Atorkor (trading with Akans); Vodza and Blekusu (slave trade with the Danes); and Asadame and Anyako (wars). However, some of the names became less useful as they are applied on a larger scale. The origin of these settlement names may be forgotten.
2. The morphological processes found to be involved in the formation of the settlement names in the Anlo state names were compounding, affixation and

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borrowing. The study revealed that the Anlo settlement names comprised one, two or more morphemes. Names comprising two or more morphemes were put together or combined through the processes of affixation, compounding and borrowing. The only single-morpheme settlement name is Abor. The formations of settlement names which involved the process of affixation were Woe and Denu. The process of compounding was used to put together morphemes to form settlement names such as Dzita, Wuti, Anloga, Afife, Dzelukorpe, Keta, Kedzi, Agavedzi, Adafienu, Aflao, Agbozume, Klikor, Afiadenyigba, Weta and Afife. The rest are Aborlorve, Anyako, Sasieme, Tsiame, Asadame, Kome, Shime, Avenorpeme, Ave Afiadenyigba, Penyi and Dzodze. Settlement names whose morphological processes were identified as borrowing include Atorkor, Tegbi, Blekusu, Vodza and Adina.

Some of the compounds formed are Noun-Noun compounds. Names in this category include: Dzelukorfe (Dzelu (a name of a person + korfe (village)), Agbozume (Agbo (ram) + zume (a place where rituals are performed)), Dzita (Dzi (rain) + ta (lake)), Afiadenyigba (afiade (somewhere) + anyigba (land)), Avenorfeme (Avenor (female forest) + Afeme (home)), Ave Afiadenyigba (Ave (forest) + Afiadenyigba (a land somewhere), Agavedzi (Aga (a name of a person) + Avedzi (forest area), Klikor (Kli (a name of a person) + kor (area/suburb), Anyako (Anya (a name of a person + ko (kpo) (island)), Aborlorve (Aborlor (a clan) + ave (forest).

Other names are Noun-preposition/ postposition compounds. Names in the category include: Kedzi (ke (sand) + dzi (top)), Weta (We (valley) + ta (head)), Wuti (Wu (silk cotton tree) + ti/te (under)), Keta (ke (sand) + ta (head)), Kome (ko (floating vegetation) + me (inside)), Shime (shi (marshy) +

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me (inside), Asadame (Asada (Assembly) + me (place/area)). There are some other names which are Noun–verb compounds. Names in this category include: Sasieme (Sa (name of a person) + sieme (run from), Adafienu (Ada (anger) + fienu (boils thing)), Penyi (pe (year) + nyi (yi) (passed). There is also a Verb–verb compound. Eg. Dzodze (dzo (fly) + dze (land/settle). Again, there is Noun–adjective compound. Eg . Anloga (Anlo (name of a group of people who speak one dialect) + ga (big). However, some settlement names such as Anyanui, and Srorgboe were difficult to identify as Ewe morphemes.

3. The study showed that the thirty-six Anlo settlement names could be classified into the nine categories outlined by Tent and Blair (2011). The first, descriptive type of settlement names of Anlo state includes Wuti, Kedzi, Keta, Weta, Afife, Kome and Shime. This type of classification consists of the description of three inherent characteristics which are topographic, relational and locations. The names relate to the features of the place to others either chronologically or spatially. The second, associative type of settlement name that falls under the classification is Srorgboe. This name indicates something of a topographical or biological nature seen with certain features in the area. The third classification, occurent settlement names include Anloga, Woe, Denu, Adafienu, Aflao, Agbozume and Sasieme. These names relate to an event, incident or occasion by recording the event, incident, occasion (or date), or action associated with the feature. The fourth classification, evaluative names are Tsiame and Atiavi. These settlement names had given a positive response or a commendatory comment to a feature-water. The fifth class, shift settlement names comprise Atorkor, Tegbi, Vodza, Blekusu and Adina. These names had used names in whole or in part from a location that had been

