

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON
INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES**

**LANDSCAPE TERMS, PLACE NAMES AND SPATIAL
LANGUAGE IN ÀSÒGLÌ ÈUÈ**

BY

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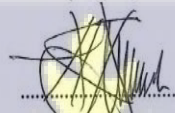
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DECLARATION

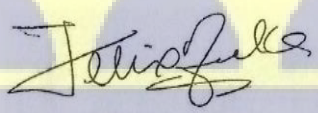
This dissertation is my original work produced under the supervision of my supervisory committee towards the award of a Doctor of Philosophy Degree in African Studies. It has not been previously submitted either in part or whole for a degree in any university. To the best of my knowledge, quotations, relevant ideas and references from published and unpublished works have been duly acknowledged.


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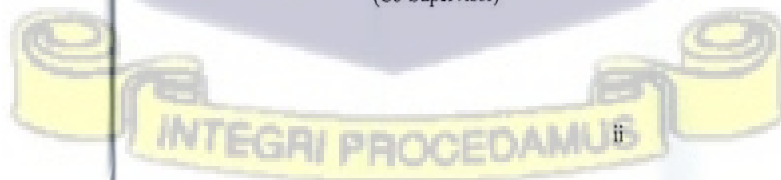
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to **Rev. Dr. Simon Kofi Appiah**, Theresa Bokmeier, Rev. Prof. Michael Okyerefo, my parents and siblings



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ABSTRACT

Culture relates with landscape to influence the ways in which different cultural groups represent physical space in their minds and in the grammar of their specific languages. For this reason, this study explores Àsòglì vocabulary for categorising the physical environment. It also examines their ways of naming different geographical entities. I show that the terms for ‘mountain’ and/or ‘hill’ *tó*, and other raised ground forms *kó* (fist, lump, clot, hill), *kpó* (mound) have a formal relationship with body parts. For example, the relationship between the body part *tó* (ear) and *tó* (mountain) is interrogated. Other terms discussed include *tò* (river) and terms for plant cover such as *àvè* (forest) and *gbě* (bush) and their subcategories. The spatial parts of these entities are described using spatial relation terms which have evolved from body parts and are used also for talking about the location of entities – people and things – in space. Thus, spaces anchored to *tò* (river) for instance are described as *tò tó* (river edge) lit. river neck, i.e. the edge of the river. I next explore the strategies the Àsòglì Èvè use to name specific places and geographic entities. Some names are descriptive of the spaces they occupy, e.g. *Hǒ Dòmè* (in the midst of *Hǒ*). Others are extensions of landscape terms, for example, *Hlihà* (laterite) and yet others relate to socio-historical events that took place at the referent location, e.g. *Àvàtíqòmé* (under the war tree), a location where war took place. I conclude by drawing relations between landscape terms, place names and body parts to reveal Àsòglì conceptualisations of the physical environment encoded in their language. The findings show how landscape and culture combine to

shape Högbè (variety of Èvèdòmègbè) and Àsògli-specific cultural variety of spatial cognition.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Meaning
1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person
ADJ	Adjective
BLC	Basic Locative Construction
COMP	Complementiser
CQ	Content Question Marker
DEF	Definite Article
DEM	Demonstrative
DET	Determiner
DIM	Diminutive
FOC	Focus Marker
FoR	Frame of Reference
FUT	Future
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
HAB	Habitual
ICV	Inherent Complement Verb
IDIO	Idiophone
IDTF	Identifier
INDEF	Indefinite Article
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
IRR	Irrealis
LOC	Locative
LOG	Logophor
LT	Landscape Term
ME	Minimal English
N	Noun
NSM	Natural Semantic Metalanguage
NPfx	Nominal Prefix
NEG	Negative Marker

NPRES	Non-Present (past tense)
NP	Noun Phrase
Nomi	Nominal
ONOM	Onomatopoeia
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural Marker
PN	Place Name
POSS	Possessive Marker
PostP	Postposition
POT	Potential
PrepP	Preposition
PRO	Pronoun
PROG	Progressive
PROSP	Prospective
QP	Question Particle
QT	Quantifier
RED	Reduplication
REP	Repetitive
SE	Standard Èvè
SEA	Standard Èvè Alphabet
SG	Singular
SUBJ	Subjunctive
SVC	Serial Verb Construction
TP	Terminal Particle
V	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase



LIST OF SYMBOLS

?	Odd constructions
*	Ungrammatical constructions
	Morpheme break
~·	Nasal sound
`	Low tone
´	High tone
—	Mid tone
-	Unifying elements into one gloss



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The Àsòglì Èvè have their ways of knowing and relating with their physical environment. But how culturally unique are these patterns of relationship? How do they conceptualise and express such relationships through practices of place naming and landscape categorisation? Interest in such studies is growing today across disciplines as an aspect of ethnosemantics, a field in linguistics concerned with how cultural-specific organisation, understanding and use of the natural world is reflected in language (O'Meara & Bohnemeyer, 2008). This approach has been used to study basic colour terminology (Berlin & Kays, 1969) and kinship terminology (Wierzbicka, 2018; Lounsbury, 1964). Today, linguists interested in landscape and place names studies maintain that categorisation and place naming are the first steps in the processes through which humans establish a relationship with the landscape. They have the potential to transform “space” into “place” and “territory” into “landscape” (Seidl, 2008, p. 35). What is more, scholars emphasise “that, although the referent of topographic terms are objective physical entities, landscape vocabulary does not carve nature at its joints” (Bromhead, 2011, p. 58). Factors including features of the environment, culture and affordance play major roles in landscape categorisation (Burenhult & Levinson, 2008). Landscape categorisation and conceptualisation vary across cultures and each culture needs to be studied in order to increase data and cross-cultural knowledge

on peoples' cognition of the world (Mark, Turk, Burenhult, & Stea, 2011; Holton, 2011).

Landscape categorisation is used here to mean the process of identifying geographic units as individual entities and the allocation of specific terms to them, while place naming means assigning proper nouns to specific locations (Alderman, 2008). Scholars have found that there is a challenge in applying scientifically predefined terms in different cultural contexts. They recommend that uniqueness and diversity are better accounted for in the study of landscape terms and place names by not overlooking the semantic content of the individual terms (Bromhead, 2011). This is relevant to the present study that seeks to understand landscape terms and place names of the Àsòglì, which may not correspond with known scientific ontological terms. It is thus important to study Àsòglì terms in their own right to determine their meanings and how they inform Àsòglì conceptualisation of the physical environment.

My motivation for choosing this topic has to do with my own biography. I am born Èvè and growing up in Èvèland, one of the most popular stories I heard was the pan-Èvè migration narrative, enacted annually through ceremonies of which the narration of the migration story occupies central space. Dotted about in the story are many place names that purport to describe previous settlements along the migration route. I used to wonder what part of my heritage could be reconstructed from this mythological source. Following my M.Phil. studies and in preparation for an international conference on the theme: "Narrating Hi(stories): Storytelling in/about West Africa", I chanced on a publication which

kindled my interest in toponymy – the study of place names. In compiling an annotated bibliography on African ethnonyms and toponyms, I discovered Batoma (2006), a compelling account on the significance of place naming practices in Africa. Batoma's text marked the beginning of my interest in the place naming practices of the Èvè people. This biographical beginning resonated well with the currency and importance of studies on landscape categorisation and place naming and led to my decision to focus on this topic for my doctoral studies. Place names and landscape terms are studied today not only as a way of heritage retrieval, but also especially for understanding a people's way of knowing the physical world.

Landscape features lack known boundaries and reducing landscape to segments emanates from how humans experience and relate with the world (Henshaw, 2006; Mark, 1993). Landscape categorisation and place naming are thus cultural phenomena which convey conceptualisations of space. Studying place names and landscape terms as ways of thinking about space aligns my research with other studies (Brown, 2008; Widlok, 2008) that have been conducted in recent times among different peoples. Such studies found that three important factors play a role in landscape categorization generally. The first of these factors is perceptual or cognitive salience, which concerns the use of noticeable physical features as the basis for labelling landforms (Bromhead, 2011; O'Meara & Bohmeyer, 2008).

The second factor regards the affordances offered to humans or constraints imposed by the landscape on their activities (Thornton, 2011; Levinson, 2008; O'Connor & Kroefges, 2008). The third factor for

landscape categorization involves cultural beliefs. It is often argued that cultural beliefs serve as conceptual templates for languages and significantly influence various classification processes including those for landscapes (Huber, 2014; Burenhult, 2008). Studying the cultural beliefs of the Àsògli Èvè presupposes that Àsògli cultural knowledge, which plays a part in their categorisation of the physical world presents a cultural specific variant in how perception, affordance and cultural significance play a role in landscape categorisation and labelling. These elements of Àsògli Èvè cultural specificity of constructs regarding place naming, landscape categorisation and spatial language form important aspects of this research.

In this research, the focus is on the Àsògli and their language. However, to facilitate comprehension for a wider audience, some non-conventional elements have been used. For example, one will find that tones are marked where Èvè orthography is used, to allow non-Èvè speakers to have a feel of how Èvè words are pronounced. This, however, is not the case in Standard Èvè (SE), which is "Book Èvè" developed by North German Missionary Society of Bremen around the middle of the 19th century (Duthie, 1996). I have also placed terms relating to landscape and place names in italics and used Èvè orthography, but I have left personal names also written in Èvè without italics. The style of glossing used is to follow the Èvè terms immediately with their gloss in parenthesis.

1.2 Rationale

The rationale of this study is that cultures nurture unique ways of relating to their landscape. From this point of view, landscape may not be perceived as a simple "habitat" or a stable environment. Rather landscape

mirrors, transfers and constantly renews the cognitive constructs of the physical space and enduring histories, habits and “values of culture” that arise from the relation between the people and their landscape (Beek, Bloemers, Keunen, & Kolen *et al.*, 2008, p. 173). Landscape attributions, place naming and spatial language encode these characteristics of landscape. Thus, a linguistic analysis of landscape terms, place names and spatial language can help to understand the uniqueness of the Àsògli Èvè conceptualisation of landscape and cultural memories and values encoded in the terms.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

People categorise the entities and properties that make up the terrain and water worlds which different beings live in and which humans exploit in ways that are peculiar to them. Scholars argue that these processes of landscape categorisation and place naming have linkages to a people’s cognition of the world. Place naming practices may be motivated and informed by historical figures and socio-cultural events, landscape features and spatial relation terms. However, since these practices vary across cultures, it is important to study many cultures to increase our understanding of how different groups of people conceptualise and relate with their landscape.

In the case of the Èvè culture, some work has been done on spatial relation terms (Ameka & Essegbey, 2006; Ameka, 1995). Other works have concentrated on historical and socio-cultural events as expressed through specific linguistic forms of the Èvè language (Yayoh, 2002; Johnson, 1965).

Still, others have concentrated on proper names and naming practices (Kongo & Mends, 2016; Agbedor & Johnson, 2005; Atakpa, 1997). However, an explanation of how exactly these naming practices and spatial relation terms account for the specific Èvè conceptualisation of the physical environment is missing. This gap relates to questions such as the factors that determine entities of the landscape which the Àsòglì select for naming and particularly, the linguistic and cultural processes underlying their naming practices. These questions relating to the gap in the literature about the cultural specific ways in which the Èvè know and label the physical world around them is the concern of this research. Thus, this study forms an integral part of and complements the on-going interest of linguists who study place naming practices and landscape categorisation as a way of understanding how people conceptualise and relate with the physical world.

1.4 Research Objectives

The main objectives guiding this study are to:

- 1) Explain the linguistic processes in Àsòglì landscape categorisation, place naming, and spatial language.
- 2) Analyse specific practices and constructs of landscape labelling, place naming and spatial language that are (culturally) unique to Àsòglì Èvè.
- 3) Determine how Àsòglì Èvè landscape terms, place names, and spatial language reveal Èvè indigenous knowledge of the landscape.

- 4) Investigate the memories, beliefs and values which underpin Àsòglì Èvè cultural knowledge of the physical world as represented in their landscape terms and place names.

1.5 Research Questions

The research questions on which the research was based included:

- 1) What are the linguistic processes the Àsòglì Èvè employ in categorising their landscape, naming places and in spatial language?
- 2) Which elements of Àsòglì Èvè linguistic processes can be isolated as culturally specific in landscape labelling, place naming and spatial language?
- 3) How do Àsòglì Èvè landscape terms and place names allow a glimpse into Àsòglì Èvè conceptualisation of their landscape?
- 4) How does the indigenous worldview underpin Àsòglì knowledge of the physical world?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The need to increase knowledge production in people's place naming practices and its relevance for understanding their conceptualisation of the world is gaining grounds in the humanities. There is emphasis on variation and scholars aspire towards in-depth studies across cultures to attain more plural and holistic knowledges. In this regard, the study makes a significant contribution by adding to existing knowledge the Àsòglì variety of different cultural ways of conceptualising landscape. This was achieved through a linguistic explanation of Àsòglì landscape terms,

place names and spatial language. When one reads this research, one would understand the socio-cultural factors and the linguistic processes that led to the selection of places and landforms for labelling, the structure of the terms and place names and the indigenous knowledge that they contain.

The other contribution of this study is its importance for scholars who will find in it an explanation of Àsòglì place names and landscape terms as a coherent system rather than a mere set of labels for familiar landscape features. Anthropologists, linguists, and other related disciplines will find in this study a complementary documented source for Àsòglì culture and language. Scholars of Èvè linguistics in particular will find the analysis of the semantic system a variety of Èvèdòmègbè. In this sense, the study provides fertile ground for linguistic comparison apart from being a model for investigating cultural varieties of landscape labelling and knowledge.

Most importantly, we are faced in contemporary times with the challenge of sustainable environmental management. Understanding a people's imaginaries of their physical world provides a point of departure for developing and defining sustainable patterns of relating with the environment. Nerlich (2015) aptly explains imaginaries as the shared or collective understanding of space, developed from what people do to live in that space. She further explains that spatial imaginaries are not mere cognitive ways of capturing space, but together with other cultural elements, constitute and structure social practices that have material effects. Thus, this study could provide initial information for further research aimed

at discovering new models with which the Èvè can arrange their relationship with and use of their physical world in sustainable ways.

In this connection, the study points to areas of possible further research such as how Àsòglì indigenous conceptualisation of the physical environment can be integrated into technologies like Google Maps and GIS, which purport to operate on the basis of universal ontologies. Such an integrative model will be valuable in this age of digitisation, urbanisation, industrialisation, and migration, which can be more effectively managed by taking seriously traditional knowledge systems. There is evidence that “much biodiversity of certain areas turns out to be maintained and even enhanced as a result of the interaction between the indigenous population and the environment” (Rybka, 2015, p. 3).

1.7 The Àsòglì and their Territory

The Àsòglì are an Èvè-speaking people located in the Volta Region of Ghana. Before independence, the region was part of the Trans-Volta Togoland, which was once under the German colonial administration. After the first world war which the Germans lost, the region came under British colonial rule. At independence, however, the people in the region decided through a plebiscite to join the new state of Ghana (Amenumey, 1986; Brown, 1980; Plebiscite Forthcoming in British Togoland, 1956).

Àsòglì territory, as shown in Figure 1.1, spreads around *Hõ*, which is the Àsòglì seat of paramountcy and serves also as the administrative capital of the Volta Region of Ghana. The civil administrative structure of Ghana begins at the top with the seat of Government at the capital Accra.

Governance is decentralised into sixteen administrative regions, with their respective capitals. From the regional level, administration is further subdivided into districts with centres of administration located at the district capitals. Parallel to the civil administrative structure is a traditional structure which varies from one ethnic group to another. Generally, however, the traditional administrative structure is based on the chieftaincy system (Müller, 2013; Annor, 1985; Busia, 1951), which consists of independent states, subdivided into paramountcies, divisional chiefs, subdivisional chiefs and other lower traditional office holders. A paramountcy with its subdivisions forms a traditional area and is headed by the paramount chief. This traditional administrative structure provides a background for understanding the explanations that follow on the composition and structure of the Àsòglì state.

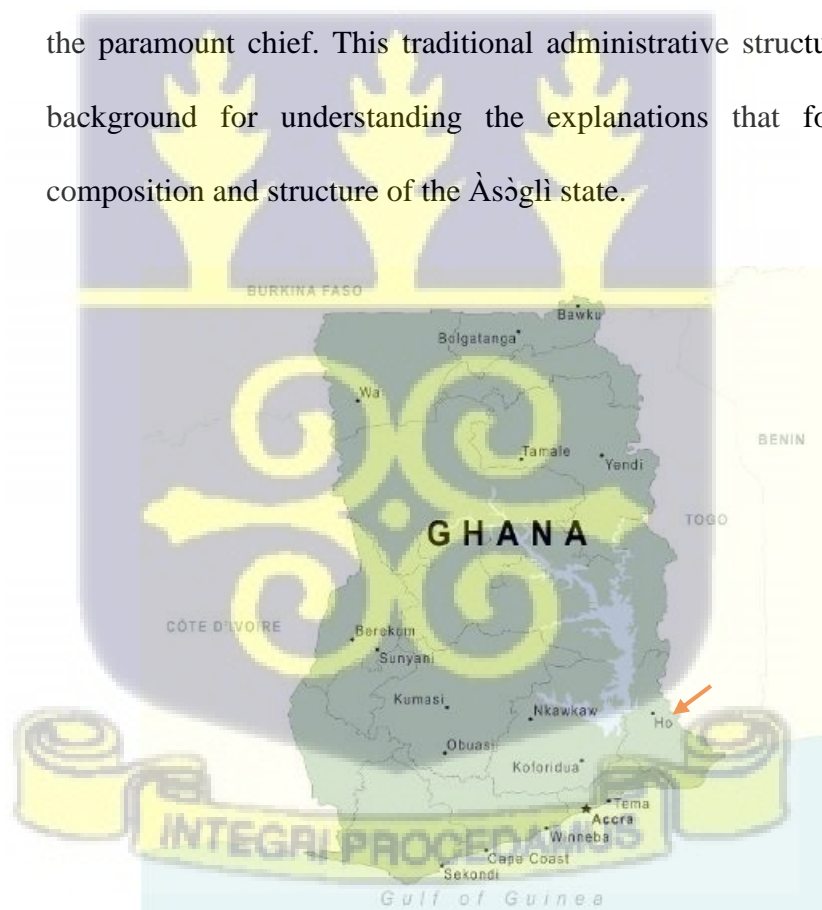


Figure 1.1: Ghana Map showing Ho. Retrieved from:

<https://wwwnc.cdc.gov/travel/destinations/traveler/none/ghana>

Currently, Àsòglì territory covers an area of 2.660 sq km (Gadagoe, 2009) and lies between latitude 6°20'7 N and 6°55' N and longitude 0°12'7 E and 0° 53' E. In Figure 1.2, the area is mapped out in a kind of circle, with the names of the locations printed in violet. It comprises of the *Hõ*, *Àkóféfé*, *Kpéñòé* and *Tàklà* traditional areas. In Figure 1.2, *Hõ* is to the south west of the Àsòglì state, sharing a common boundary with *Àdàklù* (not part of Àsòglì). Far above *Hõ* in the north west is *Àkóféfé* which shares boundary with the non-Àsòglì towns of *Távíéfé* and *Ziàví*. In the north east, *Àkóféfé* is bordered by the Akwapim-Togo range. Below *Àkóféfé* is *Tàkla* sharing boundary with *Dàvé*, *Kpákakófé* and *Sòwàlòkófé*, which are non-Asòglì.

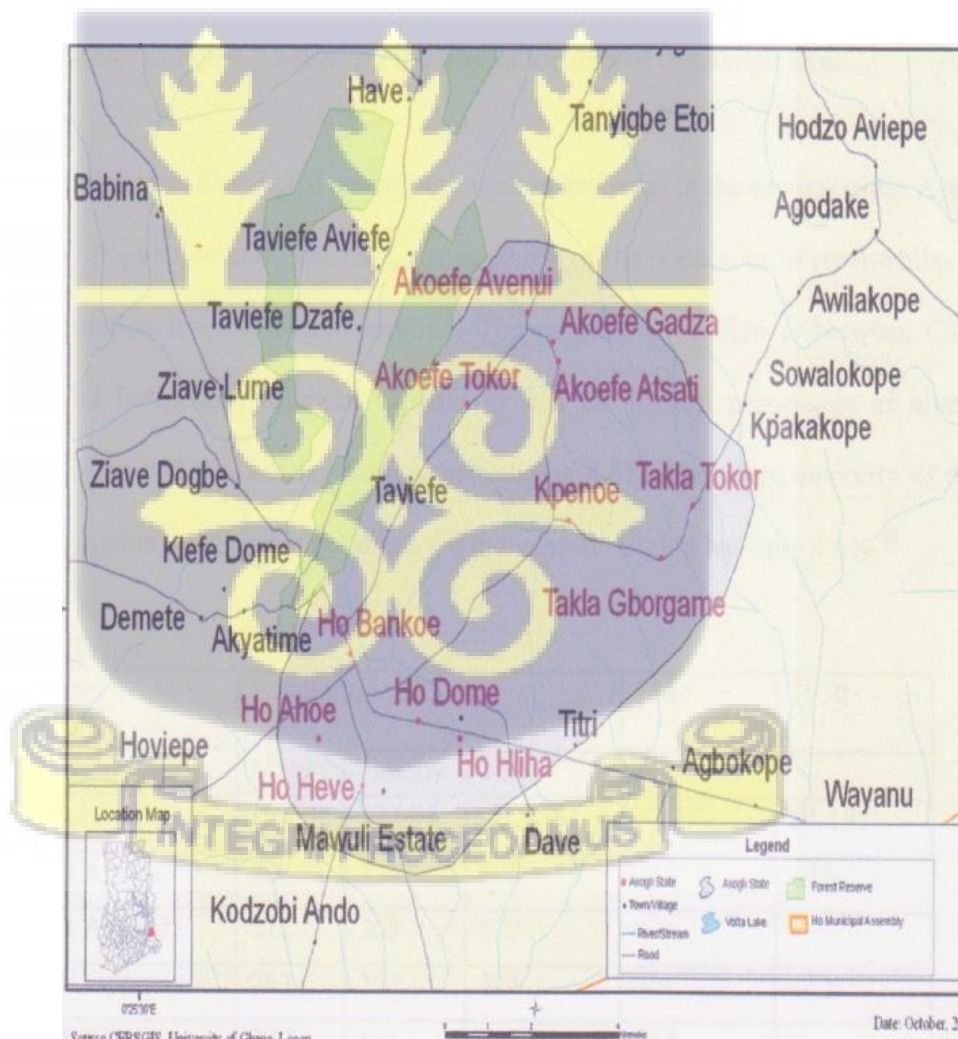


Figure 1.2: Map of Àsòglì Settlements, adapted from Amekpordi (2012, p. 8)

The relief of Àsòglì territory is both mountainous and plains. The mountainous regions are mainly located northward. The dominant mountain is the Akwapim-Togo range, with its apex reaching a height of about 853 metres. This mountain range, which the *Hõ* people call *Gàlèṅkúító*, extends from the west eastward and serves as the northern boundary of the Àsòglì territory. Figure 1.3 shows the Akwapim-Togo range.



Figure 1.3: *Hõ* Hills and Forest Reserve, September 20, 2017. Photograph by Author

The mountain range also serves as a forest reserve extending over 33.83 sq. kilometers. Other highlands, such as *Kpéṅḍé-tó* (*Kpéṅḍé*-mountain), also called *Tóṅú* or *Tóvíèṅú*, are distributed sparsely across the region. Major forests are located around highlands, although factors including urbanisation, industrialisation and other forms of modernisation are gradually destroying them. Conversations with the inhabitants indicate their awareness of inimical human activities that are causing previous forest

zones to become grassland. For instance, during an interview a research participant intimated that in 1983, during the season of severe drought, a group of hunters set fire to trap game. Unfortunately, the fire got out of control gutting a previously thick forest at *Kpéñḍé*, and causing the area to become grassland. Towards the northern part of the *Àsògli* area, some portions of the land are rocky, thereby making them difficult to cultivate, though they are known to be fertile. Figure 1.4 shows the stony and rocky part of *Àkófé Àvènyí*. Savanna soils, on the other hand, are sandy and found predominantly in parts of *Hõ* township.



Figure 1.4: Rocks at *Ablòmè*, the meeting grounds for the chiefs and elders, *Àkófé Àvènyí*, September 20, 2017. Photograph by Author

Several streams, which are distributed across the region, flow into *Kálàkpá* to form one of the largest watercourses in the area. *Kálàkpá* in turn flows through *Tàklà* and *Kpéñḍé* townships and drains into the Lower Volta.

In recent times, however, many of these minor streams have either dried up or become contaminated through human activities. As shown in Figure 1.5, this current state of the *Àlálè* stream at *Bànkóé* in *Hõ* is a good example of the degeneration, which waterbodies have experienced over time.

The *Àsòglì* traditional area records different temperatures according to the seasons of the year. Research participants said it was cold during the early and late periods of the day in the dry season while during the rainy season, one felt cold depending on the volume and frequency of rain. The region experiences two rainy seasons – major and minor, between March and June, and from August to November respectively. In June, the peak of the major rainy season, *Àsòglì* could record a mean value of 192mm rainfall. The remaining 5 months of the year constitute the dry season.



Figure 1.5: *Àxólõ* Stream at *Àdzimàkólé*, *Hõ*. January 20, 2018. Photograph by Author

The dry season is often dusty and foggy, blurring vision to a large extent. Though unable to state the actual degree of temperature variation

over the years, almost all research participants confirmed a significant increase in temperature lately. An observable indicator is the drastic change in the way the wind blows in the dry season. For instance, the harmattan, the cold dry winds that blow during the dry season, has become humid and warm. Similarly, research participants report a significant change in rainfall patterns in the area. Being predominantly subsistence farmers, they complain about how rainfall patterns have become unpredictable, which causes the destruction of many farms. Ultimately, the Àsòglì also experience the global warming and climate change, which is currently affecting the entire world.

1.8 The Àsòglì Èvè and their Traditional Areas

In the previous section, I focused on the geography of the Àsòglì hinting slightly on its social and political organisation. In this section, I take up the theme of Àsòglì social and political structure again to treat the topic in more detail. The name Àsòglì is used in two senses. First, it describes an independent northern Èvè state in the Volta Region of Ghana. In this sense, the name applies to the four traditional areas previously mentioned. Three of the traditional areas were founded by the children of a common ancestor, Tógbé Káklá. In seniority, the children founded their settlements as follows: Káklá Àkóé founded *Àkóéfé*; Káklá Lètsú founded *Kpéηòé*; Káklá Àsò founded *Hõ*. The fourth traditional area, however, broke away from *Kpéηòé* to establish *Tàklà* under the leadership of Tógbé Atiku. The tradition about the establishment of *Tàklà* is taken up in subsection 1.8.3. According to oral tradition, Tógbé Káklá begot a daughter by name Káklá Àsà, who established *Sàviéfé*. However, the patriarchal tradition

excluded her from being a member of the Àsòglì state, though her town is recognised as a sister settlement.

The second sense in which Àsòglì is used describes an association of one hundred and sixty (160) different kin groups formed by the colonisers for administrative convenience, which has been retained till date. This group is referred to as the Amalgamated Àsòglì Traditional Council (Àsòglì Traditional Council, 2013). This study, concentrates on the traditional Àsòglì State, otherwise known as the “nucleus” Àsòglì or the “actual Ho tribe” (Spieth, [1906] 2012, p. 31). Henceforth, Àsòglì in this thesis is used in this first sense of nucleus Àsòglì.

Like other Èvè groups, the Àsòglì migrated from *Ketu* (a territory once controlled by the Yoruba) now located in present day Republic of Benin before settling at their present location. Èvè oral tradition tells of a rapid expansion of the Yoruba state, which compelled them to migrate southward to *Dòtsié*, a walled city, where they settled for several centuries. *Dòtsié* has been variously referred to as *Hògbèfé*, *Nùátjá*, *Àgbògbòmè*, *Àmèdzòfé* and *Glìmè* (Spieth, 2012; Mitchell-McKnight, 2005).

At *Dòtsié*, oral tradition recalls that the Èvè were already divided into groups under the leadership of chiefs. The Àsòglì remember Tógbé Káklá as the head of their group at the time, and assert that peace prevailed at *Dòtsié* until the reign of Chief Àgòkólí I. The Àsòglì also endorse that part of the general narrative which blames Àgòkólí I for the great emigration and dispersal of the Èvè groups to their present-day communities. Research participants said they had heard from oral sources that Àgòkólí was harsh,

wicked, and heartless when he forced his subjects, to knead with their bare feet clay which contained cacti and thorns. Thus, as the situation became unendurable for them, they planned and executed their escape, which has become a subject of legend and a reason for unity for all Èvè subgroups (Wicker, 2007; Mitchell-McKnight, 2005).

While the Àsòglì narrative typically perceives Àgòkólí in this light, not all existing narratives project Àgòkólí as a tyrant. Indeed, some narratives seem to empathise with Àgòkólí's behavior, arguing that it was an expression of vengeance against some of his subjects for traitorous behaviour. There is also a third strand of the narrative that regards the Àgòkólí experience as a complete invention of tradition by early missionaries as a means of getting Èvè people to consider themselves as one (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). Such details are beyond the confines of this discussion. However, there is enough linguistic and archaeological evidence that the Èvè groups are related, and their current distribution in the area points to movements in groups such as the *Ànfǒé*, *Kpándò* and others under single leaders, with subgroups breaking away.

Some historical and archaeological studies have shown that the dispersion of Èvè groups occurred around late 16th century or early 17th century (Amenumey, 1986). The Àsòglì pride themselves as the masterminds of the escape from chief Àgòkólí's tyrannical rule. Oral tradition recounts that it was under the guidance of Tógbé Káklá, assisted by his sons: Àkóé, Àsò, Lètsú, and some elders, that the Àsòglì played a lead role by breaking the *àgbògbògã* (fortified wall) around *Dòtsié* to enable all other Èvè groups to escape. The Àsòglì claim to have preserved the

dagger, *glìgbàyi* (dagger for breaking the fortified wall), which Tógbé Káklá used to break off the wall; the dagger is now not only a symbol of liberation, but also an object used to curse enemy states that may want to go to war against the Àsòglì. Spieth (2012) records a version of the narrative, which claims that the Àsòglì used this same dagger to curse the Àkwàmú, for which reason the Àkwàmú lost its power in the war against northern Èvè (Spieth, 2012, p. 90).

While the Àsòglì believe they were the first to leave *Dòtsié*, based on the lead role they played in the Èvè migration narrative, oral history indicates that they were about the last to settle at their current location. On their arrival, the *Àqàklù*, *Táviéfé* and other traditional areas that currently share boundaries with Àsòglì were already settled. Before they took up residence in their present locations, the Àsòglì settled temporarily at *Kòmèdzrálé* (Spieth, 2012). It is not clear whether Tógbé Káklá himself reached this first settlement before his demise, since the narrative only mentions his four children. At *Kòmèdzrálé*, the people were engaged in subsistence farming until there was a need to spread out. This is because of population growth and the practice of shifting cultivation.

From subsections 1.8.1 to 1.8.4, I introduce the four traditional areas and give a first glimpse of the traditions surrounding their place names. These place names would be revisited in some more analytic detail in chapter six which focuses on Àsòglì landscape terms and place names.

1.8.1 *Àkóféfé* Traditional Area

Àkóféfé must have been founded in the early eighteenth century. It is the first Àsòglì settlement founded by Káklá Àkóé, the oldest son of Tógbé

Káklá. The town acquired its name from its founder Àkóé. Initially, the name was *Àkóvíófé* (*Àkóé-víwó-kófé*), meaning “home of Àkóé’s children”. The name has undergone some linguistic transformations to become *Àkóvíéfé* (Tògbé Kòmlă, Personal Communication, 2017; Spieth, 2012), and now *Àkóéfé*. However, the name in its current form, *Àkóéfé*, can also be understood by a direct derivation as the home of Àkóé. This direct derivation calls to question the meaning from oral tradition recounted by research participants and recorded by Spieth.

Àkóéfé is made of four *gbàtà* (townships); namely, *Àvèhúí*, *Gàdzà*, *Àsíātí* and *Tókó*. Research participants Tògbé Kòmlă, Tògbě Àmlà and Tògbégă Kòdzó confirm that *Kòmèdzrálé*, which was the first settlement founded by Tògbé Káklá’s children is present day *Àkóéfé Àvèhúí*. The meaning of *Àvèhúí* is traced to the post-*Kòmèdzrálé* dispersion, when the groups that migrated began referring to those who remained behind as *àmè kèwóé tsi àvèé nù* (those who have remained in the forest). *Àvèhúí*, thus, acquired its name based on its location.

Àvèhúí continues to assert its position as the oldest town in many ways. In a focus group discussion, Tògbé Àmlà compared the role of *Àvèhúí* to that of places of religious pilgrimage. By this analogy, he meant to argue that just as Muslims visit Mecca at specific times of the year, so would the Àsògli visit *Àkóéfé Àvèhúí* in preparation for *tèzā* (the yam festival). *Núbáblá* (tying of herbs), a focal ritual of the yam festival, takes place at *Àkóéfé Àvèhúí*. The current chief of *Àvèhúí*, Tògbé Kòdzó, is the administrative and spiritual head of *Àkóéfé* traditional area.

1.8.2 *Kpéηḡé* Traditional Area

Kpéηḡé follows *Àkóféfé* as the second oldest traditional area of the Àsòḡli. People of *Kpéηḡé* are descendants of Káklá Lètsú, who is believed to have been born next after Àkóé. Within the traditional council of Amalgamated Àsòḡli, *Kpéηḡé* and *Tàklà* are responsible for dispute settlement and peacekeeping. According to tradition, they acquired their place name from their place of migration—*Àkóféfé*. There are two notable accounts to this effect. The first, which is consistent with Spieth’s account, holds that the name was in reference to their *trḡ* (deity), Kpétsú (male stone/rock). This version of the narrative finds evidence in their appellation—*kpétsúvívó* (children of Kpétsú). It is assumed that this appellation shows that the people have a connection with the deity Kpétsú. However, it is linguistically not clear how Kpétsú transformed into *Kpéηḡé*. The second account by research participant Tógbé Àtí, upholds the tradition that the name is a corruption of *mínḡ míá nḡèwó kpó*, which literally means “we should be seeing one another”. Tógbé Àtí explained that the statement is said to have been an appeal to both groups of people, *Kpéηḡé* and *Àkóféfé*, at the point of setting out on their migration routes to settle (possibly on highland) within visitation range. It is, however, linguistically difficult to relate this view to the meaning of the name.