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transferred from another place. The sixth classification, indigenous settlement names are Dzita, Afiadenyigba, Abor, Asadame, Avenorfeme, Penyi, Dzodze and Ave Afiadenyigba. These names are believed to have used indigenous words into the naming process. These indigenous words are either original place names or words of the language. The seventh classification, the eponymous group, comprises Dzelukorpe, Agavedzi, Klikor, Aborlorve and Anyako. These settlement names commemorate a person or an entity, both living and non-living. The eighth classification is the linguistic innovation. No name falls into this category. The final category is the erroneous settlement names. Anyanui is the only name that had the features for this category. This name involves introducing a new form through garbled transmission, misspelling and mistaken meaning. It can be observed from the classification that the names in the indegenous category are more than the rest. There are eight names in this category. The descriptive and occurent categories have seven names each. The associative and erroneous categories have a name each. There is no name under the linguistic innovative category.

4. One finding apart from those revealed by the research questions showed that the history of the origin, meaning and motivation of the settlement names are being adulterated and with time the oral narrations would not give a true picture of the past. Another finding is that people have moved from the thirty-six principal settlements to establish satellite or new settlements.

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5.3 Conclusion

The aim of the study was to find out the origin, meaning and motivations for the settlement names (topnyms) of the Anlo state. This research looked at the names of the thirty six principal settlements in the Anlo state of Ghana. After analyzing the toponyms under study, the research found out that knowledge of the origin of toponyms plays a significant role in decoding the meaning of these names. This means that it is important for anyone who wishes to know the meaning of a place name to trace the origin of the name to find out what led to the choosing of the particular name for the particular settlement. It came to light that looking at the writing of the names alone is not enough to derive the meaning of toponyms in the Anlo state.

The research also confirms Tent and Blair's typology for classifying toponyms as a robust typology. This is because after classifying the thirty-six names, eight of the categories has at least a toponym classified under it. This adds to the evidence that naming of places has features that cut across cultures. That is, the motivations for naming places are common to many places and cultures. The results showed some consistencies with findings from studies conducted in other African and American countries such as Togo and Canada. Some differences in the processes of naming settlements were also observed. These differences could be attributed to cultural differences among the different places.

It could be said that, names of the settlements of the Anlo state are based on historical facts, famous people and events in thehistory of the Anlo traditional area. They have the Ewe language character and English language influence. The names make reference to features such as landscapes, religion and mythology. According to their structure, settlement names can be divided into: simple and compound

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toponyms. The processes of affixation and compounding were employed to put together two or more morphemes. However, some names were found to be borrowed morphemes since they have no root in the Ewe language. In general, the settlement names (toponyms) are proof for the cultural and historical facts in the history of the people.

5.5 Recommendation

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are made. From the study, it was found out that the origin and meaning of the names of the settlements of the Anlo state are being corrupted or adulterated as a result of writing or spelling and with time the oral narration would not give a true picture of the past. It is, therefore recommended that the chiefs and elders and educated elites and historians of the principal settlements of Anlo should come together to put into writing historical information to prevent the oral transmission from corrupting the origin, meaning and motivation of the settlement names. To achieve this, the Anlo Traditional Council could team up with the District/Municipal Assemblies in the traditional area to write and publish the information.

5.6 Recommendations for further Research

1. The current study covered the thirty-six principal settlements of the Anlo state that had been established during the migration of the Anlo Ewes from Notsie. However, other new settlements had been established during and after settling down in these principal settlements. It is recommended that studies are conducted into origin, meaning and motivation for these new settlement names.

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2. It is recommended that another study be conducted to compare the names of the principal and new settlements of the Anlo state with regard to the origin, meaning and motivation of the names. The study can also compare the morphological processes involved in naming the settlements.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

This research seeks to find out the origin, formation and meaning of Anlo town names. Information derived from the interview will help the researcher to put together the nature and meaning of the town names of the Anlo state.