1.8.3 *Tàklà* Traditional Area

Research participants agreed that *Tàklà* was part of *Kpéηḡé* until a separation occurred due to a conflict over access to water. As evidence, participants mostly pointed to the fact that the *Kpéηḡé* traditional area had a few waterbodies, which may not have been sufficient for the two groups.

The dominant tradition for explaining the separation contends that this scarcity caused tensions, with the people of *Tàklà* feeling disadvantaged and mistreated whenever they had to use the same source of water with people from *Kpéηḡé*. Tógbé Àklàmà, one of the participants, observed that such a circumstance compelled the people of *Tàklà* to go in search of water. The tradition further holds that Tógbé Atiku, a renowned hunter, discovered the *Wàyà* stream, the banks of which would eventually become the new abode of the people of *Tàklà*. Atiku is thus considered the founder of *Tàklà*. *Wàyà*, the name of the stream, is said to derive from Atiku's description of his refreshing experience upon drinking its water. According to the narrative, he exclaimed, *tsì kàé kè mènò wà yàà lé?* 'what type of water is this that has made me *yàà*' The word "*yàà*" is an ideophone, which conveys the idea of satisfaction and feeling refreshed.

Following their separation from *Kpéηḡé*, *Tàklà* developed into an independent traditional area with its paramount chief. *Tàklà* is believed to be the corrupted form of the Twi word *ntákrá* (feathers) and tells the story of the exploits of their forefathers during the Asante war. It is the story of one paramount chief Tógbé Àtíkú, a spiritualist, who during the Asante war turned into a shower of sharp quills to pierce the enemy. As a result of this show of spiritual prowess, the Asante called them *ntákráfòó*— 'the feather people.' Currently, *Tàklà* traditional area is constituted of five *gbòtá* (townships): *Dòmè*, *Àgòḡḡéké*, *Kégbòḡmè*, *Dzèḡḡé*, and *Tókó*.

1.8.4 *Hḡ* Traditional Area

The actual date of settlement of *Hḡ* is not known. What is known is that the settlement was founded by Káklá Àsò, the youngest son of Tógbé

Kàklà, following his separation from *Àkófé*. Currently, *Hõ* is made up of five main *gbàtà* (townships) —*Bànkóé*, *Dòmè*, *Hèvé*, *Hlìhà*, and *Àxǔé*. These settlements developed over time. *Hõ* occupies the seat of paramountcy for the Àsògli state. This means that all the aforementioned traditional areas owe allegiance to *Hõ*. *Hõ* assumed this status based on the Àsògli traditional belief that “a man does not install his eldest son as chief; he installs the younger one who is to receive counsel from the older one(s)”. Within the *Hõ* traditional area, *Bànkóé* is the oldest *gbàtà* (township) and the seat of the paramountcy of the state. At the head of this chiefdom is the *Àgbògbòmèfià*, who is assisted by a host of other chiefs.

Hõ is the most culturally heterogeneous town in the Àsògli traditional area, owing to its status as the Volta regional capital. It enjoys both commercial and educational advantages. As a result, it attracts immigrants from different parts of Ghana and neighboring countries such as Togo and Benin. For instance, *Hõ* has a lively open market, which is fed with products from small agricultural industries that thrive on fertile land around *Hõ*.

Again, *Hõ* is the preferred destination for parents from Àsògli when they make decisions about schools for the education of their wards. Well-known secondary schools such as the Mawuli (Senior High) School, OLA Senior High, and Mawuko Girls Senior High School in *Hõ* are perceived to provide the best standards of education in the Volta Region. Recently, the establishment of two universities there has engendered a speedy infrastructural development in the area (The Volta Region, Republic of Ghana, A guide to Tourist and Investors, 2011). Adanu *et al* (2014) reaffirm

that this boost in infrastructure has contributed to an expansion of small-scale trading activities and the services sector, which have improved opportunities for employment in the *Hõ* municipality. The 2010 Population and Housing Census report indicates that the total population of migrants within the municipality adds up to 74,677, which is 42% of the total population of the *Hõ* municipality.

1.9 Literature Review: Landscape, Place Names, and Spatial Language Research

Landscape and place name studies are part of space and place discourse (Bigon, 2016). Tuan (1977, p. 6) describes their relationship as follows:

The ideas of ‘space’ and ‘place’ require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place. (Tuan, 1977, p. 6)

Space and place are interdependent. Although the two terms are related in several ways, scholars have tried over the years to conceptualise them separately in the attempt to attain more precise explanations of the two. Space is defined as “extent or area sufficient for some purpose” (Helleland, 2012, p. 107), while place may be defined as “a general concept which describes the relationship between people and their (local) spatial settings, subsuming other concepts such as place attachment, place identity

and place dependence” (Hunziker, Buchecker & Hartig, 2007, p. 51). Hunziker, Buchecker & Hartig (2007, p. 49) citing Tuan, (1977) explain that “when individuals or groups become familiar with a particular space and link it with their cultural values, social meanings and personal experiences, it becomes a place for them”. In this regard, the difference between space and place focuses on how people designate and relate to their landscape.

In conceptualising space, emphasis is placed on how landscape satisfies the need of the people. Landscape serves to meet the instrumental needs of people such as food and shelter and also serves as a map for navigation. As a place, on the other hand, landscape encodes the affective relationship that people develop with their habitat. Hunziker, Buchecker and Hartig (2007, p. 49) find that this relationship is expressed by people’s appreciation of “the landscape primarily in terms of self-reflection (experiences, achievements) and social integration (values, norms, symbols, meanings)”. According to Simmel (1993), cited in Hunziker, Buchecker & Hartig (2007), humans tend to be creative in their perception of landscape. In his “philosophy of landscape”, Simmel marks off this capability for creativity as a characteristic distinction that separates humans from animals. This view is important since it helps us to understand that people create a place for themselves when they become familiarised with a specific space and connect it with “their cultural values, social meanings and personal experiences” (Hunziker, Buchecker & Hartig, 2007, p. 49). This space and place distinction has a long-standing tradition in research. Its manifestations in Àsòglì Èvè were of interest in this research and

constituted an important element for analysing data on landscape terms such as “*ànyígbá*” (see chapter 4).

In view of landscape categorisation in particular, research shows that there are internal variations regarding the value a cultural group places on each of the factors that inform their categorisation practices. As will be recalled, Brown (2008) outlines the important factors—perceptual salience, affordances, and cultural importance. However, studying the Tzeltal (language of the Tenejapa people of south Mexico), Brown found that perceptual salience plays a significant role in selecting which features get labelled or categorised. For example, a lake is perceived as a landform because it is bounded by the discontinuity of its physical feature, which a river does not have. Brown further observed that due to the permeable limestone nature of the Tenejapa landscape, the people consider water as an important affordance for their survival. As a result, rivers, rivulets, marshland and springs are isolated and labelled for cultural exploitation.

In addition, Brown (2008) observed a close connection between interactional affordances and cultural relevance of landscapes as significant factors in landscape categorisation. For instance, the importance of interactional affordance motivates the Tenejapa to include man-made features in conceptualising the natural environment, since they determine both the pricing of certain sites for building houses and how those sites can be exploited. This close connection between affordances and cultural relevance reflects in Tenejapa place names as well, especially because ridges are given place names based on their cultural significance.

The language used by the Tenejapa to categorise the landscape and to construct place names also takes into account religious beliefs, mythological associations and representations of past events, which occurred at specific places. This led to Brown's (2008) conclusion that cultural relevance is also an important factor for landscape categorisation and place naming among the Tenejapa. Brown went on to demonstrate how Tenejapa cultural beliefs and practices are brought together in a cognitive structure based on an "uphill" and "downhill" system of regarding space and the landscape. "Uphill" and "downhill" may not be used as place names directly, but they permeate speech about places. For example, it is not possible to talk in Tzeltal about where things are or how they are moving through the landscape without reference to the "uphill" and "downhill" template. Thus, Brown is convinced that all three factors—perceptual salience, affordances, and cultural importance—play a significant role in the case of the Tenejapa. The role of these three factors is equally important for studying Àsòglì landscape categorisation and place naming practices. This research is particularly interested in finding culturally specific variations among the Àsòglì, which when explained can further enrich existing knowledge from other cultural groups and sub-groups.

Unlike the Tenejapa, Levinson (2008) found that among the Yeli (Papua New Guinea) perceptual salience is the least of the three motivating factors. Illustrating the point with *mbu* (mountain), Levinson notes that the only occasion in which perceptual salience is used in landscape categorisation is in the labelling of an elevation with a conical projection from at least one viewpoint. Apart from this, all other landforms are

classified according to their affordance or cultural significance. Again, contrary to Brown (2008), Levinson (2008) observed the absence of terminologies for universal landscape concepts such as “river”, “sea” and “mountain” in Rossel Island. This calls into question the notion of a universal landscape domain in this age of geographical mapping systems, which are based on universal ontologies.

However, the findings of Brown (2008) and Levinson (2008) converge when it comes to the connection between interactional affordances and cultural relevance as significant factors in landscape categorisation. Frequently, practices of categorisation show how the entire notion of human affordances is culture driven. Thus, among the Yeli Dnye, for example, categorisation of seascape features is driven by their role in fishing or boat transport. This shows how human affordance and cultural ideas impact the ecology with artefacts. With these come religious ideas that play various roles in the naming and use of the environment. Together, these factors turn landscape terms and names into a language that provides the abstract template, which organises large portions of vocabulary across subdomains to express the human conceptualisation of the physical environment. In this regard, the role of the convergence of affordances and cultural relevance in landscape categorisation is relevant to my study. It helps in explaining how the Àsòglì select parts the environment for labelling and in determining which combination of the three factors described by Levinson and Brown is prioritized in Àsòglì categorisation and labelling processes.

Two other aspects of interest to scholars who study landscape categorisation and place naming are illustrated by the work of Cablitz (2008) and Bromhead (2011). The study of Cablitz on landscape terms, place names and body part terms in Marquesan, apart from highlighting the already known relation between landscape terms and place names, also addressed the question of the ontological status of landscape terms. This question is an important aspect of landscape and place names studies, which is attracting scholarly interest (Bromhead, 2011). It is about how languages treat landscape terms in respect of their referents as first-order entities or place-denoting nouns. Inquiry into the ontology of landscape terms is often traced to Lyons' (1977) assertion that the ontological status of landscape features is ambiguous. Because in Lyon's view, they denote location in space itself and at the same time exhibit distinctive boundaries that make them first-order entities. Cablitz (2008) suggests that this ambiguity is expressed in Marquesan landscape terms through the use of size and other features to denote location or first-order entities respectively. The ontological question has also been a focus of Huber's (2014) research. Contrary to the popular notion of ambiguity, Huber (2014) studying Makalero, a language spoken in East Timor, found that there was not much ambiguity, since Makalero expressed more of place than first order in their grammatical behaviour.

This brief overview of contemporary landscape and place names studies suggest two issues to serve as points of departure for this study. First, is the issue of internal variations in landscape categorisation across cultures and, in particular, how such variation is expressed among the

Àsòglì Èvè of Ghana. Secondly, it will be interesting to know whether the Àsòglì Èvè treat landscape terms as ambiguous terms as most studies have suggested or whether there are no ambiguities of the type Huber observed among the Makalero. Both issues have significance for the relationship between the linguistic forms of the landscape terms and place names and the people's conceptualisation of the physical world around them.

1.9.1 Toponymy

Toponymy, the study of place names, is fundamentally a linguistic inquiry. In contemporary times, however, this area of study has become inter-disciplinary, taking on aspects of history, geography, anthropology, and cognitive psychology. The historical viewpoint sees place names as historical documents (Helleland, 2012; Heikkila, 2007). From the same perspective, Dalby (1984, p. 81), describes toponyms as an “untapped source of historical evidence”, which possess cultural, socio-political and epistemological significance. In this regard, place names serve as signposts upon which past events and narratives are pegged. They are “intersections of place, landscape, thought, language, perception, value, belief, history, economy, and society, and thus provide avenues of understanding toward all of these physical environmental, cognitive, linguistic, and cultural phenomena” (Jett, 2011, p. 328).

Another reason why scholars have found the study of toponyms worthwhile is their close relationship with ethnonyms—names of peoples and ethnic groups (Batoma, 2006). This aspect is relevant to this research, since toponyms serve as sources of ethnonyms in Africa. They carry important, durable and fixed-landmark historical data (Bigon, 2016;

Brown, 2016; Myers, 2016; Pirie, 2016). At my research location, it was clear that the historical data associated with toponyms has remained untapped, partly because of the difficulty of retrieving history from generations of oral tradition, but also because scholars have until recently been slow in this area of research. Extant migration narratives feature a number of toponyms, which are assumed, in the words of Batoma (2006, p. 1), to possess “[layers] of meaning of community experience”. Unfortunately, many of these toponyms are not explained beyond etymological interpretations, some of which do not find support when subjected to linguistic analysis (Personal Communication, Ameka, 2019).

In the study of place names, it has been found that they usually originate from descriptions of certain properties associated with their referents. Since it is characteristic of place names to describe the landforms of their referents, they frequently isolate physical properties such as waterbodies, mountains, and valleys and convey the circumstances of significance regarding a people’s relationship with those landforms. From this perspective, place names display interplay between humans and nature, as well as individual and group attitude towards landforms. Alderman (2008, p. 196) summarised the role of place names in establishing the interplay between people and their nature as follows:

In addition to facilitating physical navigation, toponyms evoke powerful images and connotations, contributing to the development of a sense of place. According to Berg and Kearns (1996), place naming plays a key role in the social construction of space and the contested process of attaching meaning to places. Place names are often

used for commemorative purposes and can be studied as ‘symbolic monuments that greatly influence public memory’ (Grounds, 2001, 289). Place names, perhaps lack what Armada (1998) called the ‘rhetorical’ power of monuments, museums and other memorials. However, they inscribe ideological messages about the past into the many practices and texts of everyday life, making certain versions of history appear as the natural order of things (Azaryahu, 1996). Toponyms permeate our daily vocabulary, both verbal and visual, appearing on road signs, addresses, advertising billboards, and (of course) maps. Place names not only meld history with geography but also conflate place and group identity because of the shared context of using and referring to toponyms.”

These points found resonance in my research and are illustrated later in chapter six, which treats the study of Àsògli place names such as *tòdzě* (red river).

1.9.2 Developments in Toponymy

Arguably, place name studies have undergone three evolutions. Traditional perspectives approached research from theoretical, etymological, and typological perspectives (Rybka, 2015; Alderman, 2008; Heikkila, 2007). Examples of studies within this paradigm include Tent and Blair (2011), Smith (1996), Glaser (1994), Mecken (1967), Stewart (1975), and Baker and Carmony (1975). These traditional perspectives were not without their limitations. For instance, traditional toponymy paid little attention to the influence of the social power and ideology that accompany

naming processes. Thus, they “[f]ailed to study landscapes in the context of the daily social practices, relations, and struggles of people who create them” (Alderman, 2008, p. 198). In this regard, they tend to overlook the significance of the human factor in names and naming patterns.

The above setback led scholars to criticize the traditional approaches in several ways. For example, there are concerns about excessive focusing on the name alone which is limited to understanding the names as ends but not as means of their formation (Alderman, 2008, citing Withers, 2000, p. 533). As a result of these criticism, Alderman (2008, p. 198) refers to Roberts (1993, p.159), who implores scholars to consider persons “who had the power to leave names to posterity” and “what values these names represent” in toponymic research. He found such consideration to be important because naming strategically involves constructing and contesting identity boundaries. Perhaps, it is within this context that Mark, Turk, Burenhult and Stea (2011) remark that prior to this evolution of mentality, toponymy was studied without direct reference to its subject matter, landscape.

The second phase, which I conveniently call contemporary toponymy, draws a close relationship between place names and landscape, though there is more to landscape studies than the study of their names. This close association emerged during the post-1990s evolution that took place within some disciplines in the social sciences, such as anthropology, geography, cartography, philosophy, and psychology. Scholarship at this time shifted focus from merely studying cultures and their physical environments to “the ways in which humans use landscape to structure

identity along with accounts of the symbolic qualities of landscape” (Cooper, 2020; Bigon, 2016; Alderman, 2008; Norton, 2000, p. 270 cited in Heikkila, 2007).

For anthropologists, people’s relationship with their environment highlights the capacity of landscape to encode values and memories of places. As a result, landscape befitted the entity around which people structure their values and memories and develop their historical identity (Heikkila, 2007). Accordingly, such perceptions about landscape found expression in the study of place names. Toponymy came to focus on the way cultures express their ideological orientations in the landscapes that they create through the act of place naming. This informed the need for scholars to reorient the study of place names towards the consideration of the social and political forces that shape the naming process within the politics of space and place (Rose-Redwood, 2011). Following this perspective, toponymy adopted interdisciplinary dimensions by adding on aspects of history, geography, and cognitive psychology.

Another element of scholarship today is the emphasis on the fact that place names are inextricably bound to specific geographical locations. Researchers consider the process of plotting names to specific geographical locations as the expression of “enfranchisement and legitimisation of spaces, physical as well as ideographic (Brealey, 1995), and the sanctioning of certain ways of perceiving the landscape” (Heikkila, 2007, p. 8). Naming processes therefore go beyond ontological perceptions to ideological expressions of the knowledge systems of inhabitants.

A current dimension in toponymy and landscape studies, which constitutes the third phase, is what has come to be known as ethnophysiology propounded by Mark and Turk (2004), of which the Max Planck Institute of Psycholinguistics developed the linguistic dimension, focusing on the linguistic encoding of landscape. This development oriented the study of place names towards cognitive linguistics where the focus is on how people conceptualise and represent landscape in thought, as distinct from the study of the history and culture of the people (Mark, Turk, Burenhult & Stea, 2011). It, thus, emphasizes the importance of geographic space and human cognition. This development in linguistic studies underscores the potential for landscape to broaden the scope of linguistic research in several ways.

According to Mark, Turk, Burenhult and Stea (2011), linguistic exploration of landscape adds to theorisation of key problems concerning how linguistic patterns are outlined. In view of this, pertinent questions such as “how do languages select geographic entities as objects to be labelled and are there universal categories?” drive research into landscape (p. 4). A linguistic approach to landscape studies allows for an exploration of human-landscape relationships. By implication, contemporary linguistic study of landscape is a two-tiered approach. First, it identifies linguistic landscape categorisation patterns and secondly, associates those categories with cultural practices, historical experiences, and physical environment. This means that a linguistic approach to landscape studies links linguistic categorisation and expression to other human activities

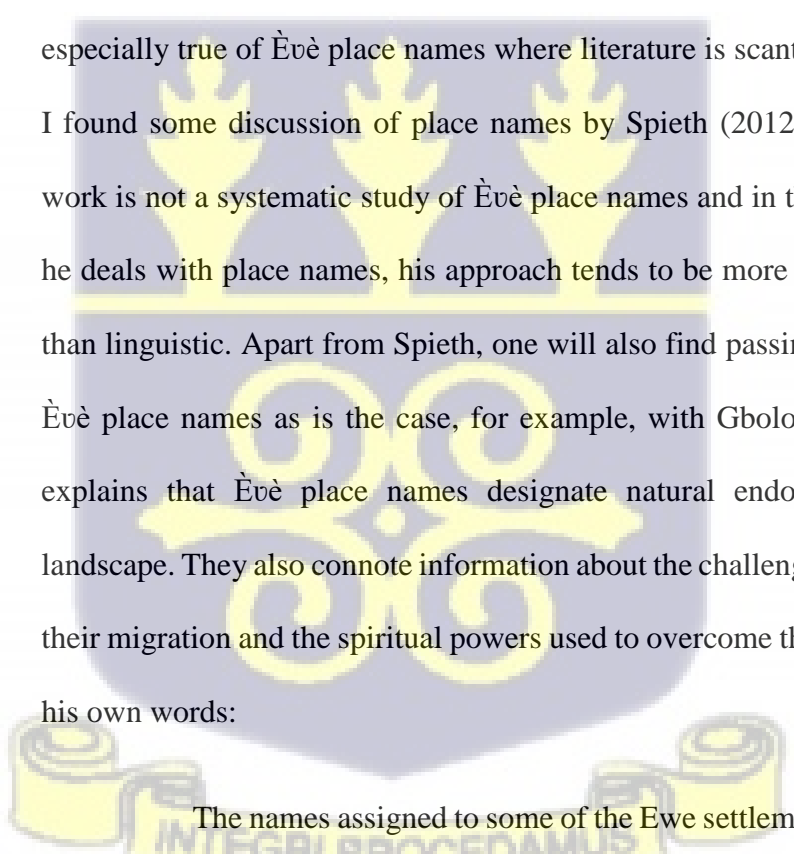
Cross-linguistics and cross-cultural research conducted by the Max Planck Institute of Psycholinguistics is cited as a major turn in this phase. The project initiated by Stephen Levinson and Niclas Burenhult sought to find out whether landscape categorisation varies across cultures. Their findings indicated a wide variation in how various cultures categorise landscape terms and how those landscape terms are related to place names. These findings, consequently, contradicted Smith and Mark's earlier conclusion that there are universal categorisations of landscape terms. The findings of the Max Planck Institute research group have informed the strong presumption of this research that it is possible to trace Àsòglì specific conceptualisation of their landscape and that by exploring their landscape terms and place names, this cultural specificity can be identified and explained.

1.9.3 Toponyms in the Study of Èvè Language

There may be legitimate reasons for the minimal interest in toponymic research among the Èvè. But whatever the reasons are, the fact remains that little work has been done in the area and there is a gap in this area of research. In this regard, Radding and Western (2010, p. 395) observe, “[t]he discipline that examines human language is linguistics, yet names, specifically toponyms are rarely studied within it.” This observation, though no longer generally the case, is true for Èvè language studies. Wonder (1987) emphasises this lapse in Africa, noting that toponymy in Africa is “considered esoteric at best and probably by many as of little practical use if not a waste of time” (p. 113). This assertion about the neglect of toponymic studies in Africa may have taken the issue a step

too far, but Wonder has a point in terms of making a strong case for the need to increase the effort to make Èvè toponymy an important component of the scientific study of the Èvè language.

Scholars such as Kongo and Mendis (2016), Agbedor and Johnson (2005), Osei-Tutu (2002), Motte (1998), Anyidoho (1997), Atakpa (1997) and Egblewogbe (1977) have studied Èvè naming practices, delving into different areas such as grammatical analysis, compilation, classification and the cultural basis of names. However, most of these studies focused on personal names or anthroponyms. But there are other aspects of Èvè naming practices which have not enjoyed the same level of attention. This is especially true of Èvè place names where literature is scanty. In my search I found some discussion of place names by Spieth (2012). However, his work is not a systematic study of Èvè place names and in the places where he deals with place names, his approach tends to be more anthropological than linguistic. Apart from Spieth, one will also find passing treatments of Èvè place names as is the case, for example, with Gbolonyo (2009). He explains that Èvè place names designate natural endowments of the landscape. They also connote information about the challenges faced during their migration and the spiritual powers used to overcome that challenge. In his own words:



The names assigned to some of the Ewe settlements include those that echo the natural endowment and beauty of the landscape they were to call home, e.g. Keta (lit. the head of the sand), *Denu* (lit. the beginning of palm trees), Kedzi (lit. top of the sand), Kpeve (lit. rock/stone forest), Nyive (lit. cow

forest), Tsito (lit. rain mountain), Have (lit. pig forest)... Other names, such as Dzodze (lit. flew and landed) and Agbogbome (lit. in the spirit world) echo the essence of Ewe spiritual power. Yet, others, that echo the duration of the exodus and their ability to endure the hardships of migration, include Penyi/*Feyi* (lit. many years past) Blamezado (lit. deceived till night falls), Dzita and Dzido (lit. top of the heart and ability to endure). Gbolonyo (2009, p. 63)

Gbolonyo's (2009) observations in this excerpt deserve some credit and it would have been good if this were a study in toponymy, but his focus was on "indigenous knowledge and cultural values in Ewe musical practice" and not toponymy. Thus, an explication of place names did not go beyond this excerpt.

In addition to these sources, there is another study of Èvè toponyms using morphosyntactic analysis to show how the isolating and agglutinative character of the Èvè language plays a role in the formation of place names (Klugah, 2015). This approach, however, is part of traditional approaches which have come against forceful criticism in recent times. They are accused of failing to take into account other factors such as landscape (physical geographical entities), and its attributions and implications for the life of the people. Yet, as noted previously, these elements are known to be part of the characteristics that allow certain physical entities to be selected for labelling (Mark, Turk, Burenhult & Stea, 2011).

Thus, there is evidence that existing literature is limited in the areas of theory and method as well as a systematic linguistic exploration of Èvè

landscape terms and place names. This gap needs to be filled, since as Helleland (2012) rightly observes, unlike personal names, place names encode the experiences, deeds, feelings, and opinions regarding the landscape, whether real or imagined. In addition to this,

a majority of place names have arisen as expressions describing certain properties of the locality that has been given the name, and they thus provide information about natural and cultural circumstances at the time the names were given in the areas to which they belong (Helleland, 2012, p. 4)

Helleland's views help to bring together the central issue emanating from the literature review generally. The outcome of this review has led to the identification of the gap to be filled regarding toponymy in Èvè. But it has also shown the approaches being adapted for the study of place names elsewhere and the findings that have been made. The review has also revealed the wealth of culturally specific knowledge that can be attained from place names and landscape terms pertaining to how people relate to the environment and the processes underlying the naming practices of its parts.

The present state of toponymy research in Èvè, thus, must contend with theoretical and methodological issues, as well as issues of enthusiasm and commitment on the part of scholars. This research makes a contribution to this effect by studying Àsòglì place names, landscape terms and spatial language systematically, using semantic and sociolinguistic analytic approaches. It is done with the motivation that when contemporary methods are duly employed in place name studies, toponymy can help to unravel

some aspects of the way the Àsòglì conceptualise their landscape and how they experience the physical world around them.

1.10 Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is presented in seven chapters. Chapter one, the current chapter, is the introduction. It provides a background that explains the idea of the research (conceptualisation), places the research in the given context (contextualisation), explains my motivation, and reviews the state of the research. The chapter also introduces the Àsòglì Èvè, whose landscape terms and place names form the specific focus of the research. Their past and present settlements are discussed along with their political and social organisation that constitute them into a recognized unit of the Èvè ethnic group of present-day Ghana. Other important aspects of this introductory chapter include research elements such as statement of the problem, objectives and research questions, significance of the study and literature review. These clarify the main focus and position the study in its area of interest. Chapter two treats important linguistic features of the Èvè language as a preparation for later analysis and discussion of the processes underlying the landscape terms and place names formation. Some linguistic features highlighted are in the domains of phonology, morphology, syntax and spatial language, situating the study in Àsòglì Èvè as a variety of Èvèdòmègbè.

The analytical framework as well as methodological issues is treated in chapter three. Minimal English (ME), the analytical framework, is described and its application to the study explained. The discussion about methodology paid particular attention to the motivation for choosing

ethnographic research design and how the design was applied to the research. It justifies the choice of research area, research participants, and methods of data analysis. Aspects of the chapter are also dedicated to discussing relevant ethical issues in the research and how they were handled.

Chapter four presents the first half of the analysis of Àsòglì landscape terms and their conceptual content. The analysis was geared towards unravelling the conceptual content of the terms and ontological status, that is, whether they are conceived of as entities or places. *Ànyìgbà* (land) and raised ground were the focus of the analysis. Using Minimal English (ME) derived from Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) approach, the content of each landscape term analysed is explicated in ME, a defining vocabulary with its combinatorial properties.

The fifth chapter is a continuation of the analysis of Àsòglì landscape terms and their conceptual content begun in chapter four. It explored landscape terms in the domains of vegetation and water features, revealing their conceptual content and ontological status. Chapter six focuses on which features of the environment get named, the linguistic structure of Àsòglì place names as well as the motivation for naming places.

Chapter seven, the concluding chapter, provides a summary of the research and discusses its findings. The chapter also offers recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ÈVÈ LANGUAGE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a broad overview of relevant linguistic features of the Èvè language for the study. This overview aims to boost the readers' understanding of the various linguistic processes involved in the formation and explanation of the landscape terms and place names analysed in the subsequent chapters. The chapter is in five subsections. The first section introduces the Èvè language, its dialects, and users. The discussion situates Högbè (the variety of Èvègbè used by the Àsòglì) in the appropriate context as the foundation for analysing the landscape terms, place names and spatial terms in the subsequent chapters.

The second subsection focuses on the phonology and grammar of the Èvè language, where attention is given to the phonetic, morphological, and syntactic features of the language. Under phonetics, the segmental and suprasegmental features of the language as well as phonological processes – elision and assimilation – are highlighted, in view of the fact that these are the most pervasive processes involved in the formation of landscape terms and place names among the Àsòglì Èvè. Word formation processes such as compounding, reduplication and affixation are discussed under morphology, while the nominal and verbal systems of the Èvè language are reviewed under syntax. The third subsection is about spatial grammar and how notions regarding space are encoded in the Èvè language. The chapter is summed up with a conclusion.

2.2 The Èvè Language and its Users

The Àsòglì are speakers of Èvèdòmègbè, which is a variety of Èvè (pronounced [èβè]) spoken in the Volta Region of Ghana and central Togo. Èvè is a major dialect-cluster of the Gbè subgroup of languages that belong to the Kwa family of the Niger-Congo phylum. Gbè languages are spoken around the south-eastern part of the Volta Region of Ghana through to southern Togo and across the Togo-Benin border to Bagadri in Nigeria (see Figure 2.1) (Adjei, 2013; Gbolonyo, 2009; Ameke, 1991).

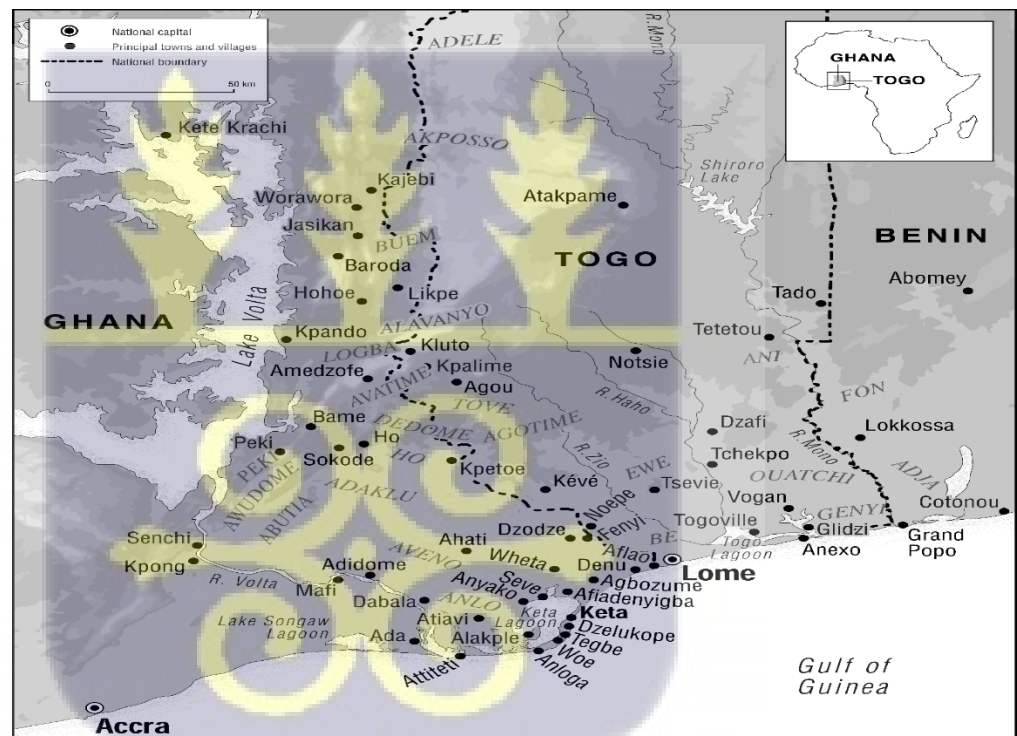


Figure 2.1: Map of the Èvè speaking area, Venkatachalam (2015, p. 25-46)

Àsòglì traditional area speaks Högbè, one of the many variants of Èvèdòmègbè. Èvèdòmègbè is also referred to as “interior” “northern” or “inland” Èvè spoken in places including *Kpédzè*, *Hòhòè*, *Pèkí*, *Fódòmè*, and *Dànyì* in Ghana. Èvèdòmègbè is usually contrasted with the “southern” varieties of Àṅlògbè and Tòṅúgbè (Atakpa, 1997). Èvèdòmègbè is used

synonymously with Hõgbè in this thesis partly because Àsògli area is central to Èvèdòmègbè and partly because Èvèdòmègbè is popularly used. The Àṅlògbè is spoken by the *Sòmè*, *Àvènɔ*, *Klikò*, *Whètà*, and *Dzòdzè*, whereas the Tòṅúgbè is spoken in Àgàvé and Mâfi (Adjei, 2013; Gbolonyo, 2009; Gavua, 2000; Ansre, 2000; Atakpa, 1997; Nukunya, 1997).

The northern (inland) and southern classification of the Èvègbè are based on geographical and sub-cultural criteria, therefore, they only serve as broad frameworks for further sub-classifications. In other words, there are several sub-dialectal variations within each broad group. For instance, within the Èvèdòmègbè or northern variety of the Èvè language alone, Ansre (2000, p. 24) outlines eight tentative dialect clusters (see Table 2.1) and observes that communities which are only a few kilometres apart may speak significantly distinct varieties of Èvè. Hõgbè belongs to the *Hõ-Mátsě* cluster of Èvèdòmègbè.

Dialectal differences may occur in the domains of “speech sounds, choice of synonyms, forms of word, pitch/tonal variations, and mode of expressions” (Atakpa, 1997, p. 28). In some instances, the differences are minimal and are hardly noticeable to the non-indigenous speaker. But in other instances, there are quite clear and systematic variations, which cannot be missed by even out-group members (Ansre, 2000, p. 24).