Background of Interviewee

1. Nameof interviewee:

   ……

2. Place of birth and date:

   ……

3. Occupation:

   ……

4. Position in the community:

   ……

5. Educational background:

   ……

Main Data

6. What is the name of your town?

   ……

7. Who named the town?

   ……

8. What led to the naming of the town?

   ……

   ……

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……

……

9. What motivated those who named the town to give it such a name?

……

……

……

……

10. Which words were used to name the town?

……

……

……

……

11. What is the meaning of the name of your town?

……

……

……

12. Has there ever been any change in the name and meaning of your town?

Yes / No

13. If yes, what changes took place and what caused the change(s)?

……

……

……

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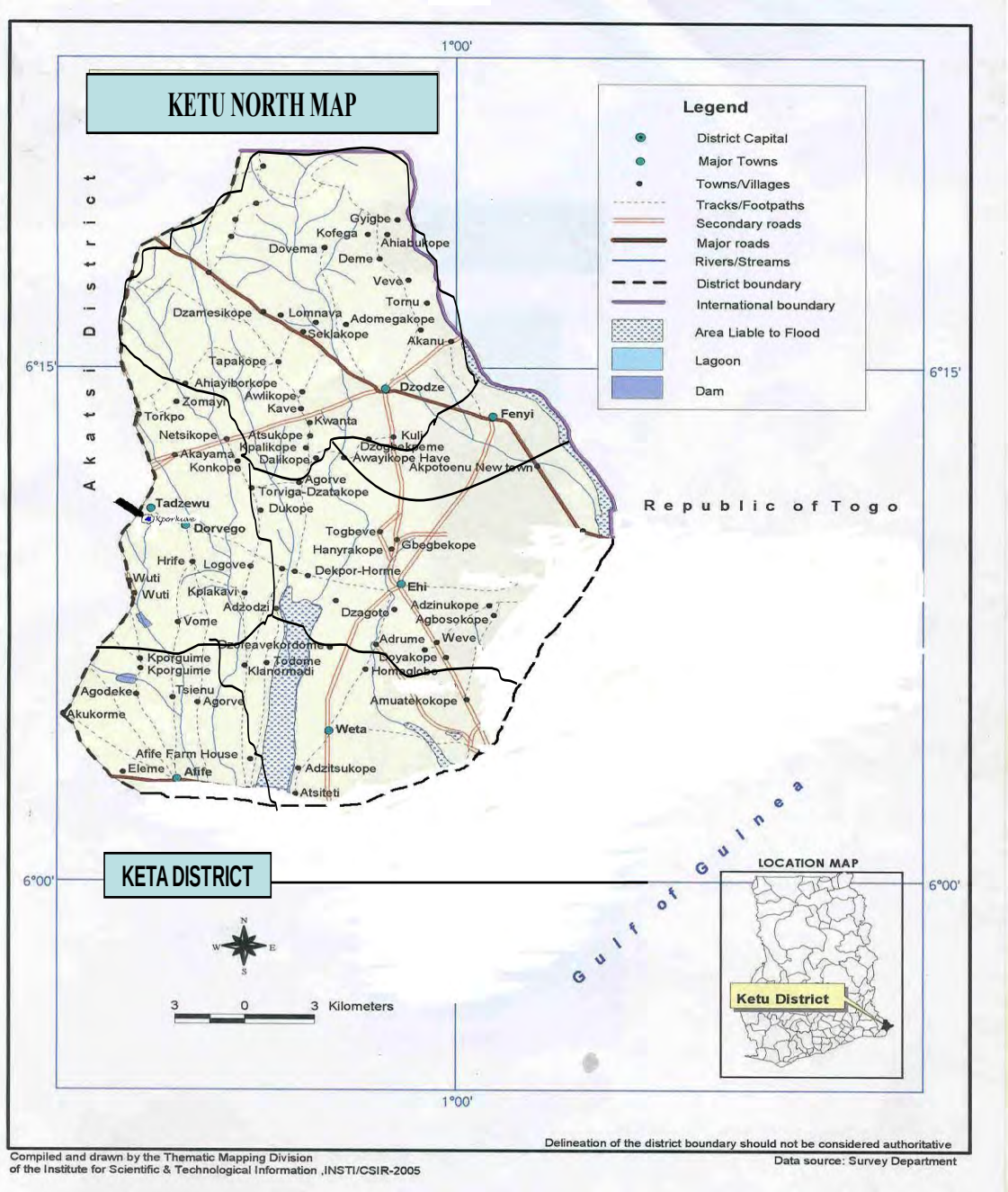
APPEDIX B