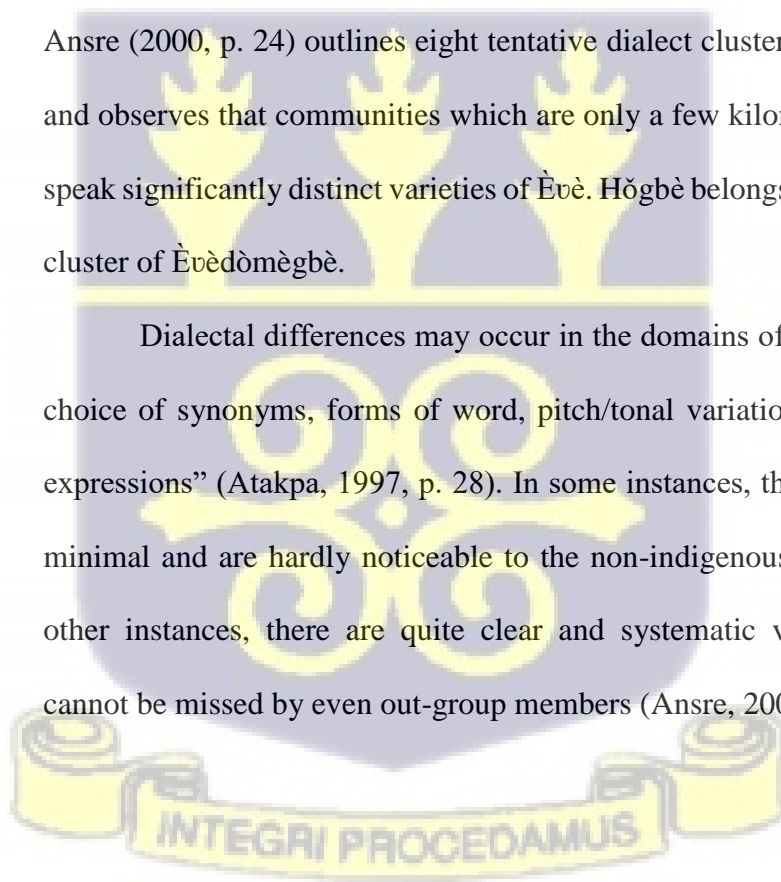


Table 2.1: Dialect clusters of Èvèdòmègbè

Language Cluster	Language Communities
1. <i>Kpando-Ve Cluster</i>	<i>Akpini, Ve, Leklebi, Liati.</i>
2. <i>Gbi-Awudome Cluster</i>	<i>Gbi Dzigbe (Hohoe), Gbi Nyigbe (Peki), Awudome, Kpalime, Tsate, Bame.</i>
3. <i>Anfoega-Have Cluster</i>	<i>Anfoega, Alavanyo, Sovie, Vakpo, Botoku, Wusuta, Have, Goviefe.</i>
4. <i>Kpedze-Anfoeta Cluster</i>	<i>Kpedze, Dodome, Akɔme, Nyive, Kpoeta, Saviefe, Anfɔeta, Dzolo.</i>
5. <i>Ho-Matse Cluster</i>	<i>Matse, Lume, Ziave, Taviefe, Akɔefe, Ho.</i>
6. <i>Akrɔfo-Abutia Cluster</i>	<i>Akrɔfu, Sokode, Abutia.</i>
7. <i>Adaklu Block.</i>	
8. <i>Ave-Agɔtime Cluster</i>	<i>Dakpa, Dzalele, Ziopɛ, Batume Junction, Kpoeta, Agɔtime.</i>

2.3 Phonology and Grammar of the Èvè Language

This section concentrates on the phonological, morphological, and syntactic features of the Èvè language. Most of the features discussed here are common to other dialects of the language, however, where necessary, care is taken to highlight the unique dialectal features of Èvèdòmègbè that have consequences on the analysis in the subsequent chapters.

2.3.1 Phonetics: Segmentals (Vowel and Consonant Phonemes)

The Èvè language has seven (7) oral vowels, each with a phonemic nasal counterpart. Nasality is indicated with a tilde (~) in the Èvè orthography. There is also a predictable environment of nasalisation when the vowels occur after a nasal consonant.

The orthographic /e/ in Standard Èvè is the representation of different sounds –/e/, /ə/ and /ɛ/ according to the different dialects in Èvègbè.

In Èvèdòmègbè, the phoneme /e/ occurs in only a few words including [yéyě] (new). The sound /ə/, on the other hand, is realised as [ɛ] and is arguably the dominant realisation of /e/ in Èvèdòmègbè. Examples of this realisation are in [pépépé] (exactly) and [bé] (COMP). Unlike Èvèdòmègbè, the sound /e/ is realised in the Àṅlògbè dialect as /e/. Accordingly, [pépépé] as is represented in Èvèdòmègbè will rather be realised in Àṅlògbè as [pépépé]. /e/ is thus an allophone of /ə/ and /ɛ/ in this dialect (Ameka, 1991). In Tòṅúgbè, the /ə/ schwa occurs in words such as [əgbə] (grass) and is in a kind of complementary relationship with /ɛ/ as in [ɛgbɛ] (grass) (Kpoglu, 2019). Again in Tòṅúgbè, the /e/ sound occurs in words such as [bé] (COMP). It is important to note the difference in sound, i.e., /e/ in Tòṅúgbè and /ɛ/ in Èvèdòmègbè. Table 2.2 summarises the vowels in Èvègbè and their descriptions.

Table 2.2: Vowels in Èvè language

	Oral		
	Front	Centre	Back
Closed	i		u
Mid-closed	e	ə	o
Mid-open	ɛ		ɔ
Open		a	

Èvèdòmègbè has thirty (30) consonants as shown in Table 2.3. These include double articulated labial velar stops /kp/ and /gb/, which are single units rather than clusters (Atakpa, 1997, p. 29). The language also contrasts the bilabial fricatives /ɸ/ ‘f’ and /β/ ‘v’ and the labio-dental fricatives /f/ and /v/. Furthermore, there is a voiced apical post-alveolar stop

/d/ which is contrasted with the voiced dental stop /d/ (Adjei, 2013). The latter has a voiceless counterpart /t/. The symbols used in Table 2.3 for Èvè consonants are based on the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). However, in the rare cases that IPA symbols do not correspond with the Standard Èvè Alphabet (SEA), their SEA equivalents are written in parenthesis beside them.

Table 2.3: Consonants of the Èvè language

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar
Plosive	p b		t d	ɖ		k g	kp gb
Nasal	m			n	ɲ (ny)	ŋ	
Fricative	ɸ(f) β(v)	f v		s z		x h	
Affricate				ts dz	tʃ(tsy) dʒ(dzy)		
Lateral				l			
Approx.					j(y)	ɣ	w
Trill				r			

2.3.1.1 Tones

Èvè is a tone language because each syllable is associated with a specific tone. It uses high and non-high tonemes, in which the high tonemes may be realised as high (´) or rising (ˆ) and the non-high tones, as low (˘) or mid (ˉ). These tones are contrastive because words having the same segmental sequence but with different tones have different meanings. In Èvè, linguistic environments such as neighbouring tones, type of consonant in a syllable as well as dialects can influence variations in tone (Duthie,

1996). Examples 1 and 2 illustrate tone mutation caused by dialectal difference and linguistic environment respectively.

Underlying tone	→	Àṅlò dialect
1. <i>gbě mē</i>	→	<i>gbè mé</i>
grass containing region/inside		grass containing region/inside
In the bush		In the bush

(Duthie, 1996, p. 25)

Example 1 shows tone change in Àṅlògbè. *Gbě* (grass) has an underlying rising tone which is realised in Àṅlògbè as mid in isolation while the postposition *mē* (containing region/inside) bears a mid tone. In the Àṅlògbè, however, the high part of the rising tone in *gbě* (grass) is postponed to the following non-high syllable of *mē* (containing region/inside) causing the non-high tone to change into a falling tone, *mé*. Example 2 exemplifies how a neighbouring tone could cause tone mutation on a nominal prefix in Èvèdòmègbè. Generally, nominal prefixes bear non-high tones as in *à-bǎ* ‘nominal prefix-arm’ (arm). The low tone, however, changes into a high tone when it follows the possessive connective *wó* (Èvèdòmègbè)/*fé* (SE, Àṅlògbè) a morpheme with an underlying high tone. The process is that the segmental vowel of the possessive connective morpheme is elided so that its remaining high tone spreads to the following syllable absorbing the low tone of the nominal prefix, thereby leaving the nominal prefix with the high tone.

2. <i>Àbǎ</i>	→	<i>Kofí</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>ábó</i>
Arm		Kofí	POSS	arm
		Kofí's arm		

2.3.1.2 Syllables

The Èvè syllable structure may be represented in CV terms as (C1) (C2) V^T (C3). Since the syllable is the tone bearing unit, and given that tones perform distinctive roles, each syllable bears a tone. The C1 position may be occupied by any consonant except *r*. C2, on the other hand, could be occupied by 1) liquid /r/ or /l/, as in *tró* (to turn) and *kló* (to wash); 2) a palatal approximant /j/ as in *bía* [bya] (to ask); or 3) the labio-velar /w/ as in *sùè* [swe] (small).

The nucleus bears the tone of the syllable. This nucleus position may be occupied by a single vowel as in *và* (come), two different vowels forming a CjV structure as in [ia] in *fià* (chief) or two or more of the same vowel yielding a long vowel as shown in *kpóó* (quietly). Nasal consonants may also assume the nucleus position, in which case, they are bearers of the tone. In the di-syllabic word *ḡ-dí* (morning), the first syllable is the velar nasal consonant *ḡ*, as such, carrier of the low tone. C3, the coda, is strictly reserved for nasals and they feature in structures such as *kóḡ* (particular) and *bòḡ* (rather).

Thus far, we can summarise Èvè syllable structure into five (5) types. The first type is the nucleus-only syllable, which may be a nasal consonant or a vowel (C^T/V^T). The second syllable type is of a consonant-vowel structure, in which the vowel bears the tone (CV^T). The third type of syllable has a consonant-consonant-vowel structure with the tone borne by the vowel (C1C2V^T). There is also the consonant-vowel-consonant syllable (C(C) V^T C) structure. The fifth type is C(C) VV^T (C) in which the nucleus

is a long vowel. Its onset is only one consonant and there is no coda, which may be attributed to syllable weight.

Tones are usually not marked in traditional Èvè orthographic conventions. But they are required in certain cases, for example, where the forms or lexical items are identical or similar (homographs). For instance, the high tone is marked on the first person plural pronoun (1PL) *mí* (we/us) to differentiate it from the second person plural (2PL) *mi* (you). Similarly, the second person singular (2SG) pronouns *wò* (you) and *è* (you) are marked with low tones in order to contrast them with the third person plural (3PL) *wo* (them) and third person singular *e* (3SG) which bear high tones respectively. Apart from pronouns, tones are marked on a few other words that share similar forms. For example, *lé* (to catch) and *ké* (soil) are marked with high tones to be differentiated from *le* (to be at) and *ke* (root) (Dovlo, 2015).

Notwithstanding the prescription on tone marking in traditional Èvè orthography, this study chooses to adopt a phonetic realisation tone marking system, which involves representing additional details about the contextual variations in pronunciation that occur in normal speech. In other words, since tone is an important feature of Èvè language and for that matter Èvèdòmègbè, tones are marked beyond the underlying tones of words to include all those produced according to the actual acoustic and articulatory properties that the native speakers (research participants) applied. Therefore, tones are marked according to how Àsòglì speakers realise the forms. This may be different from the way they are realised in other varieties. This style of tone marking makes it easier to identify the

contextual variations or mutations that terms undergo and their implications for analysing the landscape terms and place names.

2.3.1.3 Phonological Processes

Two phonological processes in Èvèdòmègbè have implications for recognising and explaining certain morphemes in the analysis. This subsection, therefore, discusses elision and assimilation as the most pervasive phonological processes in landscape terms and place names formation.

2.3.1.4 Elision

Elision involves the deletion of a consonant or a vowel either at phonological word junction or in isolation. Èvè uses vocalic nominal prefixes *à-* or *è-*, which are believed to be relics of the language phylum (Williamson & Blench, 2000). In Èvèdòmègbè, these prefixes may be elided either in isolation or at phonological word junctions. Elision in isolation occurs with nouns that bear the prefix *e-*. This phenomenon would be observed in the chapters on landscape terms and place names where the *è-* nominal prefix of such terms are put in parenthesis as in (*è-*)*tsì* (water) and (*è-*)*tó* (mountain) to indicate their optionality. This practice does not apply to the *à-* prefix, therefore, landscape terms like *àvè* (forest) and *ànyígbá* (land) are written without parenthesis.

Both prefixes are elided at phonological word junction during compounding when they are not the first noun. The elision of the nominal prefixes *à-* and *è-* are exemplified in examples 3 and 4 respectively.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>3. <i>Àgb̀lèwù</i>
 <i>Àgb̀lè</i> + (<i>à</i>)<i>wù</i>
 Farm + cloth
 ‘Farm cloth’</p> | <p>4. <i>Àvèkó</i>
 <i>Àvè</i> + (<i>è</i>)<i>kó</i>
 Forest + hill
 ‘Small forest’</p> |
|--|---|

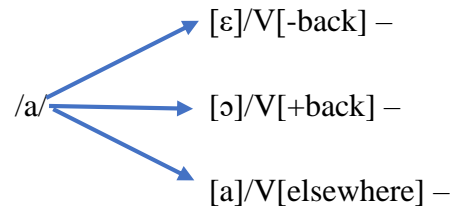
Consonant elision also occurs prominently in Èvèdòmègbè, especially in the dialectal expression of connective possession construction. The possessive connective in Standard Èvè is *fé*, however, Èvèdòmègbè has variant realisations such as *wó*, *mé*, and *bé*. In the case of *wó*, the [w] could be deleted in speech leaving the vowel [o] to stand in its stead. Example 5 illustrates this phonological process.

5. *Adzo wó àgbàlě*
Adzo Ó àgbàlě
 Adzo POSS book
 ‘Adzo’s book’

2.3.1.5 Assimilation

Assimilation is the second relevant phonological process for the study. It is the process by which “the phonetic feature of one sound is transferred to a neighbouring sound” (Akmajian, Demers, Farmer & Harnish, 1990, p. 478). In Èvèdòmègbè, assimilation occurs in habitual aspect marking, which is indicated on the verb with the toneless bound morpheme suffix *-na* or its contracted form *-a*. This habitual marker is present in Standard Èvè as well as the Southern dialects. The contracted form *-a* occurs when the verb is followed by a complement (Ameka, 2008).

Particularly in Èvèdòmègbè, the contracted variant *-a* (central vowel) is assimilated to the place of the vowel preceding it. As a result, *-a* is realised as *-ɛ* after a front vowel (see example 6) and as *-ɔ* after a back vowel (see example 8). The phonological rule governing this assimilation process of habitual marking in Èvèdòmègbè can be summarised as:



6. *Bi* (to burn) → *Bi - è*
Burn - HAB
'Burns'

7. *Fá* (be cold) → *Fá - á*
Cold- HAB
'cools'

8. *Tó* (to stop) → *Tó - ó*
Stop- HAB
'Stops'

The above phonological rule in Èvèdòmègbè is similar to what pertains in Tòhùgbè, a variety of Èvègbè documented by Kpoglu (2019).

2.3.2 Morphology

Èvè is an isolating language with agglutinative features (Ameka, 1991). As such, word classes of lexical items are determined by their distributional properties and function. New words are formed through morphological processes such as compounding, reduplication, triplication and affixation (Kpoglu, 2019; Datsa, 2015; Adjei, 2013; Ofori, 2002). The discussion under this subsection is limited to compounding, reduplication, and affixation since they are the morphological processes with direct implications for the analysis conducted in the subsequent chapters.

2.3.2.1 Compounding

According to Dimmendaal (2000), compounding involves two or more lexical roots that may otherwise be independent words combining to function as single units. Compounding is a widespread word formation process in Èvè and it draws constituents from various word classes in the language (Ofori, 2002). For instance, compounds may be formed with nouns only (see example 9) or verbs only (see example 10) or compounds made up of roots that belong to different classes such as noun + verb (see example 11) and noun + adjective (see example 12). Compounding usually provides contexts for understanding phonological processes such as elision, assimilation, and coalescence in the Èvè language.

9. *Àblàdzótí*
Àblàdzó - (*à*)*tí*
Plantain - tree
'Plantain tree'

10. *Sèvádzi*
Sè- *vá-* *dzi*
Hear- come- sing
'Hearsay'

(Atakpa, 1997, p. 33)

11. *Yè tró*
Yè- *tró*
Sun- change
'Evening'

12. *Dzògbègã*
Dzògbè- *gã*
Savannah- big
'Large savanna area'

Èvè compounds may be endocentric or exocentric. Endocentric compounds usually have a head word that determines the meaning and grammatical category of the compound. Example 9 (cited above) illustrates

how the headword *àtí* (tree) spreads its category features across to determine the meaning of the whole word.

Exocentric compounds, on the other hand, have no explicitly expressed headword. Their meanings cannot be inferred by any of the constituent morphemes. An example of an exocentric compound is example 13, in which none of the constituent morphemes suggests the meaning of the compound word.

13. *Kó - dzí*
Lump- upper surface
'hospital'.

For a detailed discussion of compounding in the Èvè language see Kpoglu, (2019), Ofori (2002), and Ameka (1991).

2.3.2.2 Reduplication

Reduplication is prevalent in Èvè and for that matter Èvèdòmègbè. It occurs in different forms consisting of complex processes. Ameka (1999) differentiates between reduplication proper and other types of repetitive constructions such as triplification and syntactic reiteration. He defines reduplication proper also called derivational reduplication as the repetition of a morpheme “to form a new word or part of a new word” (Ameka, 1999, p. 79). In derivational reduplication (DR), a number of things can be done. For example, verbs can be reduplicated to form adjectives and verbal nouns. In this process, where the original is a consonant cluster, then the first consonant recurs in the copy and the cluster is simplified. For example from the consonant cluster *kló* (to wash) we obtain *kòkló* (washing) as a

reduplicative form in which the cluster is simplified by elision of the second margin *l* and the consonant recurs in the copy.

There is a difference between southern and Standard Èvè on the one hand and Èvèdòmègbè on the other hand with respect to CjV stems. For example, in Èvèdòmègbè, the reduplicative is partial where the second margin *j* is elided. In Àṅlògbè and Standard Èvè, there is no elision of the second margin. As an illustration, one can compare the reduplication of *bíá* (to ask) as *bà-bíá* in Èvèdòmègbè in contrast to *bià-bíá* in Àṅlògbè and Standard Èvè. For a detailed discussion on nasalised vowels and nasalised consonants, see Ameka (1999).

In verb nominalisation through reduplication using a verb and its complement, first the order is permuted and then the verb is reduplicated. For example, *tsìnòndò* (potable water) is a reduplicated noun formed from the verb and its complement *nò tsì* (drink water).

Reduplication also involves tonal changes. In the case of adjectives, the copy retains the tone of the original, except that by virtue of the general rule in adjectivisation, an extra high tone is suffixed to the reduplicated form. This change in tone is shown for example when the verb *sé* (to be strong) is reduplicated to form the adjective *sésé* (strong) (Ameka, 1999, p. 80).

Again, we observe a change in tone when nominals are formed from verbs through reduplication. In this case, if the original bears a low tone, the reduplicative assumes a low tone. eg. *dzò* (to jump) becomes *dzòdzò* (jumping). However, if the original bears a high tone, then the high tone is changed to a low tone in the reduplicative form. An example is the verb *dzó*

(to leave) which becomes *dzòdzó* (leaving). An additional element of reduplication which has not been discussed here is what Ameka refers to as the “non-productive use of verb reduplication” to produce an intensive form of verbs. For details of this, see Ameka (1999).

2.3.2.3 Affixation

Affixation features prominently as one of the place name formation strategies among the Àsògli. Affixes are so called because they have to be attached or “affixed” to other morphemes to form new words (Akmajian, Demers, Farmer & Harnish, 1990). They can be classified into prefixes, suffixes or infixes, though Èvè has mainly prefixes and suffixes, which perform different roles in the language. For example, *-fɛ* (place) may be suffixed to verbs, nouns, or adjectives to indicate a location. Other suffixes include *-tɔ́* (owner), *-yì* (point in time), *-lá* (agentive marker) and *-é* (diminutive marker). In example 14, *-é*, the diminutive marker, is suffixed to the noun *kɔ́* (lump) to indicate diminution. An example of a landscape term with a diminutive marker is *àvèkɔ́é* (hill-like forest).

14. *Kɔ́- é*
Lump- DIM
Small lump

2.3.3 Syntax

As illustrated in example 15, the Èvè language has the subject-verb-object (SVO) basic constituent order, whose slots can be filled by a nominal phrase (NP); or a postpositional phrase (PostnP); (verb phrase (VP) and another nominal phrase (NP) or postpositional phrase (PostnP) respectively (Kpoglu, 2019; Adjei 2013; Ameka, 1991). In simple terms, the subject, *Kofi*, precedes the verb, *dù* (to eat) while the object, *àkplé*,

follows the verb to indicate the thing on which the action (verb) is performed.

15. *Kofi d̀̀ òkplé*
 Kofi eat òkplé
 S V O
 ‘Kofi ate òkplé’

However, the object can precede the subject due to semantic and pragmatic factors as focusing, which is illustrated in example 16.

16. *Òkplé- é Kofi d̀̀*
Òkplé- FOC Kofi eat
 ‘It was òkplé that Kofi ate’

There are major and minor word classes. The major word classes include nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs whereas the minor ones are quantifiers, intensifiers, determiners, utterance particles, interjections, postpositions, and connectives. In the next subsection, I discuss how these word classes are related in the nominal and verbal system of the language.

2.3.3.1 The Èvè Nominal System

Èvè has a specific word order for fully extended nominal phrases, irrespective of their function in a clause as a fronted constituent, a subject, object or an adjunct (Ameka, 1991). The head word, which is the only obligatory item, can be a single noun, a pronoun, or a quantifier. Other modifiers, namely, adjectives (ADJ), quantifiers (QT), determiners (DET), determiner (DET), demonstratives (DEM), content question markers (CQ), the plural marker (PL) and identifier (IDTF) may occur with the head word following the specific structure in Èvèdòmègbè:

$$NP = (IDTF) \left[\begin{array}{c} N \\ PRO \\ QT \end{array} \right] (ADJ) (QT) (DET) (DET) (DEM) (PL) (IDTF)$$

As evidenced in the structure, identifiers either precede or follow the head noun or both in a single noun phrase. Those that precede the head noun – *nèném*, *álé*, and *sígbè* (Èvèdòmègbè) co-occur with a determiner and convey meanings equivalent to the English word “such”. Those identifiers that follow the head noun typically occupy the last position in the noun phrase. Adjectives (ADJ), which constitute an open word class occur immediately after the head noun and may be more than one in a single noun phrase. Adjectives are followed by a quantifier (QT) either cardinal numerals like *èvè* (two) and *ènè* (four) or ordinals as in *gbā* (first) and *ènèlíá* (fourth). Quantifiers also include words like *gèdè* (many/plenty) or *zā* (plenty).

Determiners (definite and indefinite markers) and demonstratives occur after adjectives. Definiteness is marked by *lá* or its variant short forms *-á*, *-ε*, *-ɔ*, whereas the indefinite markers are *ádé/dε* or *ádéké* (none). Demonstratives, on the other hand, can be proximal as in *kè/yì/siá* (this) or distal as in *mà/kémè/mí/míé* (that). The content question marker (CQ) *kà* (which) and the relative clause introducer *sì/kè* (this) could also fill the determiner slot. In Èvèdòmègbè there is a need for two determiner slots, one filled by DEF and the other by DEM. Example 17 indicates the two determiner slots.

17. *Nyónù -ɔ míé*
 Woman DEF DEM
 ‘That woman’

Plurality is marked by attaching the bound morpheme *-wó/-wé* to the last item of the determiner category. The plural marker does not, however, follow cardinal or ordinal quantifiers unless there is an

intervening determiner. Example 18 is a sentence in which all the slots of a nominal phrase are filled.

18. *Sígbè ñítsù sésē ètḗ kè- è- wé kón...*
 Such Man strong three DEM-DEF-PL IDTF...
 IDTF N ADJ QT DET-DET-PL IDTF...
 ‘It is these three strong men...’

Nouns in Èvè form an open word class whose members are augmented through morphological processes including affixation, compounding, reduplication, and triplication (Ofori, 2002; Ameka, 1999). Semantically, nouns in Èvè could be classified into proper or common, count or non-count, names (personal or place). The discussion is, therefore, limited to their formation rather than classification.

Morphologically, Èvè nouns can be simple or complex (Atakpa, 1997). Simple nouns can have a vocalic prefix *à-* or *è-* as in *à-wù* (cloth) and *è-tsi* (water) respectively. Complex nouns, on the other hand, are compositional. They are formed through agglutination of items from various word classes. For example, a complex noun could be formed through compounding two nouns as in example 18, or through compounding of a noun and an adjective as in example 19.

18. *Àvètsú*
Àvè- (à)tsú
 Forest- Male
 N N
 ‘Male forest’

19. *Tsiyé*
Tsi- yé
 Water- white
 N ADJ
 ‘White water’

2.3.3.2 Èvè Pronouns

Apart from nouns and quantifiers, the nucleus position of the NP may be occupied by a pronoun (see figure 2.3). Functionally, pronouns in Èvè are grouped into four (4) categories, namely, subject, object, free and logophor. Table 2.4, adapted from Kpoglu (2019), shows the members of each category.

Table 2.4: Èvè personal pronouns

	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person	1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person
Subject						
1st form	<i>m(è)</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>mí(e)</i>	<i>mi(e)</i>	<i>wó</i>
2nd form		<i>n(é)</i>	<i>wò</i>			
Object	<i>m</i>	<i>wò</i>	<i>í, é, é</i>	<i>mí</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>wó</i>
Free form	<i>nyè</i>	<i>wò</i>	<i>é(yà)</i>	<i>mía(wó)</i>	<i>mia(wo)</i>	<i>wó(awó)</i>
Logophoric		<i>yè</i>	<i>yè</i>		<i>yèwó</i>	<i>yèwó</i>

The logophoric pronoun in the Èvè language is *yè* and is used especially in indirect speech. It occurs in complement clauses and follows the complementiser *bé* (say) (Kpoglu, 2019). The logophoric pronoun *yè* performs a co-referential function. In example 20, *yè* co-refers Adzo, the subject of the sentence and the subject of the complement clause.

20. *Adzo bé yè- mè- yì- è o*
 Adzo COMP LOG NEG- go- HAB NEG
 ‘Adzo says she will not go’

The logophor *yè* performs a co-referential function between the argument of the complement clause and the subject of the quotative marker but the discussion of these functions is beyond the confines of the thesis. For such details, consult Ameka (1991).

2.3.3.3 The Èvè Verbal System

Èvè verbs constitute a closed class of about 600 items (Ameka, 1991 p. 42.). They may be simple verb roots such as *dzò* (to jump) and *và* (to come) or phrasal verbs, in which case, the verb root and its inherent nominal complement together express a predicate meaning. Essegbey (2010) refers to the second type of verbs as obligatory complements taking verbs (OCV). In Èvèdòmègbè, these are verbs which must of necessity occur together with a complement. This means they cannot be used intransitively. For instance, an OCV verb like *mló* (to lie??) occurs necessarily with the complement *ányí* (down) to mean ‘to lie down’. A third category of verbs include two co-lexicalised verbs that express a verbal meaning as in *xò-sè* (receive-hear) which means “to believe”.

Èvè is not a tense-prominent language but rather an aspect-and-modality-prominent language. Some aspectual and modality meanings are not marked on verbs but are expressed periphrastically (Ameka, 2008). Thus, the verbal system of Èvè can be complex with some constituents of the verbal cluster being obligatory or optional. The obligatory elements are the aorist, habitual, irrealis (potential and subjunctive) markers; whereas repetitive, directional modality and ventive are non-obligatory. Ameka (2008) represents a detailed Èvè verbal structure as shown in Table 5.

Table 2.5: The structure of the verbal complex in Èvè (adapted from Ameka, 2008, p. 136).

Preverb Markers						Verb
Modal 1	Aspect	Directional 1	Modal 2	Modal 3	Directional 12	Aspect
Potential <i>(l)á</i>	Repetitive <i>gà</i>	Itive <i>hé</i>	Certainty <i>nyá</i>	Immediate <i>gbé</i>	Ventive <i>vá</i>	Verb root Aorist Ø
Subjunctive <i>Ná</i>		Altrilocal <i>dà</i>	Voice <i>nyá</i>	Bother <i>xà</i>		Habitual

2.3.3.3.1 Aorist and Habitual Markers

The bare verb or the aorist form of the verb signals a past occurrence of the action. That is, it indicates an action or change of state that has been completed in a past timeframe. This generalization about bare verbs applies to inchoative verbs too. The difference, however, is that because the change of state of the action in bare verbs occurs before the reference time, the bare verb is interpreted as past while the inchoative verb is interpreted as the present of the post state.

The habitual aspect expresses a situation that happens regularly. It also implies a potential for the situation to occur again. As a result, the habitual does not co-occur with the irrealis markers (potential and subjunctive). In Èvè, especially in the standard and Southern varieties, the habitual aspect is marked on the verb by a toneless bound morpheme *-na* or *-a*, which gets its tone from the preceding syllable (Adjei, 2013). The full form *-na* and its contracted variant *-a* are alternated based on whether the complement of the verb does or does not follow it directly. Examples 21 and 22 illustrate the use of the two variants.

21. *Ámà vá- ná*
 Ama come-HAB
 Ama comes
22. *Ámà wò- à dò*
 Ama do- HAB work
 ‘Ama works’

In Èvèdòmègbè, habitual aspect marking is phonologically conditioned by the nature of the final vowel of the verb (see discussion under Assimilation under subsection 2.3.1.5).

The habitual aspect could have a progressive meaning when used with motion verbs such as *yì* (go) and *gbò* (return) (Ameka, 2008). In examples 23 and 24, the verbs *yì* and *gbò* are interpreted as actions in progress.

23. *Wó- lè mò dzí yì- è*
 3PL- be at road upper surface go- HAB
 ‘They are on their way (going)’
24. *Wó- lè mó dzí gbò- ò*
 3PL- be at road upper surface come back- HAB
 ‘We are on the way back’

2.3.3.3.2 Irrealis Markers: Potential and Subjunctive

As mentioned earlier, the potential expresses the ability for an event to take place in a non-present timeframe; it is, therefore, mutually exclusive to the habitual aspect. The potential marker *là-* or *à-*, which bears a non-high tone is a bound morpheme, which occurs in a fixed slot and depending on the presence of other preverbs, it gets cliticised to them (see example 25). The contracted form *à-* is the variant commonly used in Èvèdòmègbè. Earlier scholars, including Duthie (1996), Clements (1972) and Westermann (1930) have described the potential marker as a future tense

marker, however, its function suggests that it is better considered a modality or mood marker (Essegbey, 2008).

25. *M- à- dɔ́ wò*
2SG- POT- send 2SG
'I would send you' i.e. It is possible that I will send you'

The subjunctive *ná-* or *á-* expresses wishes, desires or wants. As such, it occurs in main clauses as well as the complement clauses of desiderative verbs. Unlike the potential, the subjunctive has an underlying high tone, which serves as the basic way to distinguish between their contracted forms: *á-* (subjunctive) and *à-* (potential). Example 26 illustrates the use of the subjunctive within the same context as the potential in example 25.

26. *M- á- dɔ́ wò*
1SG- SUBJ- send 2SG
'I should send you' i.e. 'I want to send you'

2.3.3.3 Progressive and Prospective Aspect

Èvè has both progressive and prospective aspect constructions. The prototypical function of the progressive construction is to signal that the state of affairs represented in the clause is on-going at the reference time indicated in the clause. Only two verbs, namely, suppletive locative verb *lé/nò* (be at) and *dzè* (contact) can fill the verb slot in progressive constructions. Examples 27, 28 and 29 illustrate the use of the verbs in progressive constructions.

27. *Kofi lè yiyĩ*
Kofi be.at RED.go
'Kofi is going'

28. *Kofi nɔ̀ yìyĩ*
 Kofi be at.NPRES RED.go
 ‘Kofi goes’

29. *Kofi dzè yìyĩ*
 Kofi contact RED.go
 Kofi has started going

Prospective and progressive constructions share a common syntactic structure, except that *gé* (PROSP) or its Èvèdòmègbè variant *gbé* (PROSP) heads the prospective aspectual phrase. Apart from *lè* and *nɔ̀*, motions verbs like *yì* (go), *tsó* (to get up) and *dè* (went) also occur as verbs in the prospective construction. Generally, prospective constructions indicate that the affairs characterised in the rest of the clause will happen after the reference time specified in the verb (see example 30)

30. *Kòfĩ lè yìyĩ gbé*
 Kofi be.at RED.go PROSP
 ‘Kofi will go’

2.3.3.3.4 Repetitive

Repetition is marked with *gà* (again) in Èvègbè. As the term suggests, “repetition indicates the iteration a state of affairs or the restitution of a state of affairs to its former state. It co-occurs with any other element of the verbal cluster” (Ameka, 2008, p. 141). Example of a repetitive sentence is 31. Repetition can be reinforced by the adverbial *àké* (again).

31. *É- gà- dzó (áké)*
 3SG- REP- leave again
 ‘He has left again’

When repetition is couched in a negative sentence, it yields a sense of “no longer, anymore”. Example 32 is the negative rendition of example 31. Here, the negative expresses an action which is not taken anymore.

32. *M- é- gà- dzo ké o*
 NEG- 3SG- REP- leave again NEG
 ‘He has not left anymore’

2.3.3.3.5 Negation

Negation functions at the clausal level and is marked with the discontinuous morpheme *me...o*. In writing, *mé* is encliticised to the first VP whereas *o* occurs at the end of the sentence. Although negation is marked on one VP, its scope could cover several VPs based on the dependency or otherwise between the verbs in the sentence. Examples 33 and 34 illustrate how negation may be marked on a single verb or a series of verbs in a Serial Verb Construction (SVC) respectively. For further discussion of negation in Èvè, see Ameke (2006).

33. *Àdzó mé- gbò o*
 Àdzó NEG- return NEG
 ‘Adzo has not returned’

34. [*Ðèví-á mé- tá yì xò- a mè o*
 Child-DEF NEG- crawl go room-DEF containing NEG
 region/inside
É- fú dù dò]
 3SG-move.limb course exit
 ‘The child didn’t crawl into the room. It ran out’

Ameke (2006, p. 139) ex 27c

2.3.3.3.6 Time Marking

Since tense is not prominent in Èvèdòmègbè, the actual timeframe of an event is mainly inferred from context. To do this, the language provides certain strategies for expressing present and non-present timeframes (Ameke, 2008). These strategies include the use of locative verbs, adverbials, and motion verbs. The locative verb set *lè* (to be at) and

nɔ̀ (was at) function as tense auxiliaries to express a present and past contrast. Examples 35 and 36 below illustrate this contrast.

35. *É lè àgblè*
3SG be.at farm
's/he is at the farm'
36. *É nɔ̀ àgblè*
3SG was.at farm
'S/he was at the farm'

Similarly, the motion verbs *yì* (go) and *dè* (reach) could be interpreted in context as having present and non-present meanings, respectively. The lexical items *yì* (to go) and *dè* (to reach) in examples 37 and 38 respectively suggests that to say *yì àgblè* means the person is on the farm while *dè àgblè* is interpreted as having been to the farm and returned.

37. *É yì àgblè*
3SG go farm
'S/he went to the farm'
38. *É dè àgblè*
3SG reach farm
'S/he went to the farm but is no longer there'

Time can be further expressed through the adverbials *tsã* (formerly) in example 39, carrying a meaning of the remote past and its opposite *fifié* (now).

39. *Mè- dè -è àgblè tsã*
1SG reach HAB farm formerly
'I used to go to the farm in the past'

The description of the Èvègbè/Èvèddòmègbè so far has concentrated on its phonetic, morphological and syntactic features. In the next subsection, I will discuss how space is encoded in the language.

2.4 Spatial Research: Background

Studies about how people conceptualise and encode space in language has intensified over the last two (or more) decades (Brindle, 2011). Some of these studies propose that there are cross-linguistic variations in the way each group of people organise spatial meaning in language (Levinson, 1998; Thiering, 2009; Zhang, 2013). Plamer, Lum, Schlossberg and Gaby (2017, p. 488) underscore this assertion when they conclude from their comparative study of Dhivehi (Indo-Aryan language) and Marshallese (Austronesian language) languages that

spatial behaviour reflect a complex interplay of responses to salient features of the natural and built environment; its affordances, sociocultural interaction with the environment including uses, associations and meanings attached to it; and the linguistic repertoire available to speakers. (Plamer, Lum, Schlossberg and Gaby, 2017, p. 488)

Such a finding contradicts the universality of spatial conceptualisation reported by earlier scholars, such as Clark (1973) and Jackendoff (1996), who propose that humans have a common experience of the physical world, hence they develop a universal language-independent conceptualisation of space.

Today, scholars adopt Talmy's (1983) typology as a conceptual framework for analysing spatial data. The notions of "figure" and "ground", taken from Gestalt psychology, are prime elements of Talmy's typology. When Talmy uses figure, he means "an object to be located", while ground refers to "an object or a spatial environment that serves as a point of reference" (Brindle, 2011, p. 320-321). The relationship between the figure

and the ground may be static or dynamic. A static figure-ground relationship expresses a fixed position of the figure on the ground as in example 40; whereas a dynamic relationship expresses a movement of the Figure to or from the Ground as shown in example 41.

40. [The man] is in [the Forest]
FIGURE LOCALISATION SITE GROUND

41. [The child] walked to [the school]
FIGURE MOVEMENT TRAJECTORY GROUND

The relationship between these two concepts (figure and ground) in the spatial domain is further classified into conceptual subdivisions by Levinson and Wilkins (2006b). Their framework (illustrated in Figure 2.2) indicates that Topology, Frames of Reference (FoR), and Motion are the main subdivisions in spatial conceptualisations, with topology and FoR being concerned with static expression of spatial relations. Given that the thesis is focused on static spatial relations, the discussion here is limited to topology and FoR.

Thiering (2009, p.1) defines topological relations as “locational relations between objects specifying spatial concepts in general”. Thiering implies a neutral perspective which specifies the relation of one object (figure) in respect to another object (ground). With topology, the position of the figure remains unaltered even under transformation (Levinson, 1996). Topological relations are captured in semantic notions such as “NEAR, AT, BETWEEN, IN” (Levinson, 1996, p. 362).

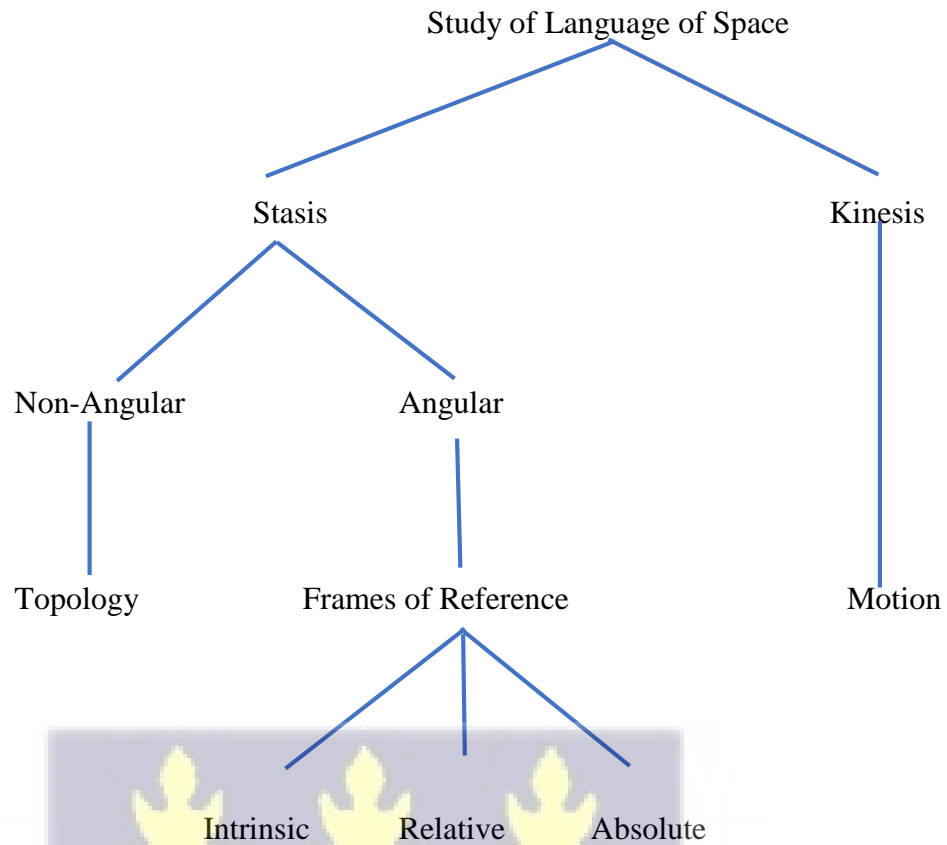


Figure 2.2: Conceptual subdivisions of Spatial Domain (Levinson and Wilkins, 2006b, p. 3)

FoR, on the other hand, involve angular specifications of the direction from the reference object in which to search for the figure. Palmer (2002, p. 2) understands FoR as:

a coordinate system used to identify locations or objects in locations (i.e., referents). It operates on the basis of locating the referent by projecting a search domain off a further location ... To enable a search domain to be projected off a relatum in a particular direction, an asymmetry is imposed on the array. There are, however, different strategies for projecting a search domain off a relatum that involve different bases for imposing an asymmetry on an array of objects and/or locations that includes the referent and the relatum.

Levinson and Wilkins (2006b) categorise these angles into intrinsic, relative, or absolute FoR.

Intrinsic FoR operates on a coordinate system which is “anchored in the ground object on the basis of a perceived intrinsic asymmetry in the facets of the object itself” (Palmer, Lum, Schlossberg and Gaby (2017, p. 458). By this, the intrinsic FoR uses a binary relation which consists of a figure located in a search domain extending from the centre of the ground through a named facet off the ground. For example, in the sentence, *the chair is in front of the house*, the figure (chair) may be located within a search domain projected off the facet of the relatum (house) identified as its front.

A relative FoR functions from the perspective of the perceiver and is therefore subjective. It differs fundamentally from other FoR to the extent that it is viewpoint-dependent. Levinson (1998, p. 13) illustrates this viewpoint-dependence dramatically when he explains:

The cognitive science prediction, as reviews, is that the solution to finding directions on the horizontal will be to import ego’s body axes, so that we can find from ego’s point of view an angle “in front” of him or her, an angle “behind”, and an angle to the “left” and “right”. This proves to be only one solution, our own culturally familiar one. It has the consequence that horizontal directions change with ego’s bodily position, and differ from ego to alter.

Hence, we may call this solution relative – angles on the horizontal are found relative to an individual’s viewpoint.

Relative Frame of Reference is illustrated by the scenario represented in the sentence: *the chair is to the right of the car*. It is shown that the perspective from which the chair can be located is in view of the speaker and could thus change when the speaker's position changes.

The third type of FoR, the absolute FoR, constitutes a set of fixed coordinates imposed in the scene (e.g., west of/inland from the house), with the anchor in those external coordinates. In other words, directions or angles are not determined by the individual's point of view but are fixed and accepted by an entire community (Levinson, 1996). They are cultural conventions. For example, the cardinal points North, South, East, and West in English are absolute FoR. While it would seem that absolute FoR does not invoke topography in English, several other languages depend on topography in their use of absolute FoR. Apart from cardinal directions, fixed bearings such as coast, upriver, downriver, and uphill/downhill/across are also used. In the next subsection, I discuss how static spatial relations are encoded in the Èvè language.

2.4.1 Èvè Spatial Language

The previous section introduced important concepts in spatial research. The discussion in this subsection details how these concepts are encoded in the Èvè language. Such a discussion is critical for understanding landform labelling and place naming among the Àsògli people. The discussion further lays the foundation for investigating the ontological status of landscape terms, which is an important aspect of understanding how the Àsògli Èvè conceptualise their physical environment.

2.4.1.1 Topological Relations

The expression or coding of topological relations are distributed over a number of linguistic items in Èvè (Adjei, 2013). Referencing Talmy’s spatial relation typology, Ameka and Essegbey (2006) demonstrate that there is a “pan-Ewe” Basic Locative Construction (BLC) which follows the structure in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6: Èvè Basic Locative Construction (BLC)

Figure	Relation	Ground	
NP	V-LOC	Reference object	Search domain
		NP	PostP

Table 2.6 shows a locative construction of the BLC type in which the figure, a noun phrase, is situated on a ground via a relational element. The relation in BLC involves mainly the locative predicate *lè* (to be at). In this BLC, there is no preposition and is restricted to a set of verbs that occur within the structure. There are other locative constructions in Èvègbè, which also involve topological relations but are not BLCs. These non-BLC locative constructions use prepositions that precede their complement. Because these prepositions have verbal sources, they are also called verbids (Ansre, 2000). They may be spatial or non-spatial, such as *kplé* (with) INSTRUMENTAL/COMITATIVE and *ná* (to/for) DATIVE (Ameka 1995, 2003b). Table 2.7 presents spatial prepositions in the Èvè language and their verbal sources.

Table 2.7: Èvè spatial prepositions (adapted from Ameka & Essegbey, 2006, p. 368).

Preposition	Function	Gloss	Verbal sources	Source gloss
<i>Lè</i>	LOCATIVE	‘at’	< <i>le</i>	‘be at’
<i>dé</i>	ALLATIVE	‘to, towards’	< <i>dé</i>	‘reach’
<i>dó*</i>			< <i>dó</i>	‘arrive’
<i>Tsó</i>	ABLATIVE	‘from’	< <i>tsó</i>	‘originate from, come, arise’
<i>Tó</i>	PERLATIVE	‘through’	< <i>tó</i>	‘to pass (by)’
<i>vá sé dé</i>	EXTENT	‘up-to, until’	< <i>vá</i>	‘come’
			< <i>sé</i>	‘stop’
			< <i>dé</i>	‘reach’

The roles of the constituent parts of the ground also need some clarification. As mentioned earlier, the ground can be a noun phrase only (see example 42), or a noun phrase and a postposition as exemplified in example 43.

42. *Gà lá lè ànyígbá*
 money DEF be.at ground
43. *Gà lá lè kplɔ̃-à dzí*
 money DEF be.at table-DEF upper surface
 ‘the money is on the table’

When ‘ground’ is expressed by a noun phrase and a postposition, the different components play different but complementary roles in describing the spatial scene. The noun phrase functions as the reference object while the postposition instantiates parts or defined regions inherently related to the reference object that serve as search domain. Èvè postpositions “designate and create places as entities (as opposed to place as a relation)” (Ameka, 1995, p. 146). Apart from *dzí* (upper surface), which derives from *dzĩ* (sky) a landmark term, Èvè postpositions are mostly grammaticalised human body part terms that have evolved into an independent identifiable word class (Ameka & Essegbey, 2006).

Numbering up to about thirty (30) items, their forms can be simple or complex. Tables 2.8 and 2.9, adapted from Ameka and Essegbey (2006, p. 369-370), provide the lists of simple and complex postpositions and their putative sources, respectively.

Table 2.8: Èvè simple postpositions (adapted from Ameka and Essegbey (2006, p. 369-370))

Postposition	Gloss	Putative sources	Gloss
<i>dzí</i>	upper surface	< <i>dzí</i>	Sky
<i>fò</i>	flat horizontal surface	< <i>fo(dò)</i>	Belly
<i>gbó</i>	place, vicinity		
<i>gbá</i>	surface around something		
<i>gbé</i>	purpose		
<i>gbě</i>	area, region		
<i>xã</i>	beside	< <i>axa</i>	Side (of body)
<i>mè</i>	containing region		
<i>nũ</i>	entrance, opening, end point	< <i>nũ</i>	Mouth
<i>ngò</i>	front	< <i>ngó</i>	Forehead
<i>nyú(tí)</i>	outer surface	< <i>nyú(tí)</i>	Skin, body
<i>tã</i>	upper end, peak	< <i>ta</i>	Head
<i>té</i>	under, bottom		
<i>tó</i>	edge	< <i>tó</i>	Ear
<i>sí</i>	domain	< <i>así</i>	Hand

Table 2.9: Èvè complex postpositions adapted from Ameka and Essegbey (2006, p. 369-370)

Postposition	Gloss	Putative source	Gloss
<i>gódǒ</i>	outside of, other/opposite side	< <i>gò</i>	Bank
<i>gódzǐ</i>	in the direction of	< <i>gò + dzí</i>	bank + upper surface
<i>gómè</i>	part, region	< <i>gò + mè</i>	bank + containing region of
<i>dòmè</i>	between, among	< <i>dò + mè</i>	??(sic) (hole) + containing region of
<i>dòmè</i>	under, bottom	< <i>dò + mè</i>	female genital organ + containing region of
<i>gòmè</i>	under, bottom	< <i>àgò + mè</i>	anus + containing region of
<i>nykúmè</i>	front	< <i>nykú + mè</i>	face
<i>tãmè</i>	apex, peak	< <i>tã + mè</i>	head + containing region of
<i>mègbé</i>	back, behind	< <i>mě + gbé</i>	back (of body) + region
<i>lǒfò</i>	around, in the direction of	< <i>(à)lǒ + fò</i>	arm + belly >horizontal surface
<i>tòmè</i>	hollow, interior	< <i>tó + mè</i>	cavity + containing region
<i>kógò</i>	outside	< <i>àkó + gò</i>	chest, breast + bank
<i>yòmè</i>	trails	< <i>yò + mè</i>	???(sic) + containing region of

In Èvè, postpositions can be combined with nominal or verbal stems to form locative nouns; an example is *gbè* (area), which could occur with several nouns to indicate the region where the figure can be found. It occurs in terms that describe different kinds of vegetation as in *àvègbě* (forest area), that is, a place with forest, or *dzògbè* (fire area) referring to ‘grassland’ or a place that is prone to burning. It also occurs with terms for raised grounds such as *tógbè* (mountainous area). It is lexicalised with *dzĩ* (sky) and *ànyí* (ground, down) to form terms for upper region and lower region respectively, as in *dzìgbé* (upper region, upper area) and *ànyígbè* (lower region, lower area) (Ameka & Essegbey, 2006).

A second example is *mè* (containing region/inside). *Mè* (containing region/inside) could occur with inherent locative nouns such as *àgbè* (farm), and *àfé* (house) or landscape terms like *tò* (river) and *àvè* (forest) to indicate specific locations or parts of the landform. Thus, we have *àgbèmè* (in a farm), and *àfémè* (within a house). Similarly, it occurs with landscape terms to express similar meanings, i.e., *tòmè* (in a river) and *àvèmè* (within a forest).

2.4.1.2 Frames of Reference

In Èvè, coordinate systems are constructed in similar ways as topological relations, because in both cases the object is located with respect to the ground. Similarly, the locative predicate *lè* (to be at) is maintained and the ground information expressed by a postpositional phrase. Yet, it is still possible to discuss FoR in Èvè as a unique (angular) perspective of encoding space.

All the three FoR, namely, intrinsic, relative, and absolute exist in the Èvè language. However, the choice of one strategy over another is determined by the dialect. For instance, while all the dialects of the Èvè language use the intrinsic FoR, Èvèdòmè speakers prefer to use also the relative frame of reference. The Àṅlò speakers, on the other hand, use both relative and absolute FoR with preference for the latter (Ameka and Essegbey 2006, p. 382)

The absolute FoR used by Àṅlò speakers takes two forms. The first form is a binary between *dzíéhè* (upside) and *ànyíéhè* (downside), which are lexicalised terms formed with *dzĩ* (sky) and *ànyí* (ground) and the verb *hè* (to pull), respectively, to refer to south-west and north-east respectively. Syntactically, the terms co-occur with the postposition *gómè* as shown in example 44.

44. *Kèké lá gbò- nà tsó dzíéhè gómè*
vehicle DEF return-HAB from upside region
The vehicle is coming from the south-western direction

The source of the terms *dzĩ* (sky) and *ànyí* (ground) underscore Palmer, Lum, Schlossberg and Gaby's (2017) observation that absolute FoR typically invoke the topography of the environment of its users. However, ironically, the geographical setting of Àṅlò Èvè is rather level ground. In accounting for this irony, Ameka and Essegbey (2006) trace the coinage of the terms to a period in which the Àṅlò Èvè inhabited hillier geographic regions.

The second strategy for encoding absolute FoR is associated with the educated group of Àṅlò dialect speakers, who rely on major landmarks on the principal towns along the major road leading from the area to Accra,

the capital of Ghana, in talking about space. *Kétà*, the district capital is taken to be the starting point and *Àṅlògã*, the traditional capital is the end point. Similar to *dziéhè* and *ànyíéhè*, these major landmarks are also used in relation with the postposition *gómè* (region).

The Èvèdòmè variants for *dziéhè* and *ànyíéhè* are *dzìgbé* (sky region) and *ànyígbè* (ground region) respectively. Morphologically, they are composed of landmark terms *dzì* (sky) and *ànyí* (ground) and the postposition *gbé* (region). Unlike the Àṅlò whose terminologies do not reflect their topography, *dzìgbé* (sky region) and *ànyígbè* (ground region) encode the topography of location. However, *dzìgbé* and *ànyígbè* are barely used by the Èvèdòmè speakers. According to Ameka and Essegbey (2006) the Èvèdòmè speaker would rather use the relative FoR in places where the Àṅlò speakers use the absolute frame.

The speakers of Èvèdòmègbè express the relative FoR using *mìàmè* (left side) or *dùsímè* (right side), which are linked to the body part terms left hand and right hand respectively. Being viewer-dependent concepts, the spatial referents change according to the position of the viewer and his bodily position. The absolute frame of reference is expressed syntactically in the introduction of the possessive marker between the referent location and the bodily position of the viewer. For instance, the right-hand side of a house would be expressed in Èvèdòmègbè as in example 45.

45. Èxò- ɔ wó dùsímè
House-DEF POSS right hand side
'The right-hand side of the house'

The third FoR, the intrinsic FoR, is common to both the northern and southern dialects. It is expressed in binary relations in which one object is

defined in relation to a part of another object. In other words, intrinsic FoR is used when the part is identified as attached to the referent location. The linguistic items used to express them include *ɲgɔ̀* (front), *mègbé* (back), and *àxǎ* (side). Observing the use of the intrinsic FoR *ɲgɔ̀* (front) in example 46 one realises that the car is parked in the part of the house called its front. This is perhaps the part of the house with the main entrance.

46. *Kofi tó wó vú dé àfé- é ɲgɔ̀*
Kofi stop POSS car to house.DEF front
'Kofi has parked his car in front of the house.'

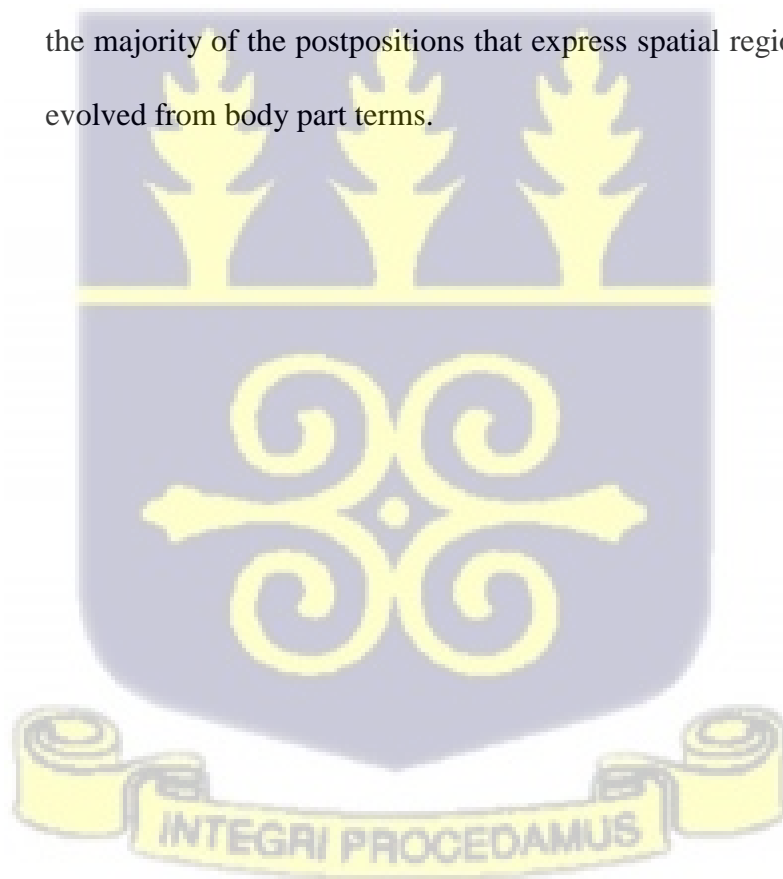
2.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided a general overview of the Èvè language, focusing on its users, the phonological and grammatical features, and research in spatial language. Discussions under phonetics were subdivided into segmentals (consonants and vowels) and suprasegmentals (tones). It was also noted that the language uses seven (7) vowels, each with its phonemic nasal counterpart and thirty (30) consonants while tones are either high or non-high. It was argued that when the segmental and suprasegmental features of the language combine to form syllables, three syllable structures are derived. The syllables are susceptible to phonological changes including assimilation and elision, which are the most relevant phonological processes for the study.

For morphology, the focus has been on the classification of the Èvè language as an isolating language, based on its morphological features. Apart from that, three morphological processes, namely, compounding, reduplication, and affixation were discussed as they are the most relevant morphological processes in the formation of landscape terms and place

names. In the chapters on place names, especially, reference will be made to these morphological processes frequently.

The aspects of syntax discussed were the nominal system, verbal system, and spatial language. Special attention was given to the word classes that feature in these structures, the relationship that may exist between those word classes and where necessary, their semantic implications. The final part of the chapter concerned spatial research generally and its expression in the Èvè language in particular. Given that the study is focused on static spatial relation only, the discussion was limited to topological relations and frames of reference. It was argued that the majority of the postpositions that express spatial regions or axial parts evolved from body part terms.



CHAPTER THREE

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analytical framework and research methodology employed for the study. The first part discusses the analytical framework adopted for the study and its suitability for the research. The second part presents the research design, which includes data sources, research instruments, data collection processes and analytic techniques used. The third section discusses some ethical concerns and how they were handled, followed by the chapter conclusion.

3.2 Theoretical and Analytical Framework

This research is concerned with conceptual content of landmark terms used by the Àsòglì. The method of analysis is that of semantic decomposition and the meanings are represented in a metalanguage of Minimal English (ME) propounded by Wierzbicka (2014). As the name suggests, ME is a “radically reduced ‘mini English’ which can provide ‘a common auxiliary inter-language for speakers of different languages and as a global means for clarifying, elucidating, storing and comparing ideas’” (Goddard, 2018, p. 2) citing Wierzbicka (2014, p. 194). The theory emphasises cross-cultural and cross-linguistic translatability by drawing on linguistic research that facilitates speaking in “universal, or widely known words using simple grammatical patterns that are known to be easily transposable into other languages”. ME is, therefore, not a complete language of communication but a supplementary language with few words

that do not compromise intelligibility. As Goddard (2018, p. 6) describes it, “Minimal English offers a way of going ‘under’ a language barrier”.

Minimal English is relevant for humanities and social science research, especially in fields like “ethnography of communication, intercultural communication studies, hermeneutics, ethnolinguistics and some strands of discourse studies, sociolinguistics, and applied linguistics” where there is consensus that communication is deeply ‘culturally shaped’ (Goddard, 2018, p. 7). Thus far, it has been applied in research grounded in diplomacy and international relations (Maley, 2018; Farrelly & Wesley, 2018), global ethics and education (Wierzbicka, 2018), and medicine (Peeters & Marini, 2018). Wierzbicka (2018), for example, demonstrates the benefit of ME in bridging the communication gap between people of varied intellectual capacities. Using children’s science textbooks, Wierzbicka identifies possible communication barriers and offers alternative ways of putting across the same information, using Galileo’s narrative about the telescope.

Minimal English is a product of Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM), a theory propounded by Wierzbicka (1972) as an alternative method for conducting cross-linguistic lexical semantic analysis. NSM uses hypothetical semantic primitives, which are based on a natural language (Goddard, 2006; Harkins and Wierzbicka, 2001; Enfield and Wierzbicka, 2002; Ameka, 1991; Bromhead, 2011). NSM assumes that all languages have an irreducible “semantic core” which is left after all the technically complex terminologies are shed off. Since those semantic cores emerge from natural languages, they have internal linguistic structures that make it

possible to communicate effectively (Goddard, 2017). Scholars argue that by trimming technical terminologies and complexities, NSM paves the way for avoiding “terminological Anglocentrism, i.e., the imposition of Anglo conceptual categories onto the concepts of other languages” (Goddard, 2012, p. 2). ME, being a product of NSM possesses the same advantage.

Yet, while assuming similarities, ME and NSM differ in terms of purpose and composition (Goddard, 2018). Regarding the former, Goddard (2018, p. 6) posits that ME takes NSM “‘out of the lab’... into the wider world”. By this, Goddard implies that ME is a supplementary language that may be used in actual communication. Using only a few essential words, ME helps people to think more clearly and put their thoughts in simple language. To this end, non-specialists are able to express their thoughts in words that make it easy to discuss across language barriers.

Though ME relies heavily on concepts in NSM such as semantic primes, semantic molecules, and grammatical structures, which are thought to be universal, the composition of ME goes beyond these concepts to include words which are not necessarily universal. ME uses two types of semantic molecules: universal and non-universal. Universal molecules include words like ‘hand’, ‘bone’, and “water”, which are assumed to be cross-translatable. Non-universal molecules, on the other hand, comprise “brother” and “sister”, “animal”, “river”, “sea”, “read”, “write” and “book” for English, which are not necessarily translatable into all languages. Such molecules could be specific to languages in a cultural area. Through the use of ME vocabulary which is relatively simple, transparent and to a large extent culture-independent one can represent the conceptual content of

linguistic signs in a language/culture in a way that makes the content accessible and verifiable. It can reveal culture-specific understandings to cultural outsiders. The NSM and ME analytical approach involves explicating linguistic signs using ME as a defining vocabulary in order to avoid circularity. It also involves paraphrasing the item into its meaning components and ensuring that simple words are not defined in more complex terms. Moreover, explications for words of a similar kind conform to a common structural pattern. The structured pattern is called a semantic template. A semantic template is a structured set of component types shared by words of a particular semantic class. Thus landscape term meanings, for example, follow a similar pattern.

Minimal English (ME) is suitable for the study of landscape terms, place name and spatial relation studies, because concepts in these domains are language/culture specific. By extension, ME analysis of landscape terms, place names and spatial language of the Àsògli conveys the native speaker's everyday conceptualisation of the physical environment. It can be used to represent the "insider perspective", which is advocated in ethnographic research. ME thus offers an alternative to ethnophysiology, which has emerged recently as an approach to studying landscape terms. Ethnophysiology assumes Anglo or English based terms in characterizing the physical environment in other cultures. ME approach, on the other hand, as abundantly demonstrated by the works of Bromhead (2011; 2018), provides a more appropriate descriptive frame for laying bare the meanings of Àsògli landscape terms and place names.

The advantage of ME over ethnophysiology for my research is that ME is a metalanguage for representing meaning or conceptual analysis based on decomposition or reductive paraphrase. This is important because it is generally assumed in semantic analysis that one cannot carry out semantic description without decomposing complex words (Cruse, 2000; Riemer, 2010). Though NSM is also a tool for decomposition, it has been criticised for reducing all meanings to just sixty-five (65) elements. This is why ME uses many more items including universal and non-universal molecules to set up a defining vocabulary. The defining vocabulary however has to be based on a set of indefinable, which are the semantic primes. Modern Lexicography emphasises this approach in the bid to avoid circularity in definitions by specifying the defining vocabulary. ME vocabulary is the defining vocabulary. For this reason, my choice of ME is not just because of its practicality but also for its scientific importance. In section 3.2.2 on ME and Àsòglì landscape terms, I hint on an important limitation of ME and its application to explaining Àsòglì terms from the perspective of the native speaker.

3.2.1 Vocabulary of NSM/ME: Semantic Primes, Molecules, and Non-universal Words

Since ME is a product of NSM, all research that adopt ME must necessarily consider NSM. This section concentrates on ME vocabulary such as semantic primes, molecules, and syntactic structures, which are concepts used predominantly in NSM. Semantic primes constitute lexical units, whose “meanings cannot be paraphrased in simpler terms” (Goddard, 2012, p. 2). Semantic primes serve as building blocks for complex concepts

and for explicating meaning of grammatical constructions—they are universal, but indefinable. As lexical units, primes pair specific sense with specific word forms; hence, when one compares primes of different languages, one gets an equation of “lexical units that share a given primitive meaning” (Goddard, 2008, p. 5). The current model of 65 primes shown in Table 3.1 contains words from all classes of the lexicon. The variant of a prime is indicated with ‘~’.

Table 3.1: English Semantic Primes

Class of lexicon	Content
Substantives	I, you, someone, something~thing, people, body
Relational substantives	kind, part
Determiners	this, the same, other~else
Quantifiers	one, two, some, all, much~many, Little~few
Evaluators	good, bad
Descriptors	big, small
Mental predicates	know, think, want, feel, see, hear
Speech	say, words, true
Actions, events, movement, contact	do, happen, move, touch
Location, existence, possession, specification	be (somewhere), there is, have, be (someone/something) (is) mine
Life and death	live, die
Time	when~time, now, before, after, a long time, a short time, for some time, moment
Space	where~place, here, above, below, far, near, side, inside
Logical concepts	not, maybe, can, because, if
Intensifier, augmentor	very, more
Similarity	like~as

Semantic primes come with grammatical words such as “at” “in”, and “of”. Such co-occurrence forms an integral part of ME. An example like “when someone is at this place...” is acceptable in ME. Semantic

primes are not used arbitrarily. They are based on the internal logic of a natural language and operate on in-built syntax. This implies that the primes are combined according to some universal combinatory properties. For instance, substantives can combine with specifiers as in *àgbàlè* (book) *sià* (his) (this book) in Èvè. Yet not all combinatorial possibilities of the primes are acceptable. For example, there are combinatorial constraints on indirect speech, which does not allow formulations such as “someone says that...”. This is because such formulations have a complex structure, and more importantly because the complement structures are not universal or available in some languages. However, the foundations of primes in ME have been shown to be present in African languages including “Amharic (Afroasiatic), Èvè, Fulfulde, Likpe, Wolof, Giryama and Igala (Niger-Congo)” (Thompson, Ahenkorah & Amoako, 2022, p. 47). These studies support the universality of primes. Ameka and Thompson (2017) have worked on Èvè primes as reproduced in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: English Semantic Primes and their Èvègbè equivalents

Class of lexicon	Content (English and Èvègbè exponents)
Substantives	NYE~ME-, WÒ~(N)È, AME[ÁDÉ], NÁDÉ~NÁNE, I YOU SOMEONE SOMETHING, THING AMEWÓ, LAME PEOPLE BODY
Relational substantives	TOGBI, AKPA[ÐE] KINDS, PARTS
Determiners	SIA, NENEMAKE, BUBU THIS, THE SAME, OTHER~ELSE
Quantifiers	ÐEKA, EVE, EDE, KATA~PETEE, GEÐE~GBOGBO, ONE, TWO, SOME, ALL, MUCH~MANY, SUE LITTLE~FEW
Table 3.2 Cont’ed	
Evaluators	NYO, BADA~VO

	GOOD, BAD
Descriptors	GA, VI BIG, SMALL
Mental predicates	NYÁ, BU[TAME], DÍ, GBE. SE, KPỌ, KNOW, THINK, WANT DON'T WANT, FEEL, SEE, SE HEAR
Speech	GBLỌ~BÉ, NYA, NYATEFE SAY, WORDS, TRUE
Actions, events, movement, contact	WỌ, DZỌ, UA DO, HAPPEN, MOVE,
Location, existence, specification	NỌ (AFIÁDÉ), LI-LE~NỌ ANYI, BE (SOMEWHERE), THERE IS, NYE (AME ADE/NADE) BE (SOMEONE/SOMETHING)
possession,	TỌNYE (IS) MINE
Life and death	NỌ AGBE, KU LIVE, DIE
Time	NE~YEKAYI, FIFIA, HAFI, MEGBE, WHEN~TIME, NOW, BEFORE, AFTER, YEYIYI DIDI ADE, YEYIYI KPUI ADE, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, NA YEYIYI ADE, ADABAFOFO FOR SOMETIME, MOMENT
Place	AFIKA~TEFE, AFII, DZI~TAME, GOME, DIDI, WHERE~PLACE, HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, FAR TE DE, AKPA, EME, KASI NEAR, SIDE, INSIDE, TOUCH
Logical concepts	ME..O, DOMAHI, TEDU, EYATA~ESIATA, NE NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF
Intensifier, augmentor	DUTỌ, GA VERY, MORE
Similarity	ALE~ABE LIKE~WAY

Semantic molecules are the second group of vocabulary items used in NSM/ME. They are universal or near universal definable words with

complex meanings which are decomposable into combinations of semantic primes, but which function as units in the structure of other more complex concepts. These molecules may be likened to intermediate categories which specify the characteristics of an item. Table 3.2 lists some semantic molecules and their categorisation.