KETU NORTH DISTRICT MAP



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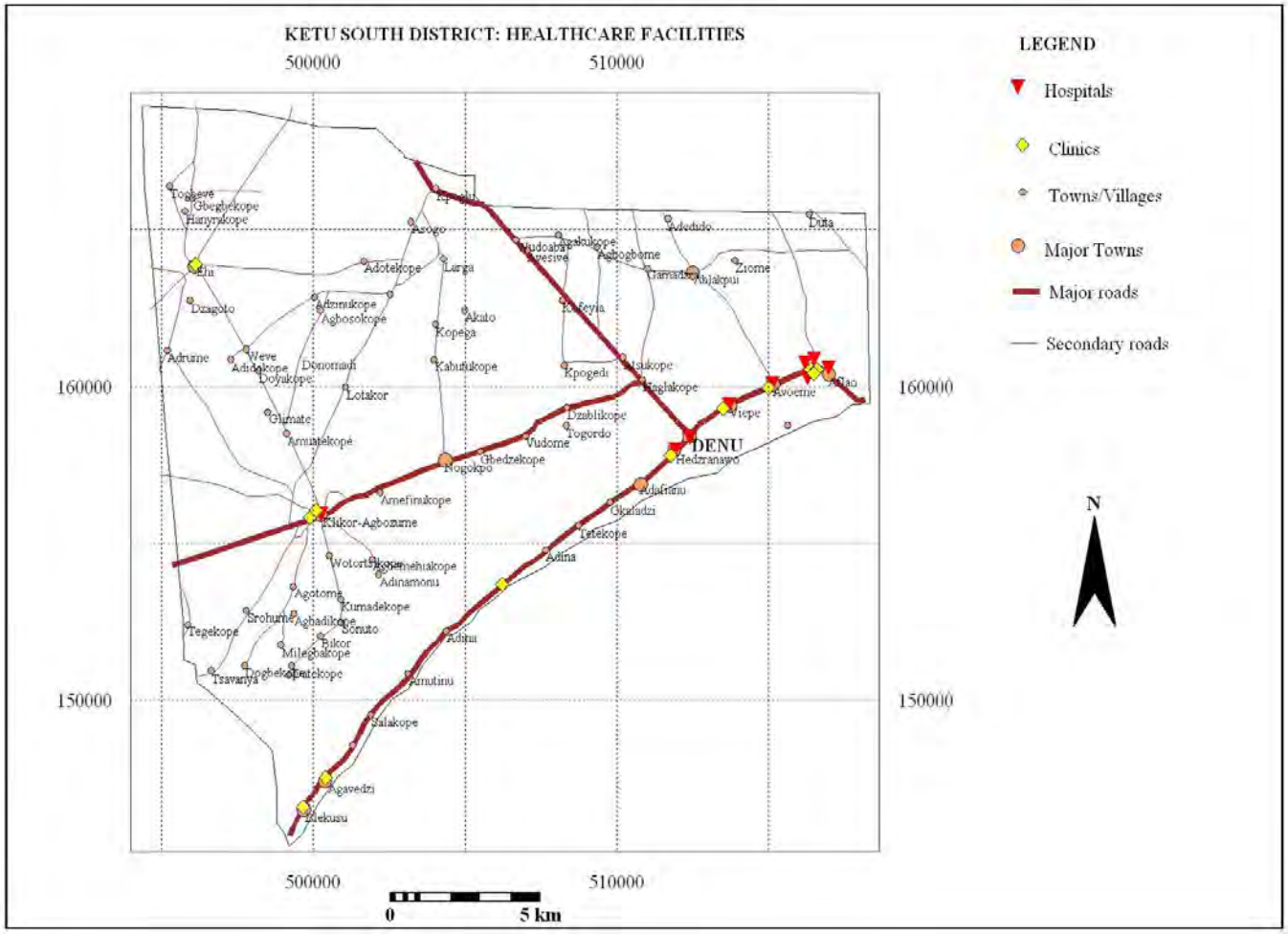
APPENDIX C