Table 3.3: Categories of universal semantic molecules for English (Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2018, p. 16)

Universal semantic molecule	Category
hand, mouth, eyes, head, ears, nose, face, legs, teeth, fingers, breaths, skin, bones, blood	Body parts
long, round, flat, thin, hard, soft, sharp, smooth, heavy	Physical
be on something, at the top, at the bottom, in the middle, in front of, around	Spatial/physical
sky, the earth, sun, moon, stars, ground, during the day, at night	Environment
day	Times
water, fire	Fire and water
creature, grow, egg, tail, wings, feathers	Biological
children, men, women, be born, mother, father, wife, husband	Biosocial
wood, stone	Materials
know (someone), be called	'Knowing' and 'naming'
hold, make, kill, breathe, sleep, sit, lie, stand, play, laugh, sing	'Doing'

A third category of vocabulary in NSM/ME is made up of non-universal words, which are nevertheless useful for expressing referents that are important to people all around the world. This category of words is translatable and to a large extent limited in its Anglocentric bias. Constituents of this category are mainly newly coined words such as government, plastic, photo, and science. Table 3.4 presents examples of non-universal molecules.

Table 3.4: Non-universal semantic molecules (Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2018, p. 17)

Molecule	Category
Hungry, brain, heart	Body
River, mountain, desert, sea, island, jungle, forest, rain, snow	Environmental
Bird, fish, tree, seeds, grass, flies, snake, dog	Biological
Family	Biosocial
Month, week, clock, hour, second	Times
House, village, city, school, hospital	Places
Teacher, doctor, nurse, soldier	Professions
Country, government, capital, border, flag, passport, vote	‘Country’
Science, the law, health, education, sport	‘Fields’
Meat, rice, wheat, corn, salt, sugar	Food
Knife, key, gun, bomb, medicine	Tools
Paper, iron, metal, petrol	Materials
Car, bicycle, plane, boat, train, road, wheel, wire, engine, radio	Technology and transport
Read, write, book, photo, newspaper, film	Literacy and media
Money, God, war, poison, music	Other: nouns
Go/went, eat, drink, take (someone), burn, buy/pay, learn	Other: verbs
Clean	Other: adjectives

3.2.2 Minimal English (ME) and Àsògli Landscape Terms

ME is particularly suitable for representing the conceptual content of Àsògli landscape terms, place names and spatial language because it does not allow the “imposition of Anglo conceptual categories onto the concepts of other languages” (Goddard, 2012, p. 2). The analysis of landscape terms using this approach has yielded results and demonstrated the culture-

specific nature of the domain. Bromhead (2011; 2018) is one of the few people to apply NSM to landscape terms. In her study, she observes that the key primes employed in explicating landscape terms are PLACE and KIND which are combined in the phrase “a place of one kind” accounting for the genus of the terms.

Parts of places can be described using the prime PART. Spatial terms like ABOVE and ON ONE SIDE are also used. For example, in explaining the meaning of the term mountain, one can say in NSM semantic primes (as part of a more elaborate meaning): “a place of this kind is above other places on all sides of this place”. This is taken as the description of a shape in the landscape that is protruding upwards. Bromhead (2011; 2018) makes an important contribution as a guide for using this theoretical and analytic approach. Her work helps in unravelling the underlying concepts of the terms in NSM and how they can be applied to different contexts. In her work, Bromhead compares terms like mountain or hill in English to a similar word *puli* in Pitjantjara, an Australian language and reveals the subtle difference by comparing the NSM components. ME gives scope to use a more expanded set of vocabulary, at the same time it maintains the advantage of revealing the subtle differences in conceptual content of landscape terms across languages which may have the same or similar reference in the real or physical world

In applying the principles of ME to work out the conceptual content of Àsògli landscape terms, each concept was analysed within its linguistic context. After deducing the meaning of the terms, they were presented in ME using the simple cross-translatable primes, molecules and

non-universal words. Table 3.5a is an illustration of how the primes and molecules were employed to explain the conceptual content of *dzògbè* (savannah) (see chapter five, subsection 5.2.2), one of the landscape terms among the Àsòglì Èvè. To show its cross-translatability into Èvèdòmègbè, the Èvèdòmègbè version is presented in Table 3.5b. In this table, I have rendered the translation in Högbè instead of SE.

Table 3.5a: Explicating *Dzògbè* (fire area/savannah) in Minimal English

-
- a. A place of one kind
 - b. When one is on one side of this place they cannot see the other side
 - c. When one is in this place they can see the sun above
Because of this one can feel the way one feels when they are near fire
 - d. When people see a place of this kind, they can think like this:

Many things not too hard grow out of the ground in this place
“one can do things with fire to this place”
“people can do things at this place because they want to grow things out of the ground to eat”

Table 3.5b: Àsòglì concept of *Dzògbè* (fire area/savannah) in Èvèdòmègbè

-
- a. *Tèfè dè tògbì*
 - b. *Né àmè dè lè tèfè kè fè àkpà dèkà la, maté nù ákpó àkpá búbù o.*
 - c. *Né àmè dè lè tèfè kè lá, áté nù ákpó òdǒ*
Éyàtà tà, àmèè áté nù ásè sèsèlèlāmè dè àbé dzò gbó wòlè.
 - d. *Né àmèwó kpó tèfè ke fòmèví là, wòáté nù ábù tààmè lé:*

“Nú gèdè kèwó mèsésè o tsìnà tó ànyígbá mé lé tèfè kè”
“Àmè dè áté nù áwò núwó kplé dzò lè tèfè kè”
“Àmèwó áté nù áwò núwó lè tèfè kè élàbé wódí bé yèwóádó nùkú, wòátsì né yèwóáqù.

INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS

3.3 Research Methodology: Doing Ethnography: Justification of Research Design

In this research I used the ethnographic design. This method of enquiry allows for the collection of ethnographic data through observation, participation and interview (Creswell, 2009). A number of reasons informed my choice of this approach. First, investigating a people's conceptualisation of their ecology through their landscape terms and place naming practices requires observational and interview data which are carefully collected within natural settings. The underlying Èvè conceptualisation of ecology includes beliefs, knowledge systems, values, and attitudes that inform their way of life, since a people's indigenous eco-knowledge is to a large extent informed by their worldview. To gain access to such beliefs and values, scholars usually spend a considerable amount of time in the research area to acquaint themselves with the way of life and culture of the people under study.

Secondly, ethnography stood out as an effective approach for conducting this research since it recognizes the complementarity of the insider and outsider approaches (Morris, Leung, Ames, & Lickel 1999; Jingfeng, 2013). Thus, ethnography helped me to create a link between the outsider's (scientist's) interpretation (etic perspective) of social order and the subjective meaning of life as experienced by the Èvè (emic perspective). By choosing ethnographic design, I aimed to engage in a "cultural construction" of the perspective (Yow, 2005, p. 1) of Àsògli Èvè people regarding indigenous cognition of their landscape.

Thirdly, as a member of the Àsòglì Èvè community — born and bred as such, ethnography provided me with advantages as well as challenges for understanding the perspective of the people. This point is taken up in more detail later in this section. Regarding the advantage, my study was able to reveal layers of language that map the complex social and cultural interactions (Glesne, 2011) of the Àsòglì Èvè with their landscape. Finally, ethnography was chosen because the literature reveals that it has been found to be fruitful in similar studies (Bromhead, 2011; Rybka, 2015). By taking a cue from existing literature, it was possible for me to adopt and adapt ethnographic strategies, processes and general assumptions that have governed methods of data collection and analysis to suit the goals of my research.

Adopting ethnography, however, posed some challenges especially regarding issues of reliability and validity. These happen to be areas that have attracted the most criticism of ethnographic design. For example, in the case of reliability there is the question of extent of replication. Though landscape may not change, informants do, and so does community memory evolve, given especially that much of the information was based on oral tradition. With regard to validity, it seemed difficult to draw generalizable conclusions from my study. However, taking a cue from Burns (1994), I managed the problem of replication by providing a detailed description of the methodology employed in my study. These descriptive details are supposed to help in the reconstruction of the data collection process. Furthermore, I took steps during fieldwork to compare the data I was collecting with other studies to ensure that there is a match between existing

scientific categories and real-life correlates obtained from the field. Richardson (2000, p. 934) addressed the concerns of critics on the internal validity of ethnography by arguing against the positivist notion of validity, which seeks to ascertain one “truth” with triangulation. He avers that truth in the interpretivist paradigm is about a holistic view of an aspect of reality as experienced by the group under study. His imagery of truth as a process of crystallisation resonates well with the philosophy of qualitative research generally. In his own words, truth in ethnography is about “symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidimensionalities, and angles of approach” (Richardson, 2000, p. 934).

Besides these somewhat general advantages and disadvantages of ethnography, there are some specific elements of interest in its application in my research that require some close description. These elements include access to the research community, my role as linguist and ethnographer and the approach I used as well as the role of my key informants. Of particular interest is my membership of the Àsòglì community, which makes my research a kind of auto-ethnography. In the next subsection, I will consider the implications of my “insider” identity since it helps to explain how I used ethnography in my research.

3.3.1 Doing Ethnography as a Member of the Community under Study

Growing up in *Hõ*, the seat of paramountcy of the Àsòglì traditional area, I was socialized into the Àsòglì worldview. Thus, my research can be described as “indigenous fieldwork”, or auto-ethnography (Angrosino, 2007, p. 55). My knowledge about Àsòglì State started from childhood. I

had my primary and junior high school education in Dora Memorial School in *Hõ* and continued to Mawuli (Senior High) School, also in *Hõ*. Even when I pursued tertiary education at the University of Cape Coast in the Central Region of Ghana, I visited and stayed with my family in *Hõ* for the most part of the year. During this period, I was able to deepen my previous knowledge about Àsògli origins, history and worldview. I actively participated in social and cultural events such as festivals, funerals, naming, and marriage ceremonies. Consequently, I have familiarized myself with the Àsògli landscape, landform terms, place names and some of the folk stories and myths that the people use to explain the terms.

As an auto-ethnographer I was aware that my background has the potential to narrow my angle of vision. Nukunya (1994) expatiates on this weakness when he cautions that an insider must guard against complacency. Auto-ethnographers become complacent when they live under the false impression that, because they are familiar with the culture of the people they study, they already know many things, if not everything. Secondly, as an auto-ethnographer, I had to make a conscious effort to overcome the assumption that the community was homogenous, and not regard all research participants as belonging to the same community, with the same values and practices. This means that as an auto-ethnographer, it was important for me to appreciate diversity and avoid the risk of regarding what I have learned as normative. In this way, it was possible to prevent expecting from my research participants answers that are similar to and confirm my previous knowledge, and thus glossing over important information. In classical anthropology, these risks led to the need to balance

off emic perspectives with outsider views on the assumption that the insider may no longer be fully conscious of their states of knowing, feeling and experiencing (Harris, 1968).

For such reasons, I maintained an atmosphere of openness with my three supervisors—one a native speaker of Èvè. This relationship made it possible for them to identify my unconscious insider biases and redirect my attention to the important issues to be pursued in answer to my research questions. I also remained vigilant and made sure that I did not ignore or trivialize any information from research participants. Except for obvious deviations from the subject matter, I took field notes and video recorded interviews for transcription and analysis. For personal reasons, however, some research participants did not want to be video recorded. In such instances, I relied on the use of fieldnotes.

The insider perspective, however, does not have only disadvantages. When the researcher is conscious of her biases, and manages them well, the insider position tends to offer important advantages in ethnographic research. For example, it is assumed that a person's descriptions of the thoughts, emotions, attitudes and motivations of her group would be deeper or richer than the descriptions of an outsider (a non-member of the group), who is unable to think and feel like a member of the group (Glesne, 2011) and would be at a disadvantage if he or she were not fluent in the predominant language of the community.

Another benefit of my membership of the Àsòglì state is that I had privileged access to the community. This aspect is described in more detail under the subheading “dealing with how I gained entry to the research site”.

But it is important to remark here that being a member of the community also shaped my researcher-role as an “overt full member.” According to Bryman (2012, p. 441), it is the role in which the researcher is not only a full member of, but also her status as a researcher is known to the group. I also had access to restricted sites such as shrines, sacred groves, and classified community narratives.

Being socialized in the community also presupposes a good command of Èvè. While being a member of the community afforded me access to people and places, control over the language offered easy access to community members or consultants and data. In effect my personal involvement in the community and participation in the culture enhanced my research and increased my enthusiasm and curiosity.

The ethnographic approach I used is the participating observer with interaction approach (Bryman, 2012). Here, data is generated mainly through interaction with members of the group, using in-depth interviews, formal and informal conversations with individuals and groups, as well as collecting documents and visiting sites. I participated in important activities of farming, ‘caring’ for streams or rivers, drawing water from such sources for domestic use and in ritual ceremonies such as *dùkpòkplò* (cleaning of the town), *vòvlówó fé ñkèkè* (day for the dead) and *núbábla* (tying of herbs). Unlike participation, which was limited, interaction was rather intense, including frequent visits to various communities in the Àsòglì state, sacred places, frequent meetings with traditional leaders, other custodians of tradition and culture, key informants, and members of the community. In

all, such interactions yielded over 200 pages of transcribed video and audio recording, excluding field notes.

3.3.2 The Study Area

Figure 3.1 shows the map of Èvèland in Ghana, excluding Èvè territories in neighbouring Togo and Benin. Èvè land in Ghana has the Atlantic Ocean on its southern boundary and shares borders with the Buem-Krachi districts formerly of the Volta Region but now part of the Oti Region to the north. In the east, Èvèland in Ghana is bounded by the Republic of Togo, and in the west by the Volta river and lake (Agbodeka, 2000; Ofori, 2008). The area was part of German Togoland and became a British protectorate after World War I (Gbolonyo, 2009).

The people, though united by a common history, ancestral affinity and language, are classified into two broad subgroups – Southern and Northern – based on geographical and linguistic factors. The Southern Èvès are further grouped into Àṅlò and Tòṅú sub-groups. The area associated with Àṅlò territory includes *Àvénò*, *Sòmè*, *Àflàó*, *Klikò*, *Uètà* and *Dzòdzè*. Tòṅú, on the other hand, is an umbrella term that covers all the Èvè groups along the lower Volta including the *Àgàvé* and *Màfi*. The Northern Èvè, also known as Èvèdòmè, reside northward of the Southern Èvès in the *Hõ*, *Hóhòé* and *Kpàṅdõ* districts (Gavua, 2000, p. 3).

Èvèland is geographically diverse especially as regards physical features and vegetation. The Àṅlò inhabit the coastal strip which is dominated not only by the Atlantic Ocean, but lagoons such as the Kétã lagoon and Àvù. The Tòṅú live along the lower Volta whereas the Northern Èvè or Èvèdòmè reside around highlands, forest, and savannah areas.

As a study which is focused on landscape terms, the study area offers a rich terrain for harvesting data, making it possible to trace some internal variations in the terms and place names. This feeds into answering the question regarding the extent to which the physical environment determines landscape terms and place names.

Àsògli is an independent northern Èvè state in Ghana (Gavua, 2000). It is located geographically between latitude 6°20'7" N and 6°55' N and longitude 0°12'7" E and 0°53' E. It covers an area of 2,660 sq km (Gadagoe, 2009). Figure 3.2 is a map of Àsògli settlements.

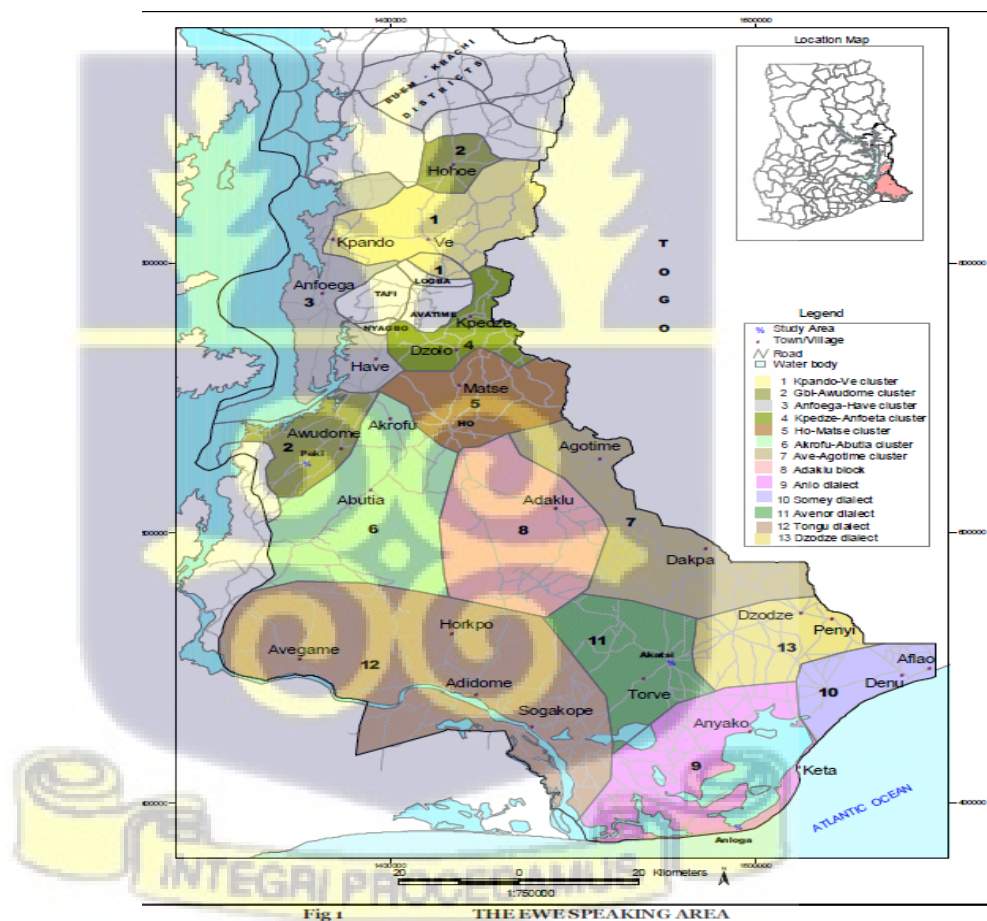


Figure 3.1: Map of Èvèland, Adapted from Ofori (2008)

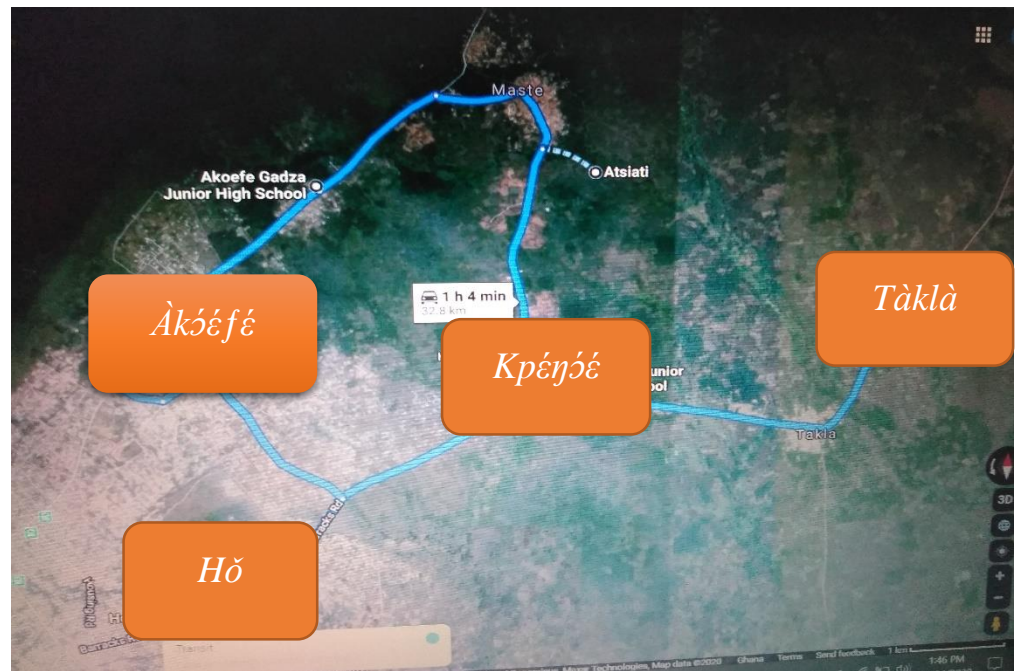


Figure 3.2: Map of Àsògli Settlements, Google Map

3.4 Research Instrument, Data Collection Method, and Data Sources

In-depth interview, focus group discussion, minimal participant observation and informal interactions were the data collection techniques used for the study. These methods were combined to obtain, as much as possible, a full description of what O’Leary (2004, p. 121) calls the “richness of the symbolic world.”

3.4.1 Research Instruments

Research instrument is the scientific means for gathering and/or generating data from the field. In qualitative research, the instruments include interview guides, observation guides, visual cues, digital media such as recorders, cameras and smart phones, and qualitative questionnaires (Creswell, 2009). In this research I used an interview guide, visual cue, and digital media.

The interview guide for my research was adapted from the questionnaire designed by Bohnermeyer, Burenhult, Enfield and Levinson (2011). Their questionnaire was designed for two interrelated projects, which serve as important models of contemporary methods for studying landscape and place names in linguistics. One of them is the study on space and landscape, which was coordinated by Levinson and Burenhult of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, the Netherlands. The second is the ‘Ethnophysiography Project’ undertaken by Mark, Turk and Stea in 2011 (Mark, 2011, p. XIII). Both projects, the objective of which was to determine whether landform categories are universal and how they are moulded by the environment, have been discussed in the literature review.

Employing existing interview guides is permitted in research, because it is an “invaluable resource for finding information” (Yow, 2005, p. 74). However, since some items of such interview guides may be designed for some specific contexts, I adapted the questionnaire of Bohnermeyer *et al* (2011) to suit the Àsòglì cultural context while maintaining comparability. I discovered that it is difficult to derive linguistic equivalents for technical terms in the questionnaire. For instance, unlike Indo-European languages like English and Dutch, there is no equivalent word in Èvè that translates the concept of “landscape”. It was thus important for me to find alternative ways of eliciting the necessary information. For instance, research participants were asked to list the various landforms, *ànyígbá wó nónòmè* within the Àsòglì territory instead of asking them questions like “which landscape terms do you know?” They

explained the names and gave the alternative name(s) where applicable. They were also motivated to talk about the landforms they have in the area, and their categories and subcategories.

The other research instrument was a photo elicitation album, which was based on an initial tour of the geographical area. During the tour, 15 photographs of various landforms were taken and compiled into an album for data elicitation. This album was used mainly to initiate discussions about landform terms and their categories, place naming practices, and knowledge about the environment. I also used a camera to take photographs of landforms, and a smart phone and laptop for voice and video recording of interviews. Apart from recording, telephone calls also served as means of interview, usually to cross check with informants about the accuracy of my transcription of information they had given me.

3.4.2 Data Collection Method

A number of data collection methods were used in this research. These include in-depth and group interviews, participation and observation, and a study of archival and colonial administrative materials. I briefly explain these methods in the paragraphs that follow beginning with in-depth and group interviews.

3.4.2.1 In-depth Interview and Group Interview

The literature on ethnography recommends that in-depth interviews in the form of conversations are the best ways to collect data (Yow, 2005). Given the specific task of gathering information about landscape categories, landform terms, place names and their origins as conceptualised by the Àsògli Èvè, in-depth interviews were helpful in ensuring participants'

confidence to freely express their knowledge about the theme under study. Such an advantage may not be associated with other data collection methods such as questionnaires or structured interviews (Heikkila, 2007).

There were 11 individual interviews and 3 group interviews. The interviews commenced with my visit to *Hlihá* on October 5, 2017. In some instances, participants veered into a discussion of Èvè political structures and details of specific cultural practices and how they differ from one subgroup to another. Some of this information was not directly related to the focus of the study, but it provided a broader context within which to unpack elements of the Èvè worldview (see Appendix G for details about the number of interviews conducted, participants and date of the interview).

The three group interviews were proposed by research participants, who had been recruited for individual interviews. In *Hèvé* for example, the chief personally suggested that it would be better to invite his elders to participate in a group discussion in lieu of a one-on-one interview with him alone. He based his proposal on the consideration that his elders could fill in the gaps where his knowledge was limited. A similar suggestion was made at *Àk'éfé*, where the chief personally requested that he be allowed to invite some elders who could add their perspectives on the topics under discussion. While the first two focus group discussions were used to collect data on place naming among the *Àsògli*, the third group discussion was to test the salient themes that emerged from the previous discussions and individual interviews. Thus, the third group consisted of only four participants, who were thought to possess extensive knowledge in traditional issues. Generally, the group interviews were helpful to the extent

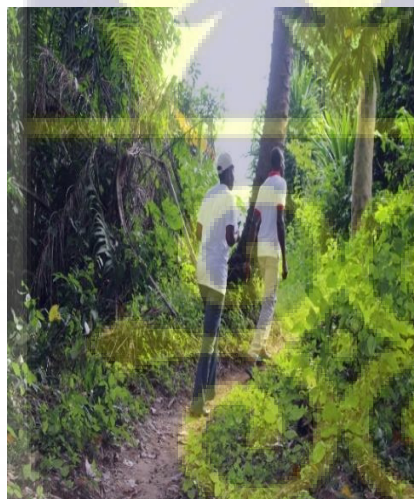
that research participants quickly got over their initial apprehension and participated freely and actively. In this way, the different perspectives that emerged were interrogated by all, giving me the opportunity to appreciate the different levels of the subject matter.



Researcher in interview session



Researcher in a group interview session



A consultant leading researcher to a site



Researcher in interview session

3.4.2.2 Participant Observation

Through participation, I could forge trusted relationships with the people. In doing so, I was motivated by the hope of gaining a deeper understanding into the behaviour, motivation, and attitudes of the people under study. Since aspects of the study border on landforms in the area, I

went around important sites in the area with the help of a guide to see what pertains. The guide was one of my key informants, who possessed deep knowledge in Àsòglì topography. Places like shrines, forests, mountains, and streams were visited.

Apart from visiting various sites, I also participated in social and cultural events such as *tèzã* (yam festival) and the enstoolment of the *Tàklà* chief. Here, I observed aspects of culture, which helped me to validate my assessment of Àsòglì values and beliefs, and the extent to which these have a bearing on place and landscape naming. I also engaged people in informal discussions about the Àsòglì landscape.

3.4.3 Other Sources of Data

This research gathered data from different sources such as state institutions, extant studies, and radio programmes. Regarding the importance of state institutions and extant studies as sources, Nash and Simpson (2011, subheading 17.2) suggest that a good way to start a toponymic fieldwork “is to seek gazetteers and materials on place names of the region and neighbouring groups” from relevant institutions. In other words, it is important for any researcher to consult state institutions regarded as repositories of documents about the land and maps of the research area. In the case of this study, such institutions were the Volta Regional Lands Commission; Town and Country Planning Department; Survey Department, and the District Assembly.

3.4.3.1 Archival Material

There were scanty archival materials; I retrieved a map of *Hõ* drawn by early missionaries only after a long search. The archival file which stored

the map I found could not be traced and the map was neither dated nor was the author named. However, the map showed the natural resources in the research area and sketched the boundaries of the area as they must have been at the time. I also accessed a 2018 interim report and situational analysis of the *Hõ* Municipal Assembly. This document presents the most current situational map of *Hõ*, but unfortunately, it does not extend to other towns of Àsòglì state, nor does it locate the Àsòglì state in what is now the Volta Region of Ghana. As one would expect, there are remarkable differences between the reliefs of the missionary map and that of the 2018 report of the *Hõ* Assembly. The former accounts for what used to be the Trans-Volta Togoland, bounded in the west by the then Gold Coast and in the East by Dahomey, now Benin. The map is faint, but with the help of a magnifying glass, one can identify places like Ðòtsié in the East and what is now Àsòglì state in the south west.

3.4.3.2 Extant Studies

Extant research on Àsòglì place names and landform terms are few. Although “toponyms ride on a classification of the underlying landform” (Levinson, 2010, p. 1), I first treated landform terms and place names as distinct concepts during data collection, given that one can study landform terms without focusing on place names (Enfield, 2008; O’Meara & Bohnemeyer, 2008). To attain cognitive clarity regarding this distinction, I chose to use the definition of Nash and Simpson (2011, subheading 17.1) who consider “toponymy as the study of place names and their systematic properties within a geographic area or speech community.” Of this category, the works I found were studies conducted among the Akan of

Ghana (Obeng, 2000, 2001; Owu-Ewie, 2014; Mireku-Gyimah & Mensah, 2015), and a preliminary study I conducted on the Àsògli Èvè (Klugah, 2015).

The other category of works is concerned with landform terms. Here too, using Förster *et al.* (2012, p. 173), I understood landform terms to imply a study of the designations of land features which “represents a unit according to its climate, vegetation cover, modelling of the surface, geological structure and soil”. I was not successful in finding extant works on the Àsògli or the Èvè generally. Apart from looking for data from works dealing specifically with either place names or landform terms, I also made use of some generic primary and secondary sources (Spieth, 2012; Amekpordi, 2012; Gbadegbe, 2008; Mensah, 2013; Dzide, 2000). These works have been discussed in some detail in the literature review.

3.4.3.3 Radio Programmes

Apart from drawing data from public institutions and extant studies, I listened to a radio programme on Kekeli FM 102.9 called *Dùwó fÉ dzòdzò* (the origin of towns) from 11th November 2017 to 6th January 2018. *Dùwó fÉ dzòdzò*, is a program hosted by James Atram, who engages Àsògli traditional leaders in discussing myths about the origins of towns, and their cultural practices. The discussants on this program were Mawuko Aquba and Mama Agblatsu, queen mother of *Hõ Bänkòé*.

3.4.4 Entering the Research Site

Ethnography does not work unless the researcher has access to the research community (Dawson, 2001). I had a network of acquaintances who

introduced me to others and would-be participants, who were impressed by the fact that a daughter of the land wanted to gain more knowledge about the traditions that underlie how the Èvè conceptualise, relate with, and name their environment. Thus, ease of access did not end with initial entry into the community; it was sustained through the period of research.

I neither needed a translator nor had difficulties communicating with consultants, and I did not need to go through the processes of identifying with the social and cultural environment (Nukunya, 1994). Language and cultural barriers that ethnographers may have to negotiate posed no challenge to me. Instead I had to be vigilant not to ‘go native’, a plight that may sometimes afflict ethnographers when they lose their sense of being a researcher and become too wrapped up in the worldview of the people they are studying (Bryman, 2012, p. 445).

The first formal entry into the research site was made at the photo elicitation album compilation stage. Nash and Simpson (2011) suggest that accessing a research area and making photographs of aspects of the site is facilitated through the help of knowledgeable residents. Therefore, notwithstanding my position as an insider, I employed a professional photographer and a guide, who are both natives of Àsòglì, to serve as tour guides, research assistants, and *tsiámi* (spokespersons/intermediaries). During our visit to the various sites, they introduced me to traditional leaders in the various communities. Through them I was able to establish contact with some elders and other members of the community who served later as “gatekeepers” for the main fieldwork. I also established contact and

made use of the services of a research participant who later became a good assistant and key consultant.

3.4.5 Research Consultants

Research consultants are people who express interest in the research and direct the ethnographer to “situations, events, or people who may be helpful to the progress of the investigation” (Bryman, 2012 p. 439). Particularly in place names studies, Nash and Simpson (2011) describe them as knowledgeable residents who could show the researcher to important research sites to take photographs and sketch parts of the site. In this research report all names in connection with fieldwork are pseudonyms for the consultant.

Two persons served as key consultants for the study. The first, Kòsí, plays a civil leadership role in *Hó Dòmè*, hence, an important opinion leader in the community. He is an indigene of Àsòglì, speaks Èvè, and English fluently. Kòsí grew up in the royal family and through close association with his grandfather, a renowned warrior in Dòmè, he acquired traditional knowledge about the Àsòglì. My first encounter with him was during an interview, where he displayed knowledge of the Àsòglì worldview, history, landscape, and place names. He communicated this knowledge clearly and supplied sources to substantiate his information. Kòsí expressed interest in the study and willingly offered his support as a consultant, and a guide. By this, he met Tremblay’s (1957) criteria for being a key consultant. According to Tremblay (1957), the ideal key consultant should occupy a position in the community, which enables them to provide the necessary support. They should possess enough information, be able to understand

and relay information from participants to the researcher and vice versa. Furthermore, the key consultant should possess good communication skills and show objectivity in his/her suggestions.

As a guide, Kòsí's detailed knowledge of his environment helped to find landforms which were less known but were mentioned in interviews with research participants. For example, during the landscape terms elicitation exercise, the landform term *tókplĩ* (small mountain) emerged as a subcategory of *tó* (mountain). *Tókplĩ* (small mountain) was not a commonly known landform, and many of the participants did not know where to locate one readily. However, following the explanation by informants that the roots of the term *tókplĩ* are from *tó* (mountain) (*kpú*)/*kpłúú* (small), Kòsí recalled where to find such a landform immediately. He suggested that we visit *Kpéñdétó* (*Kpéñdè* mountain), an example of *tókplĩ* (small mountain). Once there, Kòsí clearly explained in Èvè the geographical distinction between *tó* (mountain) and *tókplĩ* (small mountain). Kòsí would often alert me about factors that could ruin interviews with traditional authorities and mediated such interviews. Kòsí was equally instrumental in accessing closed contexts and classified traditional information.

The second key consultant was Tógbé Kòmlà who serves as representative of the Àmèsú clan on the Council of Chiefs and Elders of *Àkófè* *Àvèñúú*. Like Kòsí, Tógbé Kòmlà is also an indigene of Àsòglì and speaks Èvè and English fluently. However, in terms of support, Tógbé Kòmlà's role was limited to *Àkófè*. By virtue of his position as elder, Tógbé Kòmlà was instrumental in arranging interviews with other knowledgeable

people willing to give information. Where necessary, Tógbé Kòmlà led me to important geographical locations and willingly offered further explanations. Tógbé Kòmlà would often say to me, “if you are not afraid, I can take you to see the shrine and feeding grounds for the gods. There you will also see the tree to which the Àsòglì attribute spiritual powers”. These words were always my motivation for visiting sites that many people consider to be dangerous.

3.4.6 Pretesting

Piloting was done for a week (September 10-17, 2017). At the piloting stage the idea was to ascertain the clarity of interview themes, uncover some of the tacit assumptions underlying the study and their relevance as well as assess possible levels of participants’ interest in the topic. It was also an opportunity for me to sharpen my skills in research.

Piloting is usually done among the target population or with people who share common characteristics with the target population (Glesne, 2011). Bernard (1988) suggests that when the target community is small, it is best to do piloting in a different community that is similar to the target community as a way of minimising knowledge sharing by participants. The pilot study was, thus, conducted in *Shiã Xáqòmè* and *Àvèé Gbògāmè*, which are not Àsòglì communities.

For the pilot study, I engaged two (2) participants in a discussion of the research instrument in *Shiã Xáqòmè*, on September 10, 2017. The interaction was in the form of an in-depth interview to determine the relevance of the themes and the best manner of introducing the themes to participants for a successful interview. The insightful feedback drawn from

the discussion at *Shiã Xáqòmè* was used to modify the interview guide and the free listing questions. The modified research instruments were tested again at *Àvèé Gbògāmè*; this time, participants grasped the concepts of the interview more readily than was the case during the first trial. After pretesting, the final draft of the research instruments was presented to my supervisors for approval and thereafter I proceeded to the field.

3.4.7 Data Transcription and Transliteration

Audio and video recorded interviews were transcribed, immediately after each session of data collection. Except for four (4) interviews, where I used paid services of a trained linguist specialised in Èvè, all other transcriptions were done by me. In all, I obtained about 200 pages of transcripts. A few examples are found in Appendix I.

3.4.8 Ethical Considerations

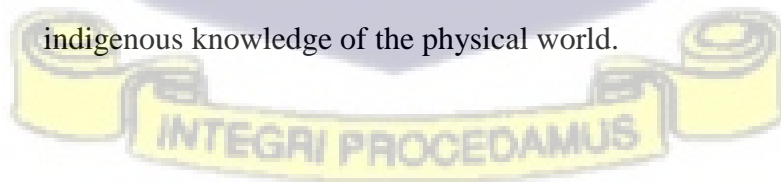
Studies involving human subjects come with a responsibility to protect their rights and avoid actions that will impinge on their well-being. In line with the categorical imperative of Kant, the German philosopher, found in his *Groundwork of Metaphysics of Morals* (1785/2017), ethical considerations must be based on treating humans as ends in themselves rather than means to an end. It is important that the rights and values of research participants be of paramount concern. The point is that ethnographic studies can be obtrusive in many respects since they rely on in-depth interviews and participant observations through which sensitive issues may be disclosed (Creswell, 2014).

My research, however, did not entail any form of investigation that would violate the values and dignity of participants. Yet I still took steps to

commence every interview session by obtaining the consent of participants, explaining the purpose, and making participants aware of their freedom to opt out whenever they wished. This expression of consent was also video-recorded. Participants were also encouraged to point out any interview related action that caused them any form of discomfort. I showed the data collecting instruments and materials to participants and explained how I intended to use them. They were also made to understand that I would transcribe their information verbatim for analysis and I thereby sought permission to acknowledge them by pseudonyms for responses that might be cited directly, in respect of their intellectual rights.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented the theoretical and analytical framework as well as the methodological procedures, which serve as the basis for analysis in the subsequent chapters. It is basically a qualitative study, which relies on NSM and ME as frameworks for analysis and interpretation of data. As qualitative research, I benefited from the advantages of being an insider and also worked to overcome the challenges associated with being an insider of a community one studies. The research benefited greatly from the deep knowledge of my key consultants who doubled as custodians of Àsògli indigenous knowledge of the physical world.



CHAPTER FOUR

ÀSÒGLÌ ÈVÈ LANDSCAPE TERMS AND THEIR CONCEPTUAL CONTENT: THE LAND AND RAISED GROUND

4.1 Introduction

Language conveys what people know about reality and the world around them and how they relate to it. This is because the basic elements on which humans build knowledge about the world usually occur in thought and speech, and both of these are expressed through language. For this reason, this chapter addresses Èvè landscape terms with the aim of explaining some of the general notions of the Àsògli about their physical environment. Other studies have found, for example, that people use landscape terms to identify parts of their landscape as objects, places or both (Mark, Turk, Burenhult, & Stea, 2011; Cablitz, 2008). Thus, part of the focus of this chapter will be to determine how the Àsògli classify/categorise landscape terms and the grammatical rules of localisation that they use for expressing their knowledge. The other concern in this chapter is the relationship between landscape naming and body parts because “[l]anguages frequently use the lexicon of one of these domains to map and name the other in more or less systematic and pervasive ways through analogy and metaphor” (Mark, Turk, Burenhult & Stea, 2011, p. 7).

The chapter is in four sections. The first section begins with a general overview of the relationship between the various domains of

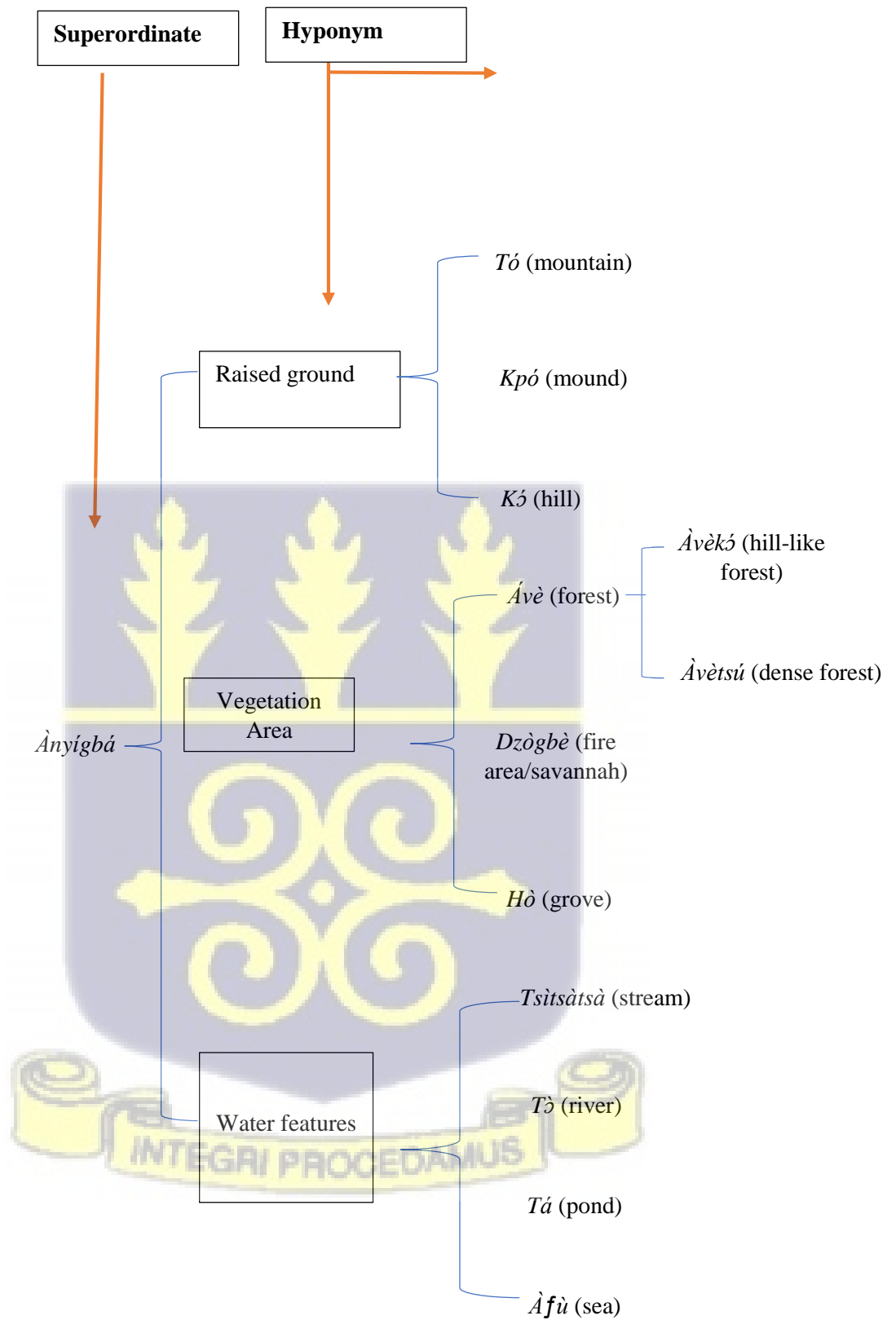
landscape. The four possible readings of *ànyígbá* (land) among the Àsògli and its cultural implications are treated in the second section, while the domain of raised ground, including *tó* (mountain), *kpó* (mound) and *kó* (lump) are treated in the third section. The meaning of each term is paraphrased using the Minimal English (ME) metalanguage after the term's structure has been analysed. Finally, the chapter explores the body part analogy of the terms and describes the spatial parts of their referents.

4.2 Landscape Terms

Àsògli landscape terms are grouped into four broad categories. These categories are raised ground, vegetation area, water features and valley. Raised ground is subdivided into *tó* (mountain), *kpó* (mound) and *kó* (lump). Forests cover constitutes *àvè* (forest), *dzògbè* (savannah/grassland), and *hò* (plantation). Water features are grouped into *tsì* (stream), *tò* (river), *tá* (pond) and *àfù* (sea). The last category, *bàlì* (valley), has not been treated in this thesis. Figure 4.1 presents the hierarchical relationship among the landscape terms. The parts of the figure will become clearer in the treatment of the terms beginning with *ànyígbá* (land) and raised ground in this chapter.



Figure 4.1: Hierarchical relationship between *Ànyígbá* and other landscape terms



4.3 Ànyígbá (earth, ground, piece of land, territory)

Ànyígbá is an inherent locative noun in Èvè. Unlike some other inherent locative nouns like *àfé* (house) and *àgblè* (farm), the localisation in *ànyígbá* is overtly marked by the occurrence of a postposition in its morphological structure. The term *ànyígbá* is trimorphemic, made up of the nominal prefix *à*, *nyí* (clay) and the postposition *gbá* (surface around something). Example 1 illustrates this morphological structure.

1.

<u>À</u>	<u>-nyí</u>	<u>-gbá</u>
Nomi Prefix	-clay	-surface around something
N		Postp
‘The surface around clay’		

The term *ànyígbá* refers to a locative entity because it has the postposition *gbá* (surface around something), which creates a location out of the entity *ànyí* (clay) (see chapter two, subsection section 2.4.1, Table 2.8). Beyond being an inherently locative noun, it is possible to glean other components of its conceptual structure from its participation in various linguistic contexts. The contexts serve, principally, as indicators for the pragmatic interpretation the Àsòglì Èvè make regarding its conceptualisation. In what follows, I discuss four possible readings of the term *ànyígbá*.

4.3.1 Ànyígbá as ‘earth’

One way to understand the Àsòglì conceptualisation of *ànyígbá* is from the perspective of *xéxémè* (world). When considered from this point of view, *ànyígbá* is contrasted with *dzifó* (heaven), in which case both terms designate two big parts of *xéxémè* (world). This perspective was frequently expressed by research participants and is well represented in the statement

of example 2. The research participant who made the statement was insinuating the Christian notion of creation and provides clues to understanding *ànyígbá* from the perspective of *xéxémè* (world).

2. *Élàbé wó- bé Máwú wò dzìfó kplé ànyígbá*
 Because 3PL-QUOT God do sky and land.
 ‘Because they say God created heaven and earth’

Ànyígbá conceptualised as ‘earth’ can have both ‘object’ and ‘place’ interpretations. As an object, *ànyígbá* is conceived of as an entity and in that case, it does not co-occur with another postposition. Its meaning derives solely from its inherent locativeness. From this perspective, the Èvè conceive *ànyígbá* simply as a boundless landmass. The concomitant term *dzìfó* (sky), does not only have a similar morphological structure as *ànyígbá* (earth) but also has a related meaning. Witness that *dzìfó* (sky), as illustrated in example 3, is overtly marked with an internal locative structure. Thus, like *ànyígbá* (earth), *dzìfó* (sky) refers to an unbounded location in the sky without any specified parts

3. *Dzì -fó*
 sky -flat horizontal surface
 N Postp
 Sky

Another ‘earth’ reading of *ànyígbá* is when it co-occurs with the postposition *dzí* (upper surface). When *ànyígbá* (earth) and *dzí* (upper surface) co-occur, as illustrated in example 4, *ànyígbá* is understood as a place where people live and things occur. Thus, in example 4, the postposition *dzí* (upper surface) indicates the search domain where *tó* (mountain) can be located on *ànyígbá* (earth).

4. (È)tó lè ànyígbá dzí
 Mountain be.at land-upper surface
 ‘Mountain is on earth’

Like *dzí* (upper surface), *ànyígbá* can co-occur with *té* (under) to retain an earth reading, though *té* (under) is an antonym of *dzí* (upper surface). A popular Àsòglì Èvè lyric glossed in example 5, illustrates how both *dzí* and *té* could occur with *ànyígbá* to evoke an earth reading. The role of the postpositions is fundamentally to indicate that the earth reading can also be understood as place as against an entity in the case of example 3. The same reading of *ànyígbá* as place is illustrated in example 6 as well. The statement identifies *ànyígbá* as a place where humans are.

5. Nú sì- wé lè ànyígbá dzí; lè ànyígbá té
 Thing DEM-PL be.at earth upper surface; be.at earth under
 ‘Things that are on earth and under the earth...’
6. Ànyígbá yà éyà- é kè dzí mí- lè
 Land as.for 3SG-FOC this upper surface 1PL-be.at
 ‘Concerning *ànyígbá*, it is where we are’

4.3.2 Ànyígbá as ‘ground’

Ànyígbá may be understood as ‘ground’ in certain contexts. Usually, the ‘ground’ context does not require a postposition since it is inherently locative. As shown in example 7, it is clear that when *ànyígbá* is read as ‘ground’, native speakers understand it in terms of place.

7. Kó Àgbà- à dà dè ànyígbá
 lift plate- DEF put TP ground
 ‘Put the plate on the ground’

4.3.3 *Ànyígbá* as entity: ‘a piece of land’

It is possible to have a third reading of *ànyígbá* based on its participation in possessive constructions or the introduction of a definite marker. There are two types of adnominal possessive constructions in Èvè, namely, possessive connective construction and juxtaposed possessive construction (Ameka, 1995). In possessive connective constructions, a possessive linker *fé* or *wó* occurs between the possessor and the possessum, whereas in the juxtaposed construction, the possessor and possessum occur side by side without any connective. Examples 8 and 9 illustrate possessive connective construction and juxtaposed construction respectively.

- | | | | |
|----|--|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 8. | <i>Kofi</i>
Kofi
‘Kofi’s book’ | <i>wó</i>
POSS | <i>àgbàlě</i>
Book |
| 9. | <i>Adzo</i>
Adzo
‘Adzo’s father’ | <i>tš</i>
father | |

Connective possessive constructions express alienable or less inherent relationship between an animate possessor and a non-relational possessum. It conveys a general possessive relation, which involves the possessor having ownership, right of use or control over the possessum (Ameka, 1995). Such a relationship is found between a body and its parts as well (Ameka, 2006).

When the term *ànyígbá* occurs in connective possessive constructions, it functions as the possessum of an animate possessor, which can be an individual or a group of people. Examples 10 and 11 below illustrate an individual and a group as possessors of *ànyígbá* respectively.

10. *Adzo wó ànyígbá*
 Adzo POSS land
 ‘Adzo’s land’

11. *Hǒ-ɔ-wó wó ànyígbá*
 Hǒ-DEF-PL POSS land
 ‘Hǒ people’s land/the land for the people of Hǒ.’

Example 10 illustrates an individual possessor of *ànyígbá*, implying an individual right of control and use, commensurate with the Àsògli tradition which allows an individual having the right to possess a piece of land to use for her or his private purposes. As *ànyígbá* belongs to Adzo in example 11, Adzo has the right to use it. In this context, *ànyígbá* is best translated as “a piece of land” with clear-cut boundaries. A group of persons, such as an ethnic group or members of an extended family or clan, can also possess “a piece of land”. Group possession is highly considered by the Èvè and is the basis of the right to individual entitlement. The individual is differentiated from the group possessor since the latter is marked by the definite article -ɔ as shown in example 11, where the definite article specifies the individuals constituting the collective possessor. Example 12 below will thus constitute a grammatically unacceptable construction to the native speaker of Èvè, and therefore did not occur even once in the data collected.

12. **Hǒ.wó wó ànyígbá*
 Hǒ.PL POSS land
 ‘Hǒ people’s land’

Apart from specifying the individuals involved in possessing *ànyígbá* in the ‘piece of land’ reading, the definite marker could be used to specify *ànyígbá* as a specific entity with boundaries. Example 13 is the modification of example 4 cited earlier under subsection 4.3.1. The

transformation from an ‘earth’ reading to ‘a piece of land’ meaning is made possible by the definite article, which functions as a specifier in the Èvè language.

13. (È)tó lè ànyígbá- á dzí
 Mountain be.at land- DEF upper surface
 ‘Mountain is on earth’

4.3.4 Ànyígbá as ‘territory’

A fourth reading of *ànyígbá* can be deduced when it occurs as part of an identification compound. An “identification compound” is a type of classificatory compound (Ameka, 1991, p. 185) having the structure N1 N2, in which N1 is a non-referential nominal that classifies N2. In the construction of identification compounds, the N1 is usually a thing or place-denoting proper name, which classifies a generic noun N2. In such constructions *ànyígbá* occupies the N2 position as the generic noun which is specified by a thing or place-denoting nominal as exemplified in example 14.

14. Àsògli- nyígbá
 Àsògli - land
 ‘Àsògli land’

Example 14 is denotative and can be distinguished from expression of possession. In this context, *ànyígbá* is classified as ‘the place of a people’ – the Àsògli territory or area. This grammatical construction provides a specific reading, because the native speaker uses it to denote territory or area but not to express possession or any of the other readings previously discussed. In this connection, my participants considered the construction in example 15, for instance, as inappropriate, because it neither expresses possession (see example 11) nor identification compound (see example 14).

15. *Adzo -nyígbá
Adzo -land
'Adzo's land'

Unlike example 15, appropriate identification compounds involving *ànyígbá* such as *Èvènyígbá* (Èvè land) and *Gěnyígbá* (Gã land) tally with example 14 and follow the same logic. Closely associated with this reading is the understanding of *ànyígbá* as 'category of land', in the sense of it being characterised by that (thing or place) which classifies it in the identification compound. So, for example, is *kpényígbá* (stony land) not understood as land possessed by stones or rocks, but as 'stony or rocky land'. It is in this context that the various types of land documented by Spieth apply.

Considering all these aspects of *ànyígbá*, one can propose the following paraphrase of *ànyígbá* in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Explicating *Ànyígbá* in Minimal English

-
- | | |
|----|---|
| a. | A place of one kind |
| b. | It is a very big place |
| c. | People are on it |
| d. | Many other things are on it |
| e. | This very big place has many smaller places |
| f. | People can say these things about this very big place:
"Some parts can be hard"
"Some parts can be soft" |
| g. | Sometimes some people can think of themselves like this:
"We are part of the same thing" |
| h. | These people can say/think of a part of this very big place like this:
"It is ours"
"We can do some things on it as we want"
"We cannot do some things on it as we want" |
| i. | Sometimes a person can think of a part of the very big place like this:
"It is mine"
"I can do many things with it as I want" |
| j. | People (Àsògli) think of parts of this very big place like this:
"Some beings live in parts of this big place"
"Because of this, one cannot do some things at some times in these parts"
"When one does these things, these beings feel something very bad towards people"
"When these beings feel something bad, these beings can cause bad things to happen to some people" |
-

4.3.5 Àsòglì cultural conceptualisation of *ànyígbá*

In the last part of the explication of *ànyígbá* (earth) some ideas were expressed about cultural practices of Àsòglì. An important context which gives the linguist an opportunity to glean knowledge of other Àsòglì cultural conceptualisation of *ànyígbá* is when the term occurs in the form of an appellation as in example (16). In this context, some elements of Àsòglì cosmology can be explained.

16. *Mía nò ànyígbá dzò- mà- flò*
2PL mother earth/land jump- NEG- cross
'Our mother earth that we cannot jump over'

This appellation personifies *ànyígbá* (earth) as a maternal prototype.

From this perspective some of my research participants intimated that *ànyígbá* (earth) is imbued with spiritual qualities and is thus the recipient of religious sentiments and practices such as sacrifices, libation and rituals. Participants said these religious practices protect the “more than maternal personality” of *ànyígbá* (earth) and regulate how humans relate with it. Here, *ànyígbá* is thought to have its own existence. It has laws and a “symbolic relational language”, which people learn to understand through experience. For example, a participant narrated his father’s experience on the way to his farm when he saw *àbròdzìmá*, a type of snake that does not move on the ground. Since on this occasion it was moving on the ground, his father interpreted this exception as a sign with meaning associated with impending bad omen. The interviewee continued to say that his father would understand the military attack of the Asantes on the Èvè later that day as the realisation of his interpretation of the sign. This anecdote expresses a cultural belief of an individual which the interviewee claims

was a common belief in the community. Scholars of Èvè Traditional Religion (Nukunya, 1992; Kovey, 1998; Opoku, 2007) and much of oral tradition corroborate such religio-cultural beliefs about *ànyígbá* (earth).

It would seem that, the Àsòglì do not think that *ànyígbá* (earth) is given to humans to subdue and dominate. In their view, humans are to live in harmony with *ànyígbá*, even while living off it and its resources. It can be argued that this way of relating to *ànyígbá* is advanced in the embodiment theory (see Rybka, 2015; Enfield, 2008) and may well relate to contemporary contestations of long-standing attitudes ascribed to Christian anthropocentric interpretations of a biblical injunction to subdue the world. This shift in the religious philosophy of affordance from subjugation to (inter) dependence on nature might be important for answering the research question on the type of conceptualisation of the physical world embedded in Àsòglì landscape terms and place names. The Àsòglì show peculiar patterns of relationship with *ànyígbá* (earth). For example, they express a sense of responsibility to protect *ànyígbá* and in this connection, participants described a ritual called *ànyígbálílí*, literally, ‘establishing the earth’. It is also from this cultural-religious perspective that *ànyígbá* is conceived as home not only for humans, but also for *trõ* (deities), *tógbéwó* (ancestors) and other such metaphysical beings (Fõ Kòmì, Personal Communication, 2017; Gaba, 1997; Adzakpe, 1982). This point also sufficiently underscores ideas expressed by my participants about Àsòglì beliefs that the aspects of the universe with which humans can relate directly are landforms, water bodies, fauna and flora. But these could also

be the abodes of or even representations of metaphysical beings (see component j in explication).

4.4 Raised Ground

Raised ground refers to any abrupt or gently elevated place on *ànyígbá* which is surrounded by level ground. Elsewhere, similar landscape features are referred to as convex, gradient, or elevation (Enfield, 2008; Holton, 2011). The Àsòglì distinguish three major types of raised ground: (*è*)*tó* (mountain), (*è*)*kpó* (mound), and (*è*)*kó* (hill). These are analysed in the paragraphs that follow, using the same structure as for the discussion on *ànyígbá* (earth) above. Each category of the terms will be explained in view of its ontological, epistemological and cultural content. An additional element is the perceptual aspect of *tó* (mountain) as a polysemous term in Èvè. The same term refers to the body part *tó* (ear) and, as shown later in the discussion, there is a perceptual connection between the two meanings. I begin the analysis with *tó* (mountain) as entity.

4.4.1 *Tó* (mountain)

When the Àsòglì conceptualise *tó* (mountain) as an entity, it assumes several physical attributes. First, *tó* (mountain) is fundamentally thought of as a part on *ànyígbá* (earth) which rises above its immediate level surrounding. This suggests that *tó* (mountain) has height. Consider example 17, which shows the co-occurrence of *tó* (mountain) with the height-denoting adjective *kókó* (tall).

17. *Yá yówó òtò wó- lè yó bé Tókó: yèwó-á-nò*
 INT 3PL INT 3PL- be.at call COMP Tókó: LOG-IRR-sit

tó kókó dzí yá wò- zù Tókó
 mountain tall upper surface INT 2SG- become Tókó
 ‘They (themselves) call it (their settlement) Tókó: (from their saying repeatedly that) they want to live in *tó kókó* and it (the saying) became (the place name) Tókó’

This adjective *kókó* (tall) suggests height as a perceptually salient feature of *tó* (mountain). In its conceptualisation as an entity, research participants perceived *tó* (mountain) as the landform which is distinctly vertical or ‘rises up’ in distinction to *ànyígbá* (earth), which spreads around. In this regard, one can speak of a “dimensional ontology” in which *tó* (mountain) is conceived in terms of height. Modifying *tó* (mountain) with *kókó* (tall) intensifies the vertical perceptual impression gained by the observer.

The fact that *tó* (mountain) is distinctively perceived from the dimension of height does not make it a unidimensional entity. It also has size in the sense of physical magnitude or extent. The concept of size in relation to *tó* (mountain) is expressed in example 18, which is an excerpt taken from a research participant’s description of a mountain in the research area.

18. *È- lè (è)tó gā kímí kpó dāa? Wó- yó- é*
 2SG-be.at mountain big that see from afar? 3PL-call-3SG
bé Gálèṅkuító German governor yé nò fímíe
 COMP Gálèṅkuí-mountain German governor FOC sit there
 ‘Do you see that big mountain from afar? It is called Gálèṅkuító; the German governor used to reside there...’

As shown in example 18, the Àsòglì conceptualisation of *tó* (mountain) as an entity with size or magnitude is attained by modifying the term with the adjective *gā* (big). In Natural Semantic Metalanguage, big is

a semantic prime used to capture the frame of vision that an entity covers (Goddard, 2012; Bromhead, 2011; Wierzbicka, 1996). With the descriptor *gã* (big), *tó* (mountain) is an entity, which does not only ‘rise up’, but also covers a large part of *ànyígbá* (earth). The sense of ‘largeness’ is, however, not objective as there are not clearly spelt out parameters for size designation. Yet, based on context, the Àsòglì idea of largeness can be inferred from visibility (from afar) and accessibility. Regarding visibility as an indicator of size, the research participant points to a particular *tó* (mountain) in a distance and asks whether the researcher can see it. He uses the particle *dáa* (afar) to suggest that the referent object is at a remote location. Visibility from a given distance involves not only size, but also height and both reinforce the understanding of the term *tó* (mountain) from its perceptual dimensions. Examples of *tó* (mountain) among the Àsòglì are shown in Figures 4.1 and 4.2. The two images of *tó* (mountain) assume different geographical forms, which have consequences on their spatial labels. This is taken up in the discussion of *tó* (mountain) and its spatial parts (see subsection 4.4.1.2).



Figure 4.1: *Àdàklùtó*, a prototypical *tó* (mountain) for the Àsòglì, photograph by Key Consultant



Figure 4.2: *Gàlènkúító*, a prototypical *tó* (mountain) in *Hõ*. Photograph by Author

The dimension of size of *tó* (mountain) varies. Hence, participants freely formulated statements in which *tó* (mountain) is either big as in example 19 or small as in example 20. “Smallness” is expressed with *ví* (small) in Èvè and its antonym is *gã* (big). This is illustrated in example 19.

19. *Tà né è- yì dè dzimè ví- dè lá, (è)tó*
 So, if 2SG- go reach on.top.of small INDEF TP, mountain
ví dè lè fímí; mí- yó- ó fímí bé Tóviádzi.
 Small INDEF be.at there; 1PL- call HAB there COMP Tóviádzi.
 ‘So, when you go up a bit, you will find a small mountain over there. We call that place *Tóviádzi*.’

In this example, the research participant describes a specific *tó* (mountain) with the adjective *ví* (small), which like *gã* (big), is a semantic prime in NSM. Other ways in which the “smallness” of *tó* was conceived by participants was expressed by the extent to which people can move around it and do things on it. A participant’s comment captured in Example 20

illustrates the point by referencing *Kpéḡḡètó*, which is a relatively small mountain in one of the Àsòḡlì traditional areas called *Kpéḡḡé*.

20. *Wó-dè àḡblè dḡ dzí fò.xlā tó- ó bḡḡée*
 3PL-do farm TP upper surface around mountain-DEF INT
 ‘They have farmed on and all around the mountain’

The understanding of this statement regarding what it says about size of the *tó* (mountain) in question cannot be divorced from the assertion that people are able to make their farms around it. The assertion hinges on the verb *fò* (beat) and its complement *xlā* (around), meaning ‘to move around something’, which suggests a mountain size that is realistically “small” enough for people to access from all sides.

The landscape term *tókplĩ* seems to describe the landform conceived as *tó ví* (small mountain). However, it seems that *tókplĩ* has become obsolete or is near extinction, considering that only two research participants knew about it. Yet, the morphological structure of the term in example 21 and its meaning adequately describe its referent. Example 21 shows the underlying structure of the term and its compositionality.

21. *Tó- kpúkplúi*
 Mountain- IDEO.RED small and compact
 N ADJ
 ‘Small mountain’

Tókplĩ is a noun-adjective compound in which the adjective in its full form is an ideophone *–kpúkplúi*. The ideophone *kpúkplúi* is a reduplication of the stem *kplúi*. Regarding tonal change in reduplication in Èvè, it was mentioned in chapter two subsection 2.3.2.2, that when the first syllable carries a high tone, the second syllable (reduplicated) changes into a rising tone. Consistent with this rule, one observes that *kplúkplúi* is truncated to become *kplúi* in the term *tókplĩ*. This can be accounted for in two phonetic

processes. First, the preceding /ú/ vowel is deleted, leaving second vowel /í/ to carry the rising tone /ǎ/.

Kpúklúí is often used by the Àsògli Èvè to describe things that are not only small, but also compact and rounded. Accordingly, *kpúklúí* in example 22 evokes a sensory perception about *èzè* (pot), which includes smallness, compactness as well as roundedness.

22. *Èzè kpúklúí dè kò wò- kó gbò*
Pot small INDEF only 3SG- carry return
'He only returned with a small, round and compact pot'

Following the same logic, *tóklí* would mean 'a small, compact and perhaps a round-like mountain'. *Kpèhèétó* in Figure 4.3 is an example of *tóklí* for the Àsògli.

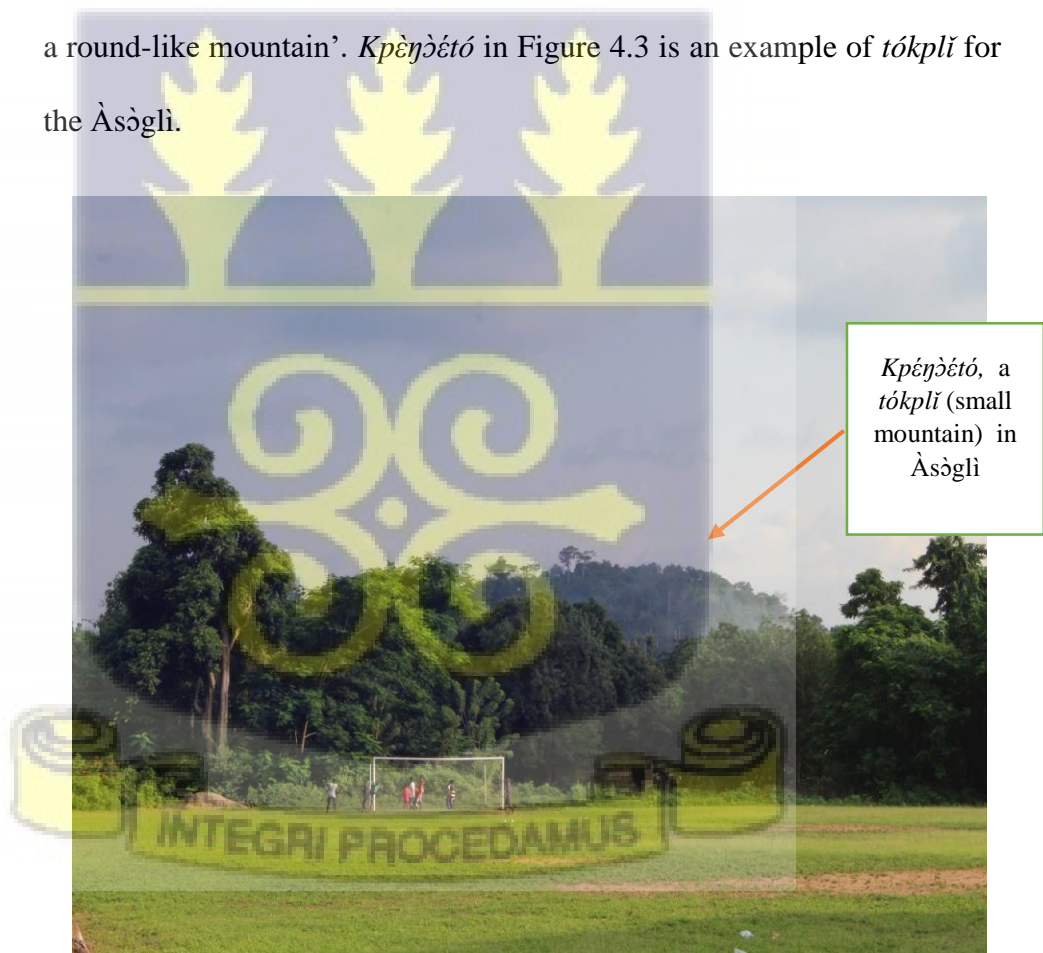


Figure 4.3: *Kpèhèétó*, a prototypical *tóklí* (small mountain). Photograph by Author

Apart from height and size, material make-up is important in the Àsògli conceptualisation of *tó* (mountain). They think of *tó* (mountain) as being made of hard substances, mainly rocks. Consider example 23 where a research participant describes the location of a suburb of *Hõ* in the following words:

23. *Álé.bé, áfé wó- á- vù vá tó- ó dzí*
 Thus, before 3PL-PROS-migrate come mountain-DEF upper surface

lè fími;fími dè, èkpé dè mí- yó- ɔ bé
 be.at there; there there TP stone INDEF 2PL-call HAB COMP

Hlìhà fími bétée hlìhà dzí yé
 Fericrust rock there INT fericrust rock upper surface FOC
 ‘Thus, before they came to settle on top of the mountain, that place was full of a type of stone/rock called fericrust’

This example specifies one type of material make-up of *tó* (mountain), which the participant identifies as *hlìhà* (fericrust rock). There are, however, other types of rocks such as *kpétsú* (igneous rock) that could make a mountain. Thus far, the analysis of the landscape term *tó* (mountain) has shown that our understanding of the conceptual content can begin from the perceptual dimensions of height, size, and other features such as texture or material make-up. Frequently, the term *tó* (mountain) collocates with some semantic primes including *kókó* (tall), *gã* (big), and *ví* (small) to convey the complete meaning the Àsògli Èvè associate with the landform *tó* (mountain).

Before we turn to a discussion on the conceptualisation of *tó* (mountain) as a place, it is necessary to have a quick look at how the Àsògli describe a mountain range and the understanding that arises from it.

4.4.1.1 *Tógbèkà* (mountain range)

There can be more than one *tó* (mountain) at a location, in which case one follows the other in a sequence, usually with little or no interval. The Àsògli refer to such landforms as *tógbèkà*, which is best translated into English as ‘mountain range’ (see example 24 for its morphological structure).