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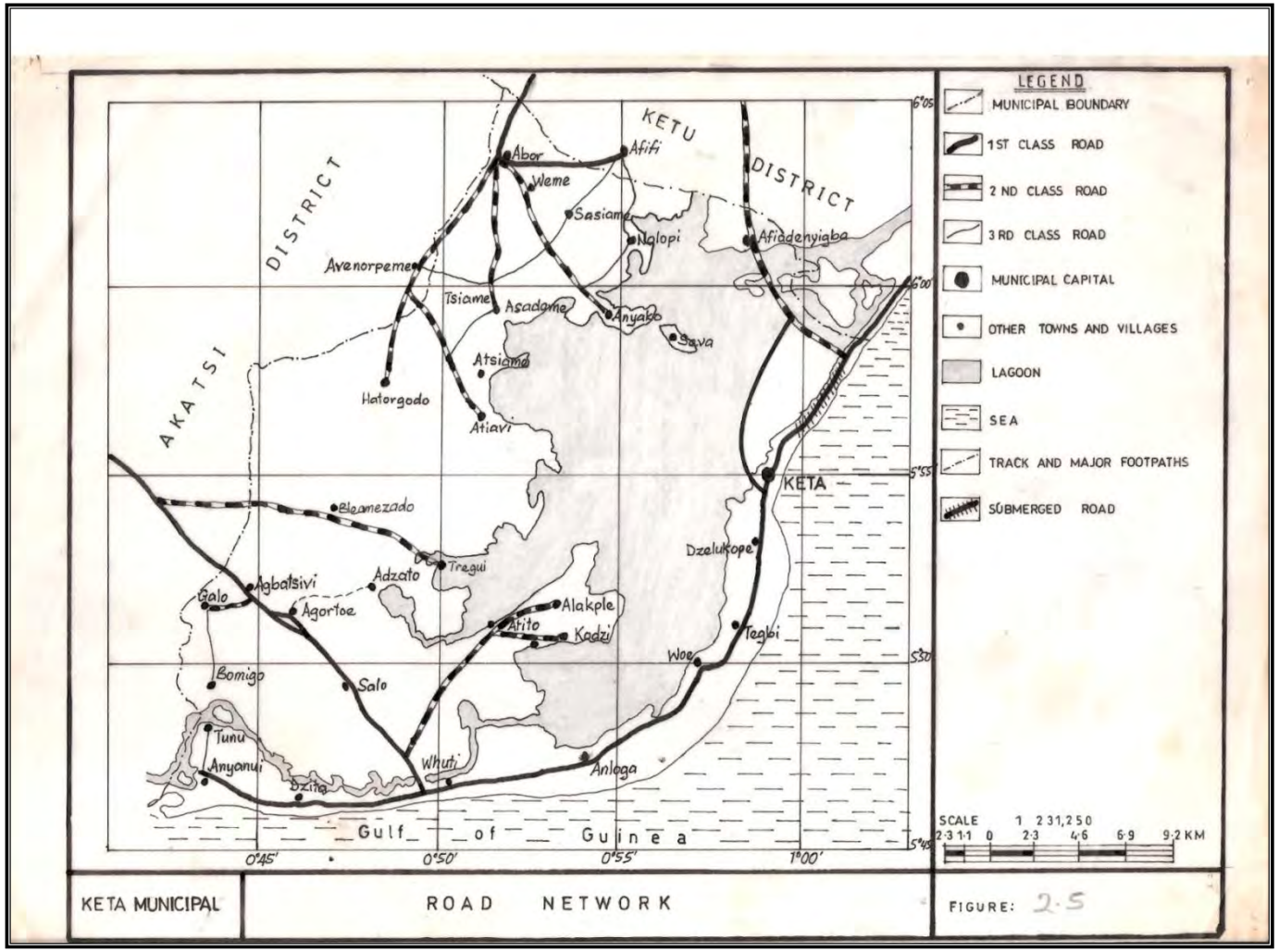
APPENDIX D