24. *Tó- gbè- kà*
 Mountain- area- rope
 ‘mountain range’

As indicated earlier, postpositions may be combined with nominal stems to form locative nouns. In example 24, the postposition *gbè* (area) is attached to *tó* (mountain) to denote a mountainous area. This combination is further compounded with the nominal *kà* (rope). Thus, the literal translation of *tógbèkà* will be ‘mountainous area rope’ or simply, ‘mountains linked to one another in the form of a rope’. I use examples 25 and 26 to further discuss the Àsògli conceptualisation of the landform *tógbèkà* (mountain range). In example 25, the research participant describes the physical features of *tógbèkà* as a specific *tó* (mountain), which appears as though it were a single unit but has several divisions. He expresses the partitioning of the *tó* with the verbal nominal *màmáwó* (divisions) and their distinguishability with *vòvòvò* (different).

25. *Tà nényé tó kèlé lá, À- nɔ kpɔ àbé tó*
 So if mountain DET TP 2SG-sit see like mountain
ḍèká yé gàké lá màmáwó lè é-mè
 one FOC but TP divisions be.at 3SG-containing
vòvòvò. éyà tà Èvè -a- wó yɔ-ne
 differently therefore Èvè- DEF-PL call-HAB 3SG

bé *ànyígbá- gbè- kà;* *tó- gbè- kà.*
 COMP land- area- rope; mountain- area- rope.
 ‘So, if it is this mountain, you will see it as though it were one but it has several divisions. This is why the Èvè call it *ànyígbàgbèkà* (*ànyígbà* area rope) *tógbèkà* (mountain range)

The concept of a 'rope' embedded in the term, was explained by the research participant in the statement captured in example 26.

26. *È- kpó lé.ké wó- gbì- ε kà yéa? Ègbò- kà*
 3SG- how 3PL-weave-HAB rope QP? goat- rope
 see

À- kpó bé wó- àmè èvè wó- lǝ wó nɔ̀è- wó
 2SG- see COMP 3PL-person two 3PL-weave 3PL each other

ékè lè fie vá dò lè tɛ̀fɛ búbù. Tà,
 this be.at here come appear be at place another. So,

tó kè lè fí sígbɛ wò- lè. È- kpó àfí
 Mountain this be.at here such 2SG-be.at. 2SG-see place

dé d́áa àbé àfí dé nyò àfí
 INDEF yonder like place INDEF dark place
dé yà wó kólà lè light tà ékèlé kplé
 INDEF as.for POSS colour be.at light so this and

ékèlɛ wó kpé- fé lè fí mí. Né è- gà- yì ngògbé
 this 3PL meet-place be.at There. If 2SG-REP-go forward

tsé búbù gà-dzè gòmè tsó fí mí. Éyà tsé
 also another REP-start under from there. 3SG also

vá wú nù dé tɛ̀fɛ d̀èkà. sígbɛ sɔ̀ wó- lè
 come end mouth TP place one. That is abundant 3PL-be.at
 ‘You see how they weave a rope? Goat rope, you will see two stands woven into each other. This one here appears elsewhere. So, the mountain here is like that. Do you see that far place which looks dark and another whose colour is light? so, the meeting place of this and the other one is there. If you go further, again, another begins from there and ends at another place. That is how they are’.

The research participant draws an analogy between the way a rope is woven and the way the different peaks of the range seem to interweave.

Rope weaving, specifically, *gb̀̀kà* (goat rope) is, therefore, a core aspect of the Àsògli conceptualisation of a mountain range. *Gb̀̀kà* derives its name from its function, since it is used to tether goats or other domestic animals either to keep them on the line while moving from one place to another or keep them tied to a spot for grazing. Since they must be tenuous to serve their purpose, and because they were usually made from bark of trees, such ropes were traditionally woven together to attain their desired consistency.

Since *tógb̀̀kà* (mountain range) is composed of several *tó* (mountain), it stretches across a large expanse of land. Example 27, taken from Setsoafia's (1994) book *Fia Tsatsala*, references the protagonist's description of *Èvètó*, highlighting its longevity as a *tógb̀̀kà* (mountain range).

27.	<i>É-nyó</i>	<i>Ama</i>	<i>míe-vá</i>	<i>dó</i>	<i>Peki- tó-</i>	<i>a</i>	
	3SG-good	Ama	2PL-come	arrive	Peki-mountain-DEF		
	<i>tàmè ázó.</i>	<i>Èvè- à-</i>	<i>wó yó- á</i>	<i>tó</i>	<i>sìà b́é</i>		
	peak now.	Èvè- DEF- PL	call-HAB	mountain	this COMP		
	<i>Èvè- tó.</i>	<i>Akuapem</i>	<i>nú- tòmè</i>	<i>ké</i>	<i>tó- gb̀̀</i>		
	Èvè- mountain	Akuapem	thing-interior region	INT	mountain-area		
	<i>sìà tsó.</i>	<i>É- nyé</i>	<i>tógb̀̀kà</i>	<i>lègb̀̀</i>	<i>dé</i>	<i>tsó</i>	
	this from.	3SG-is	mountain range	long	INDEF	from	
	<i>àfí mà vá</i>	<i>tó</i>	<i>àfí sìà</i>	<i>dó.tà</i>	<i>Togo-nyígbá</i>		
	place that come	pass	place this	headed	Togo-land		
	<i>mè</i>	<i>ké,</i>	<i>hé- t̀̀</i>	<i>tà</i>	<i>Dahũme</i>		
	containing region/inside	INT	PrepP-meet	head	Dahũme		

'Good, Ama, we have arrived at the peak of the mountain at Peki. The Èvè call this mountain Èvè-mountain. It starts all the way from Akuapem region. It is a long mountain range from there through here and moves towards Togoland and further to Dahũme (Benin)'.

While standing at the peak of the mountain range at Peki, the protagonist traces the beginning of the range from Akuapem through Peki to Togo and further to Dahūme (Benin). Here again, a more remote, but equally important reason for using the concept of a rope is the fact that ropes are linear, which captures the fact that the *tó* that constitute *tógbèkà* form a line, one after another. This range is called formally as the Akuapem-Togo ranges. A typical example of *tógbèkà* (mountain range) is presented in Figure 4.4 and, *gbòkà* (goat rope), in Figure 4.5.



Figure 4.4: A prototypical *tógbèkà* (mountain range) among the Àsòglì, Photograph by Author



Figure 4.5: Gbàkà (goat rope), Photograph by Author

4.4.1.2 *Tó* (mountain) and its Spatial Parts

When *tó* ‘mountain’ is conceived of as a place, it co-occurs with postpositions that indicate its parts. This is consistent with the function of postpositions in Èvè– to make places out of entities. Examples 28, 29 and 30 demonstrate how the Èvè use of *tó* (mountain) in reference to a place.

28. *Yó-wó tsé wó-dzó bé yè-wó là-nò kókóé*
 3-PL INT 3PL-leave COMP LOG-PL POT-sit Height
dzí bé yè-wó lè tò tà mè
 upper surface COMP LOG-PL be.at mountain top of
 ‘They also migrated to an elevated location, saying they are on top of a mountain’
29. *Wó-dè àgbè dé dzí fò xlā tò - ó bétéé*
 3PL-went farm TP upper surface around mountain-DEF INT
 ‘They have farmed on and all around the mountain’

30. *Álé bé Áfé wó-á vù vá tò - ó*
 Thus before 3PL-PROSP migrate come mountain-DEF

dzí lè fímí: Fímí dè, èkpé dé mí-yó-ó
 upper surface be.at there: There TP stone INDEF 2PL-call HAB
bé hlihà fímí bétéé hlihà dzí yé
 COMP fericrust rock there INT fericrust rock upper surface FOC
 ‘Thus, before they came to settle on top of the mountain, that place was full of a type of stone/rock called fericrust rock’

In examples 28, 29 and 30, *tó* (mountain) co-occurs with the postpositions *dzí* (upper surface) and *tàmè* (peak or apex) to point to parts of *tó* (mountain) where things can be located. Example 28 implies that people can live on *tó dzí* (upper surface of mountain). A similar meaning is expressed when *tó* (mountain) co-occurs with *tàmè* (peak or apex). Apart from indicating places where people can live, it also expresses the affordance it gives to the people; that is, they make farms on and around *tó* (mountain) (see example 29).

Besides *dzí* (upper surface) and *tàmè* (peak or apex), *tó* (mountain) occurs with several other postpositions to indicate parts or regions anchored to it. Consider examples 31 and 32 where *tó* (mountain) co-occurs with other postpositions. Figures 4.6a, 4.6b and 4.7 present *tó* (mountain) with its designated parts.

31. *Tó* *ηύ* 32. *Tó* *ηγò*
 Mountain/hill outer surface Mountain/hill Front
 ‘outer surface of the mountain’ ‘in front of the mountain’

Table 4.2: *Tó* (mountain) and its Spatial Parts

<i>Tó</i> (mountain) + Postposition	Gloss	Standard translation
<i>Tó tà</i>	Mountain head	Peak of the mountain
<i>Tó dzí</i>	Mountain sky	Upper surface of the mountain
<i>Tó qòmè</i>	Mountain under	Bottom of the mountain
<i>Tó ηkúmè</i>	Mountain face	Front of the mountain
<i>Tó gódò</i>	Mountain other side	Other side of the mountain
<i>Tó ηύ</i>	Mountain skin	Outer surface of the mountain
<i>Tó-ó gbó</i>	Mountain vicinity	Vicinity of the mountain
<i>Tó-ó wó ηγò</i>	Mountain forehead	Front of the mountain
<i>Tó-ó wó mègbé</i>	Mountain DEF POSS back	Back of the mountain
<i>Tó-ó wó miàmè</i>	mountain DEF POSS left hand side	Left hand side of the mountain
<i>Tó-ó wó qùsimè</i>	Mountain DEF POSS right hand side	Right hand side of the mountain
<i>Tó-ó ηkúme</i>	Mountain DEFPOSS face	Face of the mountain

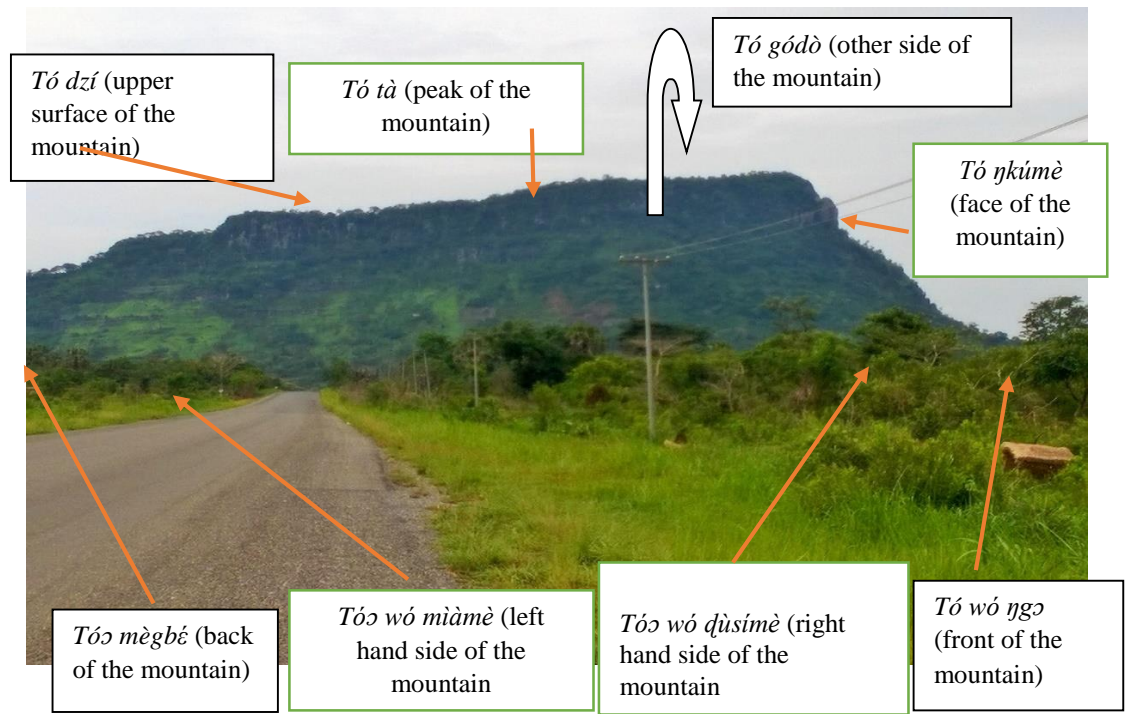


Figure 4.6a: *Àqàklùtó* and its spatial parts: Side view, Photograph by Author

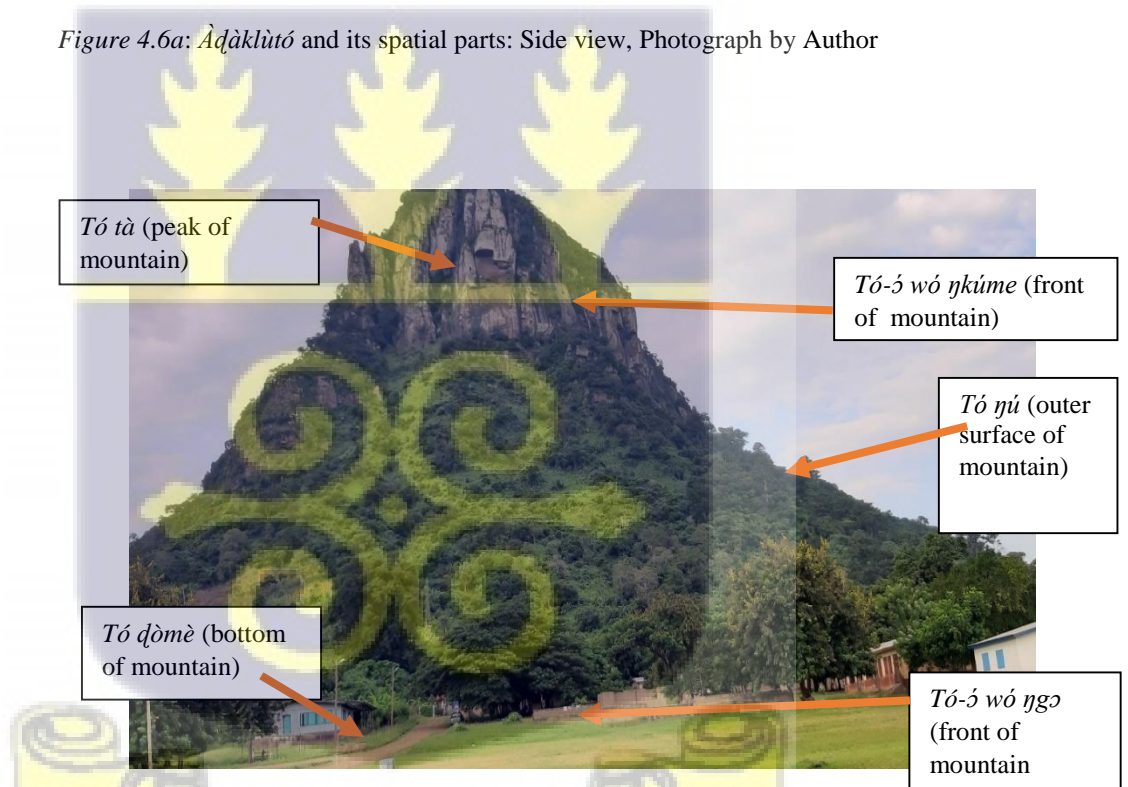


Figure 4.6b: *Àqàklùtó* and its spatial parts: Front view, Photograph by Author

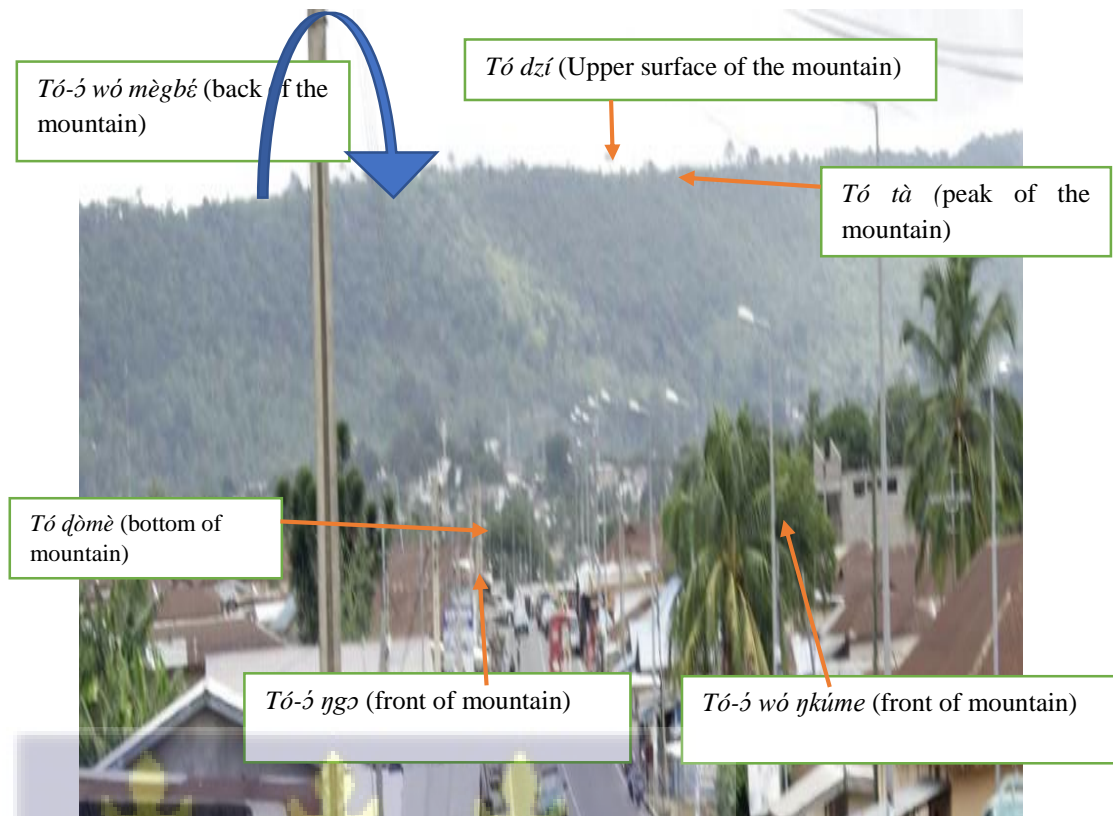


Figure 4.7 Gálèṅkúító (Gálèṅkúí mountain) and its spatial parts

Using this well-known function of spatial relation terms in Èvè, it seems apparent that the spatial relation terms in Table 7 are inalienable parts of the landscape term *tó* (mountain). In effect, body part terms can relate to landscape terms in different ways. Where body part terms are polysemous with landscape terms, their meaning is based on perceptual salience. On the other hand, where body part terms designate spatial relation in landscape terms, their meaning is based on their grammatical transformation rather than perceptual salience.

Thus far, the spatial parts of *tó* (mountain) have been labelled with postpositions. These postpositions indicate parts of the landform. It is also possible to label the parts using various frames of reference, especially the relative frame of reference which depends on the position of the observer. The frames of reference types of labelling involve specification of *tó*

(mountain) with the definite marker and the possessive marker which shows that the parts are possessed by *tó* (mountain).

In the domain of raised ground, the physical feature (formation) of *tó* (mountain) has consequences on labelling its spatial parts. Regarding *tós wó ñkúmè*, for instance, is an integral part of the *tó* in Figure 5(a&b) but changes to a region in relation to Figure 6. This is because, Figure 5 has a form that makes the people associate specific parts with specific labels. The people consider the raised part of the mountain as its *ñkúmè* (face), irrespective of the position of the observer. This is not necessarily the case with Figure 6, because the shape of the mountain does not permit that any part be labelled as the *ñkúmè* (face), hence its determination by the position of the observer.

Tó (mountain) features in classificatory compounds. When it does, it functions as the specific element of a generic-specific compound order (Ameke, 1991). What this means is that *tó* (mountain) is classified by a place-denoting nominal to differentiate it from other places. Example 33, therefore, means Èvè is a classifier of *tó* (mountain), the classified.

33. Èvè- *tó*
Èvè- mountain
'Mountain for the Èvè territory (Èvè territory mountain), also used as the name for the Akwapim-Togo ranges'

Thus, classified as a mountain of or within the territory of the Èvè people, it can be juxtaposed with other place-denoting mountains as illustrated in examples 34 and 35.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>34. Kwahu- <i>tó</i>
Kwahu- mountain
'Mountain of the Kwahu people'</p> | <p>35. Akuapem- <i>tó</i>
Akuapem- mountain
'Mountain of the Akuapem people'</p> |
|--|--|

Having discussed *tó* (mountain) among the Àsògli, the following paraphrases are proposed in Tables 4.3 and 4.4 for *tó* (mountain) and *tógbèkà* (mountain range) using Minimal English

Table 4.3: Explicating *tó* (mountain) in Minimal English

-
- a. A place of one kind
 - b. This place is always above the ground
 - c. A place of this kind can be big
It can be small
 - d. A place of this kind has hard things
 - e. When people see a place of this kind, they can think like this:
“It is above places on all sides”
“When people are far from this place, they can see it”
 - f. This place has smaller places and parts
 - g. People and other things live on the parts of this place
 - i. A group of people can think of places of this kind like this:
“It is in our place”
 - j. One person cannot think of a place of this kind like this:
“It is mine”
 - k. People can do things on a place of this kind
-

Table 4.4: Explicating *tógbèkà* (mountain range) in Minimal English

-
- a. A place of this kind can be two, or three, or four, or more. When people see a place of this kind is two or three or four or more, they can think like this:
“It is like a goat-rope”
“We can see two or three or four or more tops of place of this kind”
-

4.4.1.3 *Tó* (mountain) as a Polysemous Term

As mentioned earlier (see section 3.2.1) it is possible to establish some degree of perceptual relation between the landscape term *tó* (mountain) and body part term *tó* (ear) in Èvè. To overcome the confusion that might arise, it is appropriate in this sub-section to designate the landscape term ‘mountain’ as *tó₁* and the body part term ‘ear’ as *tó₂*. The

connection between the two terms is better established by considering what Bromhead (2011, p.71) describes as the “traditional” approach to analysing polysemy. The approach requires the formulation of a semantic invariant or an underlying paraphrase. Priestley’s (2017) NSM template for defining body-part terms has been used to derive a basic paraphrase for *tó₂* as in Table 4.5 below:

Table 4.5: Explicating *Tó₂* body part term “Ear”

<i>Tó₂</i>	
Two parts of someone’s body.	BASIC CATEGORY
One is on one side of the head.	LOCATION
Another is on another side of the head.	
When one looks at a person one can see these two parts.	
Its top is above the places on all sides.	SHAPE
These two parts of someone’s body cannot move as this someone wants.	MOBILITY
Because people’s bodies have these two parts, people can hear things.	FUNCTION

Evidently, *tó₂* shares the feature of protrusion “above places on all sides” with the landscape term *tó₁*. Indeed, *tó₂* ‘ear’ may be described as a *fleshy protrusion* above the chin and neck region of the human head, whereas *tó₁* will be a *rocky protrusion* of land above places on all sides. Facial parts such as the nose seems to share the similar physical characteristics with *tó₂*. However, linguistically, its associated terminology *ɲàtí* (nose) does not share the same form as the landscape term, therefore, it does not lend itself to a polysemous analysis. Figures 4.8a and 4.8b present *tó₁* and *tó₂* for visual comparison.



Figure 4.8a: $Tó_1$ as a landscape term

Figure 4.8b: $Tó_2$ as body part term

It is possible to say that the terms $tó_1$ and $tó_2$ have a perceptual correlation. However, the understanding they present about how people appreciate their immediate landscape would seem to go beyond perception to underscore the already well-known phenomenon of a (human) body centred approach to spatial knowledge. That some languages impose body part terms on their landscapes based on shape, colour, and spatial references is well known from research. For example, Brown (2008, p. 160) observes that in Tzeltal, locative expressions use “possessed body part terms (e.g. ‘its head’, ‘its nose’, ‘its lips’, ‘its face’, ‘its belly’, ‘its butt’, ‘its foot’), which are mapped onto parts of inanimate objects by a precise geometrical algorithm – largely on the basis of shape”.

The epistemological phenomenon is well illustrated in the labels given to various parts of $tó_1$ as demonstrated in Figures 4.8a and 4.8b and examples 29-31. By using the body part terms in these examples to

hunchback (kyphosis). Consistent with the approach used to explain *tó* (mountain) we begin the discussion of *kpó* as a landscape term, continue with its paraphrase in minimal English, its usages as a body part term, and finally, its other polysemous usages regarding manmade places and things.

The landscape term *kpó* describes an entity that can be natural or manmade. The descriptions in examples 37 and 38 focus mainly on the unique features of the natural landform *kpó* (mound). Example 37, is a research participant's differentiation of *kpó* (mound) from *tó* (mountain). The expression looks like stating the obvious, and may be indicative of the ease with which the participant understands the two landforms as separate entities. The same participant goes ahead to specify the distinguishing features in example 38.

37. *Vòvòtótó kè- wε lè kpó kplé tó dòmè dè*
 Difference this-PL be.at mound and mountain between TP
kpó mé- nyé tó yé o
 mound NEG- is mountain FOC NEG.
 'The difference between *kpó* and *tó*, (is that) *kpó* is not *tó*'.

38. *Ànyígbá wó tèté dè kò yé kó kpó*
 Land POSS place INDEF only FOC tall mound

ví dè kò yá wò- gà- là- dzò lè é- tàmè.
 small only as for 2SG-REP-POT-straight be.at 3SG-peak.

é- lálía dè wó- mé- kpé- ε fù ó
 3SG-RED-climb TP 3PL-NEG-meet-HAB suffering NEG.

'The difference between *kpó* and *tó* is that *kpó* is not *tó*. *Kpó* is a small portion of the land that is raised. It has a flat top and is not difficult to climb.'

Kpó (mound) is modified with the adjective *kó* (tall) in example 38, which as in the case of *tó* (mountain) recalls the importance of the vertical dimension in the way the research participants conceptualised raised

grounds. They are landforms surrounded by a level area of land. Yet, while *kpó* (mound) shares the characteristic of height with *tó* (mountain), research participants gave clues to the fact that the height of *kpó* (mound) is of a different category, not comparable to the height of *tó* (mountain). In other words, *kpó* (mound) is a little above the ground whereas *tó* (mountain) is high above the ground. As illustrated in example 38, *kpó* (mound) co-occurs with the adverbialised adjective *vídè* (slightly). This suggests that *kpó* (mound), unlike *tó* (mountain) is only a rise and fall of a small area of vision and covers a small portion of *ànyígbá* (earth). An additional and stronger reason for understanding the difference in the verticality of both landforms is the concluding phrase of example 38 in which the participant mentions that comparatively, “it is not difficult to climb *kpó*”.

In follow-up discussions with research participants, they appreciated the steepness (gradient) of *tó* (mountain) as a function of its height and described it in terms of how difficult it is to climb or descend the *tó* (mountain) in question. Since participants failed to find a specific term that directly translates the idea of gradient and persistently used adverbial phrases similar to the one in example 38, it is possible to conclude that the research participant in example 38 understood the landform term *kpó* (mound) to be describing a type of raised ground which is only slightly raised and devoid of slope. *Kpó* (mound) could thus be described as a raised ground made of soft substance (earth). It is not very high, has a flat top, and covers a small area of land.

The distinction between *tó* (mountain) and *kpó* (mound) is also expressed through the use of verbs. For example, the verb *líá* (to climb) can

co-occur with *tó* (mountain) and *kpó* (mound), but the verbs *dzò* (to jump) and *flò* (to cross) never co-occur with *tó* (mountain) though they frequently co-occur with *kpó* (mound). In example 39, the agent is described as jumping from one side of *kpó* (mound) to the other without difficulty. *Dzò* (to jump) in this context takes on the meaning ‘jump over’, which under normal circumstances is impossible to do in the case of *tó* (mountain). One cannot jump over *tó* (mountain), hence, the native speaker will find it an anomaly for one to say *dzò tó* (jump mountain).

39. *É- dzò kpó- ɔ bòbòè*
 3SG- jump mound- DEF easily
 ‘S/he jumped over the mound easily’

40. *É- liá tó- ó*
 3SG-climb mountain-DEF
 ‘s/he has climbed the mountain’

In example 40, however, *tó* (mountain) complements the verb *liá* (to climb) and means in this context that the agent has climbed the *tó* (mountain). Sometimes, *kpó* also co-occurs with *liá* (to climb) and this only buttresses the earlier assertion that *tó* (mountain) and *kpó* (mound) share the dimension of height except that the former is just too high to be jumped.

Unlike *tó* (mountain), *kpó* (mound) as a natural landform neither participates in classificatory compounds nor possessive constructions. Thus, examples 41 and 42 are considered as ungrammatical by the native speaker.

41. **Hǒ kpó*
Hǒ mound
Hǒ people’s mound

42. **Hǒ fɛ kpó*
Hǒ POSS Mound
Hǒ’s mound

Figure 4.9 shows a prototypical *kpó* (mound) among the Àsògli Èvè, Table 4.6 lists *kpó* (mound) and its spatial parts, Figure 4.10 shows these labels while Table 4.7 paraphrases the properties of *kpó* (mound) using the metalanguage of Minimal English.



Figure 4.9: *Kpó* (mound) as a natural landform, Photograph by Author

Table 4.6 *Kpó* (mound) and its Spatial Parts

<i>Kpó</i> (mound)+ Postposition	Gloss	Standard Translation
<i>Kpó ñú</i>	Mound skin	Outer part of the mound
<i>Kpó tà</i>	Mound head	Peak of the mound
<i>Kpó dzí</i>	Mound upper surface	Top of the mound
<i>Kpó mè</i>	Mound containing region	Containing region/inside the mound
<i>Kpó xà</i>	Mound side	Side of the mound
<i>Kpó wó ñgò</i>	Mound POSS forehead	Front of the mound
<i>Kpó wó ñkúmè</i>	Mound POSS face	Front of the mound
<i>Kpó wó miàmè</i>	Mound POSS left hand side	Left side of the mound

the sense relation between them using Priestley’s (2017) NSM template for understanding polysemy regarding body part terms (Table 9).

Table 4.8: Explicating *Kpó₂* body part term “hunchback”

<i>Kpó₂</i>	
One part of someone’s body	BASIC CATEORY
This part is at the back of someone’s body	LOCATION
It is above all parts of the back of someone’s body	
It has a flat top which is above the places on all sides	SHAPE
This part of someone’s body cannot move as this someone wants	MOBILITY
Because someone’s body has this part, this someone cannot stand upright and cannot also move on all sides as this person wants	FUNCTION

As previously established, the main relationship between the two terms is perceptual. They tend to share a common shape considering that the landscape term refers to a protruded landform, while the body part term describes a protruded part of the back of a (human) body. Existing literature makes it clear that in understanding polysemy that has to do with body parts, it is usually the body part term that is superimposed on the landscape. However, in the case of *kpó₁* and *kpó₂* the direction of the relation between the terms is not exactly clear. Nevertheless, based on the assumption of the embodiment theory (Enfield, 2008), which proposes that humans label their environment from the perspective of how they understand their bodies, it is possible to assume that the direction of the relation is from the body part *kpó* (hunchback) to *kpó* (mound). For research ethical reasons, a sketch

instead of a picture of a hunchback is presented in Figure 4.11a as a visual comparison to the landform in Figure 4.11b.



Figure 4.11a: *kpó* as body part term

Figure 4.11b: *kpó* as landscape term

4.4.2.2 Derivatives of *Kpó* (mound)

So far, we have discussed *kpó* in its occurrence as a landform and as a body part. What is needed to complete the analysis of *kpó* is its derivative occurrences, which are associated with things of similar forms made by people to do things with. These things are named with classificatory compounds of N1 N2 structure such as *tèkpó* (yam mound), *núviákpó* (bed), *àbólòkpó* (oven for baking bread). In such contexts, the N1 is the classifier or purpose indicator of the manmade *kpó*. Example 43 is about the making of *tè-kpó* (yam mound). In this example, N1 *tè* (yam)

classifies N2 *kpó* (mound) and suggests the agricultural purpose for making the mound, namely, for growing the staple crop, yam, among the Àsògli people. Figures 4.12a and 4.12b present pictures of *kpó* (mound) for *tè* (yam).

43. *Adzo fò tè- kpó*
Adzo beat yam- mound
'Adzo had prepared a yam mound'



Figure 4.12a: *Tèkpó* (yam mound)

4.12b: *Tè* (yam)

Example 44 focuses on another type of *kpó* (mound) also for agricultural purposes, but which has a different shape. Unlike *tè-kpó* (yam mound) which has a cone or pyramid shape, this second kind of *kpó* has a flat surface. In this second case, *kpó* translates better as a 'bed'. This time the example is concerned with making a bed for nursing tomatoes. In this example, the N1 *núvíá* (nominalised verb, i.e., a verb and its complement) 'to nurse seeds' classifies *kpó*. Figure 4.13 shows *kpó* as a bed for nursing vegetables, in this case tomatoes.

44. *Adzo fò núvía- kpó vía tòmátòs*
Adzo beat nursery-mound nurse tomatoes
'Adzo prepared a nurse for tomato seedlings'



Figure 4.13: *kpó* as 'bed', Photograph by Author

Example 45 presents yet another example in which the purpose of the manmade *kpó* is not agricultural, but for bread making. It refers to the traditional oven used mostly by trained Àsòglì women for baking bread. Figure 4.14 is the picture of the *kpó* concerned.

45. *Adzo qì àbólò- kpó*
Adzo mould bread- mound
'Adzo has moulded a bread oven'

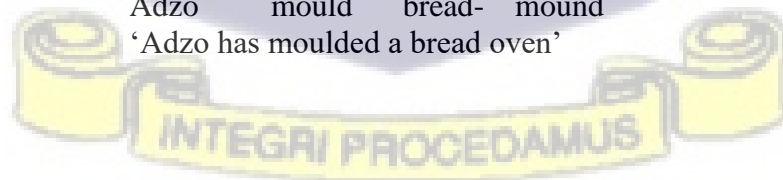




Figure 4.14: *Kpó* as ‘oven for baking bread’, Photograph by Author

Unlike the landform *kpó*, which does not admit possessive constructions (see examples 41 and 42), manmade *kpó* does. When conceived as a manmade feature, *kpó* participates in both classificatory compounds as well as possessive constructions. Examples of possessive constructions are seen in examples 46 and 47.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 46. | <i>Tè-</i>
Yam-
N1 | <i>kpó</i>
mound
N2 | 47. | <i>Àbólò-</i>
Bread-
N1 | <i>kpó</i>
mound
N2 |
| | | ‘Yam mound’ | | | ‘Bread oven’ |

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-----|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 48. | <i>Adzo</i>
Adzo | <i>wó</i>
POSS | <i>tè- kpó</i>
yam-bed | 49. | <i>Adzo</i>
Adzo | <i>wó</i>
POSS | <i>àbólò- kpó</i>
bread- mound |
| | | | ‘Adzo’s yam bed’ | | | | ‘Adzo’s bread mound/oven’ |

Examples 48 and 49 show that once classified *kpó* is classified, it can participate in connective possessive constructions, in which case the possessor (either an individual or a group of persons) has the right to and ownership of *kpó* and can do things with it.

4.4.3 *Kó* (hill)

The third category of raised ground among the Àsòglì Èvè is *kó*. The term may be translated as ‘hill’ in English. It has a verb form *kó* (to be tall) which relates to height and an adjectival form *kókó* (tall) derived from the verb by reduplication. Like *tó* (mountain) and *kpó* (mound), *kó* also has several translation equivalents, one of which translates to landform. The generic meaning refers to something of a specific elevation, shape, size and texture. *Kó* also has some sense relations with the body part term ‘fist’. Following the structure used above for discussing the terms, I begin with a discussion of *kó* as a landscape term, treat its spatial parts and explain it using the Minimal English metalanguage. Finally, I discuss translation equivalents of the term in other domains such as human biology (*vùkó* [blood clot]) and food (*àkplékó* [àkplé morsel]).

4.4.3.1 *Kó* as Landscape Term

In the domain of landscape, *kó* refers to a protruded landform with rugged edges and usually with a narrow top. The examples that follow illustrate the various features that the Àsòglì associate with *kó*. Example 50 concerns the prototype of the landform. It is made by termites and is therefore usually known as *bàbàkó* (termite hill) as shown in example 51.

In this example, the term has a classificatory compound structure which allows *kó* (hill) to be specified as a landform.

50. *Kó* *yà* *kò* *bàbà-* *wó- é* *wò-é*
lump as for only termite-PL- FOC make-3SG
'As for *kó*, it is made by termites'

51. *Bàbà-* *kó*
Termite- lump
N1 N2
'anthill'



Figure 4.15: A prototypical *bàbàkó* (anthill) among the Àsòglì, Photograph by Author

Apart from the propotype landform *bàbàkó* (termite hill), there are other landform derivatives from the verb *kó* (to be tall), for example, *kòkóé dží* (elevated area/region). The term *kòkóé dží* is used in different contexts to indicate slightly elevated space in distinction to the position of the speaker.

Though *kó* for the Àsògli is built by *bàbà* (termite), sometimes the termites vacate their abode, resulting the in the disintegration of *kó* (hill). When this happens, *kó* (hill) becomes a kind of *kpó* (mound) as shown in Figure 4.16.



Figure 4.16: *kpó*, a vacated *bàbàkó*, Photograph by Author

Just as we found differences between *tó* (mountain) and *kpó* (mound) as landforms, so also there are differences between *kpó* and *kò*. In the case of the difference between *kpó* and *kó*, the differences are established from the perspectives of shape and height. For example, we have seen that when termites vacate *kó* (hill), it degenerates, experiencing a reduction in height and losing the conical shape of *kó* (hill). It is therefore called *kpó* (mound). Similarly, though *kpó* and *kó* as landforms share the characteristic of height, *kó* (hill) is also perceived to be higher than *kpó* (mound). This perspective is also expressed through the type of verbs that co-occur with *kó* (hill). In Èvè, *kó* functions as the complement of the verb *líá* (climb) as shown in example 52.

52 *É-líá* *kó-ò*
 3SG-climb Hill-DEF
 ‘s/he has climbed the hill’

The explanation for this example and how it illustrates the difference between *kó* (hill) and *kpó* (mound) is not different from the analysis of the difference between *kpó* (mound) and *tó* (mountain) as in subsection 4.4.2 examples 39 and 40. In order to understand the landform term fully and allow for its definition using Minimal English metalanguage, I now treat the spatial parts of *kó* (hill).

4.4.3.2 *Kó* and its Spatial Parts

Kó (hill) as a landform has spatial parts similar to the other types of raised ground, *kó* (lump) as a landform where things can be done or located. These parts are indicated with postpositions. Table 4.9 provides a list of these parts while Figure 4.17 shows a pictorial label of the parts and Table 4.10 concludes with the explication of the landscape term *bàbàkó* in Minimal English.

Table 4.9 *Kó* and its Spatial Parts

<i>Kó</i> (hill)+ Postposition	Gloss	Standard Translation
<i>Kó ñú</i>	Hill skin	Outer part of the hill
<i>Kó tà</i>	Hill head	Peak of the hill
<i>Kó dzi</i>	Hill upper surface	Top of the hill
<i>Kó gbó</i>	Hill vicinity	Vicinity of the hill
<i>Kó mè</i>	Hill containing region	Containing region/inside the hill
<i>Kó xà</i>	Hill side	Side of the hill
<i>Kó wó ñgò</i>	Hill POSS forehead	Front of the hill
<i>Kó wó ñkúmè</i>	Hill POSS face	Front of the hill
<i>Kó wó miàmè</i>	Hill POSS left hand side	Left side of the hill
<i>Kó wó òsímè</i>	Hill POSS right hand side	Right side of the hill

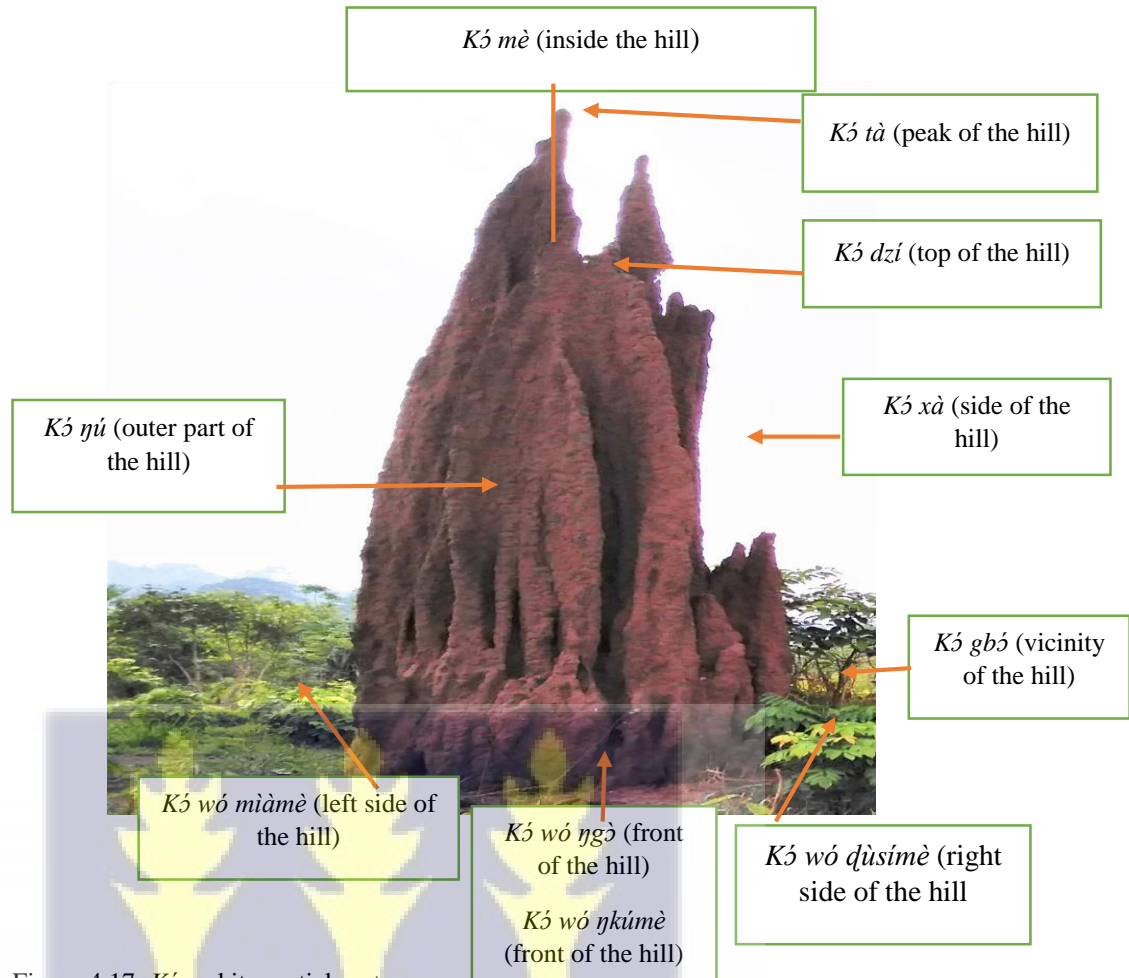


Figure 4.17: *Kó* and its spatial parts

Table 4.10: Explicating *bàbàkó* in Minimal English

- | | |
|----|---|
| a. | A place of one kind |
| b. | A place of this kind is small
A place of this kind is slightly high above the ground on all sides |
| c. | A place of this kind is made of earth |
| d. | A place of this kind has rough edges |
| e. | When people see a place of this kind, they can think like this:
“A place of this kind is made by termites” |

4.4.3.3: *Kó* as Polysemous Term

Kó as a landform term is related to the concept of *kó* as a fist. Fist is formed by tightly closing the hand with the fingers folded into the palm. Fist assumes the quality of a body part, although people do not possess a fist as they would an ear. It is therefore possible to argue that the relation

between the landform term $kɔ_1$ (hill) and $kɔ_2$ (fist) is of a different kind. This difference can be understood by noting the extension of meaning of $kɔ$ (hill) to include the form of small rounded particles in the shape of a lump. In this connection, it is better to translate $kɔ_1$ as ‘lump’ rather than ‘hill’. It is then possible to describe the relationship between $kɔ_1$ as landscape term and $kɔ_2$ as body part term as a similarity of form where the first looks like something rounded in the form of a lump just as the rounded particles of the land has similar lump-like shape above the ground.



Figure 4.18: $kɔ$ as ‘fist’, Photograph by Author

4.4.3.4 Other Derivatives of $kɔ$

There are other translation equivalents of the landscape term $kɔ$. Such derivatives arise when $kɔ$ occurs in classificatory compounds outside

the domain of landscape terms. I have chosen to illustrate this using examples from human biology and food. These are expressed in examples 53 and 54, which show that in both cases the nature of the specific element (N1) in the specific-generic order determines the meaning of *kó*. Thus, in example 53, *vùkó* is translated as ‘blood clot’, whereas in example 54 *àkplékó* translates as ‘morsel of *àkplé*’. One observes that the relation between *vùkó* (blood clot), *àkplékó* (*àkplé* morsel) and *bàbàkó* (termite hill) is about *kó*, landform, as it is made of earth, and *àkplékó* and *vùkó* as they are made from the coagulation of soft things into particles.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 53. <i>Uù kó</i>
blood lump
‘Blood clot’ | 54. <i>Àkplé kó</i>
<i>Àkplé</i> lump
‘a morsel of <i>àkplé</i> ’ |
|--|---|

4.5 Conclusion

Landscape terms associated with two categories of landforms – *ànyígbá* (earth, ground, piece of land, territory) and raised ground – have been the focus of analysis in this chapter. The terms included *ànyígbá* (earth), *tó* (mountain), *kpó* (mound), and *kó* (lump). Analysing the conceptual content of these Àsògli landscape terms benefits from, and also advances studies regarding cross-cultural variations in landscape classification (Bohnemeyer, Burenholt, Enfield & Levinson, 2004; Rybka, 2015, Bromhead, 2011). Understanding the terms and how they classify landforms provides a window into the ways in which the Àsògli conceptualise specific landforms. For example, the terms can be understood in terms of the information they provide about their referent. They also

provide epistemological and cultural information about how the people relate with it and put it to use.

Àsòglì landscape terms have several layers of meanings triggered by linguistic contexts, raising the much-debated question of translation equivalence. *Ànyígbá*, for instance, has four readings deduced from its interaction with other linguistic items. Thus, *ànyígbá* is ‘earth’ when approached from the perspective of the world; it is the overarching term for landscape. It is ‘ground’ when conceptualised as a place where people and other beings live, and things occur. Yet, *ànyígbá* is also classified as land when it is thought of as a territory of a group of people or things and finally, it is a piece of land when individuals or groups claim it and do things with and/or on it. These multiple conceptual indications of *ànyígbá* may confuse someone who speaks and thinks English, since English uses different terminologies for the different readings of the term.

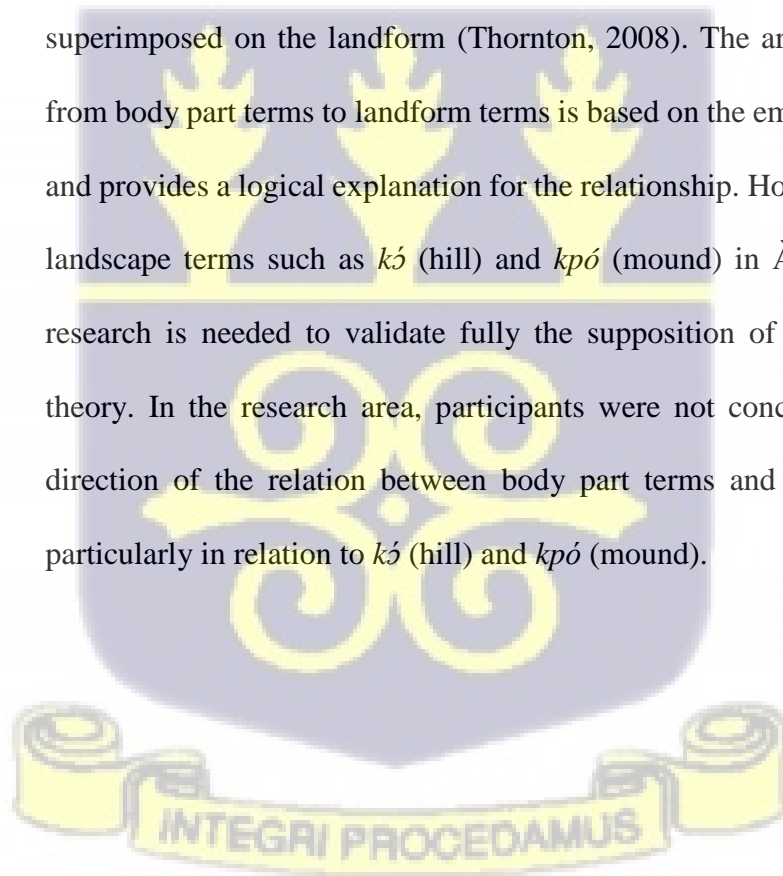
The domain of ‘raised ground’ and its sub-categories are described with landscape terms that provide adequate illustrations of cross-cultural variations in the denotational properties of landscape labels (Burenhult, 2008; Bromhead, 2011). For example, Mark et al (2011, pp. 9-10) have observed, “a landform in an area of moderate topographic variation might be spoken of as a ‘mountain’ by locals, but be referred to as a ‘hill’ by people from areas of more extreme topography”. This suggests that a people’s conceptualisation of landforms is linked to their immediate surroundings. Though the Àsòglì inhabit an area that may be described as having extreme topographic variation, they do not seem to make this type of distinction between mountains and hills. In this regard, it was found in

this research that there is the issue of translation equivalence in Àsòglì Èvè when it comes to terms such as *kó* (hill?) and *kpó* (mound?) it would also seem that the Àsòglì, unlike English speakers, conceptualise raised grounds that occur from the activity of termites as *bàbàkó* (termite lump) and not *bàbà tó* (ant hill).

Bromhead (2011, p. 70) analyses the difference between ‘mountain’ and ‘hill’ in English and concludes that a hill should be considered as a “scaled down” version of a mountain, drawing her conclusion from the contrasting features such as “very big” as against “not very big” and “very far” as against “not very far” from her explications. Evidently, size variation plays a key role in distinguishing between a mountain and a hill. This does not seem to hold in the case of *tó* (mountain) because the Àsòglì conceptualise the English concepts of mountain and hill as belonging to one category. While size is essential for defining *tó* (mountain), size variation does not motivate assigning new terminologies or labels to the landform, as seen in English and the Māori language (Murton, 2011). Size is, therefore, indeterminate for conceptualizing *tó* (mountain) among the Àsòglì. *Tó* (mountain) simply refers to raised rocky ground. This led to the assertion that the unique feature that distinguishes Àsòglì conceptualisation of *tó* (mountain) is the dimension of height. The Àsòglì landscape term *tó* (mountain) has a resemblance to the Yélf Dnye term *mbu*, (mountains, hill), which is equally unspecified for size, and is even used to describe crab mounds on the beach (Levinson, 2008). However, the term *mbu* (mountain, hill) categorises its referents based on their conical shape, whereas *tó*

(mountain) has in addition to shape height and material composition as its the most important features.

Another theme that emerges from the analysis regards landscape and body parts terms, a relationship that has been noted in existing studies (Cabnitz, 2008; Thornton, 2008, 2011; Mark, Turk, Burenhult & Stea; Murton, 2011). The relationship between landscape terms and body parts is established through the polysemous nature of the terms. *Tó* (mountain) relates to the human ear, *kpó* (mound) relates to a hunchback and *kó* (hill) to the fist. The analysis reveals that the sense relations are informed by perceptual similarities and it is usually the body part term that is superimposed on the landform (Thornton, 2008). The argument that it is from body part terms to landform terms is based on the embodiment theory and provides a logical explanation for the relationship. However, regarding landscape terms such as *kó* (hill) and *kpó* (mound) in Àsòglì Evè, more research is needed to validate fully the supposition of the embodiment theory. In the research area, participants were not conclusive about the direction of the relation between body part terms and landscape terms particularly in relation to *kó* (hill) and *kpó* (mound).



CHAPTER FIVE

ÀSÒGLÌ LANDSCAPE TERMS AND THEIR CONCEPTUAL

CONTENT: VEGETATION AND WATER FEATURES

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter treated two of the four domains into which Àsòglì landscape was conveniently divided for this research. This chapter takes up the domain of vegetation and water features. The interest is to understand the general notions of the Àsòglì about the vegetation area and water features of their landscape. Thus, the chapter explores processes of categorisation of vegetation and water features, the linguistic and cultural factors that inform the categorisation process and the meaning of the terms. Putting together and analysing information available from the linguistic structure of the terms and their relation to socio-cultural practices, the chapter maps out some ideas that bring about knowledge of the landscape that is culturally specific to the Àsòglì.

The chapter is structured as follows: The first part explores the three main categories of landscape terminologies associated with vegetation, beginning with *àvè* (forest), *dzògbè* (fire area/savannah) and *hò* (grove). Consistent with the approach adopted in chapter four, each landscape term is analysed in various linguistic contexts to derive its semantic content. Once derived, the meanings are paraphrased using the principles of Minimal English (ME) metalanguage. ME has been discussed in detail in chapter three (sub-section 3.2.2). Other aspects of the analysis concern the spatial parts of the referent landform where things can be located. The

discussion of spatial parts helps to answer the ontological questions regarding landscape terms.

The second part of the chapter, adopting the same approach, discusses the four terminologies associated with water features: *tsitsàtsà* (flowing water), *tò* (river), *tá* (pond) and *àfù* (sea). The chapter ends with a conclusion which relates findings with extant studies.

5.2 *Gběmè* (grass containing region/inside)

Gbě may be glossed as ‘grass’. However, it takes on other specialised meanings such as ‘bush’, ‘weed’ and ‘wilderness’ depending on the verb it collocates with (Ofori, 2008, p. 48, 52). In examples 1 and 2, *gbě* collocates with the verbs *fò* (to strike) and *ɲlò* (to make strokes on a surface) to express the act of clearing bush.

- | | | | | | |
|----|--------------|------------|----|---------------------------|------------|
| 1. | <i>fò</i> | <i>gbě</i> | 2. | <i>ɲlò</i> | <i>gbě</i> |
| | Strike | grass | | Make strokes on a surface | grass |
| | ‘Clear bush’ | | | ‘Weed bush’ | |

In example 3 where *gbě* (grass) co-occurs with the verb *tó* (to germinate), *gbě* (grass) is conceived of as an undesirable growth from the ground, which is in competition with the cultivated crop ‘cassava’. *Gbě* is thus interpreted as ‘weed’ in this context.

- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|--------------|----------|--------------------------|-----------|------------|
| 3. | <i>Àgbèli-</i> | <i>gblè-</i> | <i>è</i> | <i>mè</i> | <i>tó</i> | <i>gbě</i> |
| | Cassava- | farm-DEF | | containing region/inside | germinate | grass |
| | ‘The cassava farm is weedy’ | | | | | |

Gbě (grass) takes on a culture-specific meaning of ‘unconventional’ when it co-occurs with the verb *tsí* (to remain). As illustrated in example 4, the sentence suggests that the subject has adopted ways that do not conform

to the accepted mores of the people from her/his place of origin. This interpretation can be likened to the English expression “bush boy”, which means a person behaves in unconventional or uncivilised ways.

4. *É- tsí gbě*
 3SG- remain Grass
 ‘S/he is unconventional’

In general, *gbě* is related to vegetation. Therefore, to show a place where there is vegetation, the Àsòglì combine *gbě* with the postposition *mè* (containing region/inside). Thus, *gběmè* refers to a part of *ànyígbà* (land) dominated by various kinds of things growing from the ground. *Gběmè*, whose morphological structure is shown in example 5, is conceived as a place where vegetation grows unchecked, and usually uninhabited by human beings.

5. *È- gbě- mè*
 NPfx- grass/bush- containing region/inside
 ‘Vegetation area’

Some support for the idea that *gběmè* is the Àsòglì term for ‘vegetation area’ comes from its juxtaposition with *àfémè* (home). *Àfé*, consisting of the nominal prefix *à* and *fé* (house) is a polysemous inherent locative noun, which can be used with different meanings. For example, the Àsòglì Èvè use *àfé* as to indicate home to a social group (see example 6). In this case *àfé* connotes hometown/home-village/place of origin. This interpretation does not admit the postposition *mè* (containing region/inside).

6. *Kofi yì àfé*
 Kofi go house
 ‘Kofi has gone to his hometown’

In another instance, *àfé* can be used to imply home, usually constructed for domestic purposes as in example 7. In this case *àfé* entails *xò* (building) where people live.

7. *Àfé gã dé lè Adzo sí lè Hõ*
 house big INDEF be.at Adzo hand be.at Hõ
 ‘Adzo has a big house in Hõ’

8. *Xò dé lè ékè mègbé*
 Building INDEF be.at this.one back
 ‘There is a building behind this one’

However, when the postposition *mè* (containing region/inside) is suffixed to *àfé*, the meaning of *àfémè* extends beyond *xò* (building) inhabited by human beings to include its surrounding area (sometimes fenced in). *Àfémè*, therefore, connotes a home and its compound for an individual or a family unit.

9. *À- fé- mè*
 NPfx- house- containing region/inside
 ‘Home’

The semantic differences between *gbémè* (grass containing region/inside) and *àfémè* (home + containing region/inside) reflect in other domains like the fauna. For example, the Àsòglì refer to wildlife as *gbémèlāwó* as shown in example 10, while domestic animals are *àfémèlāwó* as illustrated in example 11.

10. *Gbě- mè- lā- wó*
 Grass- containing region/inside- Animal- PL
 ‘Wildlife’

11. *À- fé- mè- lā- wó*
 NPfx- house- containing region/inside -animal- PL
 ‘Domestic animals’

The semantic difference between *gběmè* (grass containing region/inside) and *àfémè* (home + containing region/inside) expressed in examples 10 and 11 can be extended to the perspectives of *gbě* (grass) and *àfé* (home) as expressions of certain cultural, moral and social perceptions illustrated in examples 12-15.

12. *Tsí gbě*
Remain bush
'Unconventional'

13. *Tsí dé àfé*
Grow at home
'Home-grown'

14. *É- lè gbè dzí*
3SG-be.at bush upper surface
'S/he is abroad'

15. *É- lè àfé*
3GS-be.at home
'S/he is home-bound'

These perspectives show how the terms *gběmè* (grass containing region/inside) and *àfémè* (home+ containing region) apart from labelling aspects of the landscape, reveal some primary and instrumental cultural values that are associated with the conceptualisation of *gbě* or *gběmè* for that matter in distinction to *àfé* or *àfémè*. In effect, these examples express some of the socio-linguistic content of *gběmè*, which help to glean the conceptualisation of the entity and place that the term represents.

Gběmè (grass containing region/inside) is neutral in terms of the kinds of things that grow out of the ground at a location. In view of this, the statement in example 16, means the subject is going to a vegetation area, maybe for hunting or farming, but it does not tell what kinds of things grow at the place.

16. *Mè- yì gbě- mè*
1SG-go grass-containing region/inside
'I am going to the bush and will be back'

m- á- vá
1SG-POT-come

Therefore, among the Àsògli, the first step in classifying *gběmè* (grass containing region/inside) is to categorise the kinds of things that grow out of the ground at the location. The Àsògli do not have the translation equivalent for the English term “plant”, but they differentiate three kinds of things that grow out from the ground. These are: *àtí* (tree), *gbě* (grass) and *kà* (vine). Each of these represents a number of things as illustrated in example 17.

17.	<i>Né wó- bé àtí dẹ é- fía bé tòmètí I</i>
	If 3SG-say tree TP 3SG-show COMP stem I
	<i>mean stem lè é- sí é- fẹ àmàkpà kpè;</i>
	I mean stem be.at 3SG-hand 3SG-POSS leaf big;
	<i>é- fẹ kẹ tsyé yì tó àlò- dzè tsyé</i>
	3SG-POSS root also go deep wrist-split also
	<i>lè é- ńú; gbě yà dẹ tòmètí mé- lè</i>
	be.at 3SG-skin; grass as for TP stem NEG-be.at
	<i>é- sí ò. Èkè- é tsyé mé- dè tó ò.</i>
	3SG-hand NEG. Root-DEF also NEG-went deep NEG.
	<i>Kà yà gbě dẹ kò wò-nyé gàké</i>
	Rope as for grass INDEF only 3SG-is but
	<i>éyà né wò- lè tsìtsì dẹ é- gbá- á</i>
	3SG if 3SG-be at RED.grow TP 3SG-wrap-HAB
	<i>dẹ ànyígbá àlò àtí àlò gbě ńú</i>
	On ground or tree or grass outer surface

‘When they say *àtí* ‘tree’, it means that it has a stem, its leaves are big/broad, it has branches and its roots are deep. As for *gbě* ‘grass’, it does not have a stem, its roots are shallow. As for the *kà* ‘vine’, it is a type of grass, which when it grows, spreads on the ground or creeps on a tree or grass’

In summary, for the Àsògli, an *àtí* (tree) has a stem, branches, deep root and broad leaves. Examples of *àtí* (tree) include *àblàdzó-tí* (plantain tree), *dè-tí* (palm tree) and *mángò-tí* (mango tree). Other tree-like plants such as

àtítótoé (shrubs) belong to the *àtí* family. *Gbě* (grass) has no stem and has shallow roots. Examples are *èfiògbé* (tigernut grass), and *kòklógbé* (fowl grass). Bushes and other wild growing leafy plants belong to the *gbě* (grass) family. *Kà* (vine), is a type of *gbě* (grass) that grows vertically or spreads on the ground or creeps on another *gbě* (grass) or *àtí* (tree) or some object or structure. An example is *tèkà* (yam vine).

The Àsòglì categorise *gběmè* (grass containing region) into *àvègbè* (forest cover), *dzògbè* (savannah/grassland), and *hò* (plantation). This categorisation is based on the kinds of things that grow on the land at a particular location. We shall now discuss these categories of vegetation in Àsòglì beginning with *àvègbè* (forest cover)

5.2.1 *Àvègbè* (forest cover)

Àvè means ‘forest’. *Àvègbè* (forest area), which is illustrated morphologically in example 18, refers to an area on *ànyígbá* (land) where the vegetation is predominantly *àtí* (tree) and *kà* (vine). Example 19 is an elaboration of a research participant’s understanding of the landscape term.

18. *Àvè- gbè*
Forest- region/area
‘Forest area’

19. *Tà é- fiá bé dè àtí- wó kplé kà- wó*
so 3SG-show COMP TP tree- PL and rope-PL

yé nyé àvè lè ànyígbá dzí
FOC Is Forest be at land upper surface

‘So, it means that it is trees and vines that form a forest on earth’

The suffixation of the plural marker *-wó* to *àtí* (tree) and *kà* (vine) suggests that the formation of an *àvè* (forest) requires more than one of these entities.

That number is important in the Àsòglì conceptualisation of *àvè* (forest) is

expressed in the famous Èvè adage, *àtí dèkà méwòò àvè o* (a single tree does not form a forest) glossed in example 20.

20. *Àtí dèkà mé-wò-ò àvè ò*
 Tree one NEG-do-HAB forest NEG
 ‘A single tree does not form a forest’

Generally, the number of *àtí* (tree) and *kà* (vine) at a particular location is important in conceptualising *àvè* (forest), yet, number variation plus other socio-cultural factors are important determiners in classifying *àvègbè* (forest area) into *àvètsú*, *àvèkó*, and *àvèkóé*. In what follows, I discuss the distinguishing features of these classes of forests, their conceptual content and finally, their ontological status.

5.2.1.1 *Àvètsú* (big forest)

Àvètsú is the largest type of *àvè* (forest) among the Àsòglì. Its morphological components are shown in example 21. *Àvètsú* literally means ‘male forest’.

21. *À- vè- tsú*
 NPfx- forest- male
 ‘male forest’

The term *(à)tsú*, made up of the nominal prefix *à* and the noun *tsú*, means ‘male’. However, it could have specialised interpretations in different semantic contexts. First, when used as an independent noun, there is the specialised interpretation of *àtsú* as ‘husband’ whose converse is *àsi* (wife). In this context, *àtsú* is interpreted as having a conjugal relationship with *àsi* (wife), his counterpart. The context of this kind of interpretation is illustrated in example 22, where Kofi is the *àtsú* (husband) of Adzo, his *àsi* (wife).

22. *Kofi kplé Adzo nyé àtsù kplé àsi*
 Kofi and Adzo is husband and wife
 ‘Kofi and Adzo are husband and wife’

(*À*)*tsú* assumes a second interpretation in the domain of animals and plants where it is suffixed to the name of the animal or plant. The main semantic distinction here is in connection with attribution of sex, based on reproductive capabilities; those that produce offspring as against those that do not. The male sex is marked on an animal by suffixing *àtsú* (male) to its name, while the female counterpart is marked with *nò* (mother). Example 23 shows how *àtsú* and *nò* are used to distinguish between a cock and a hen.

23. *Kòklǒ-tsú kplé kòklǒ-nò*
 Fowl-male and Fowl-female
 ‘Cock and hen’

Similarly, the *àtsú* (male) and *nò* (female) relation can be applied to plants to distinguish those that reproduce from those that do not. In example 23, *àdìbátsú* (male pawpaw tree) is known for not bearing fruits whereas *àdìbánò* does.

24. *Àdìbá-tsú kplé àdìbá-nò*
 Pawpaw- male and pawpaw- female
 Male pawpaw tree and female pawpaw tree

There is a third level culture-specific interpretation of *àtsú* (male), which does not designate sex (male-female dichotomy) but expresses the attributes of “maleness”. In this context, *àtsú* (male) complements the verb *dzò* (to originate) to express specific physical attributes such as strength and stoutness. This interpretation of *àtsú* (male) is illustrated in example 25.

25. *Nyónù- ò dzò àtsú*
 Woman- DEF originate male
 ‘The woman is manly’

The subject in example 25 is female; yet, the verb *dzɔ̀* (to originate) and its complement *àtsú* (male) are employed to describe her. This usage of *àtsú* (male) downplays the sex connotation of the term, expressing rather the cultural attribution of maleness. Hence, example 25 is better understood as ‘the woman possesses physical attributes’ such as being stout and/or muscular. There is, in addition to this, yet another culture-specific attributive usage of *àtsú* (male), which occurs in compound words as shown in examples 26 and 27. Here the culture-specific attribute of largeness is extended to express what is “beyond normal” expectation. Accordingly, *Kofi d̀i ǹtsú* means that ‘Kofi ate, in the view of the speaker, a “more-than-normal” ration of food’.

26. *Kofi d̀i ǹ- tsú*
Kofi eat thing- big
‘Kofi ate a large portion/quantity of food’

27. *Kofi ǹ òhà- tsú*
Kofi drink drink- big
‘Kofi drank a large quantity of (alcoholic) beverage’

Some interviewees were convinced that *àv̀tsú* (large forest) must be understood in relation to cultural qualities ascribed to the male—*àtsú*. Hence, they argued that the term is a cultural conceptualisation of the landform in which it is ascribed male characteristics. The referent of the landform term according to these interviewees, then, should be ‘male forest’, consistent with *k̀kl̀tsú* (cock) and *gb̀tsú* (buck). Thus, there seem to be a gendered meaning of *àv̀tsú* as a landform term. In this sense, *tsú* takes on meanings referencing size, quantity, volume and density among others. Some of these features are also ascribed to men as compared with women. For example, the cultural ideal of men is to perceive them as being

bigger than women, having more wealth, strength and energy than women, and so capable of providing for women. In this context, *tsú* (male) functions as a modifier that points to perceptual salience of as well as cultural conceptions of maleness attributed to *àvètsú* (big forest).

In addition to this, research participants have attempted to explain the significance of size in the conceptualisation of *àvètsú* (big forest) using the verb *kpè* (big) and the adverbialized adjective *gãdè* (huge) to modify the term. This is captured in example 28.

28. *Àvè- tsú yà kpè gãdè; É- mè*
 Forest-male as.for large big; 3SG- containing region

Tsyé dɔ nyóedé
 Also thick very much
 ‘As for *àvètsú*, it is very large very thick’

In functional terms, the adverbialised adjective *gãdè* (very big) serves as an intensifier for the verb *kpè* (large), thereby giving force to the size of landmass that a typical *àvètsú* (big forest) covers. That landmass is important in the conceptualisation of *àvètsú* (big forest) can be traced to its collocational tendencies as Goddard (2012) suggests. It is observed that *àvètsú* (big forest) co-occurs with adjectives of enormity such as *gã* (big), *kpè* (large), and *lòlò* (fat) but not diminutives like *ví* (small) and *túkúí* (tiny). Native speakers consider example 29 and not 30 as the more acceptable expression.

29. *Àvètsú gã dè* 30. ??*Àvètsú ví dè*
 Forest big INDEF Forest small INDEF
 ‘A big forest’ ‘A small forest’

Similarly, the significance of size for labelling *àvètsú* (big forest) makes it that the *Àsòglì* would generally not describe an *àvètsú* (big forest) from the

perspective of smallness. Thus, example 31 may be syntactically correct, but semantically strange to the indigenous speaker of Àsògli Èvè.

31. ??*Àvètsú kè mé- kpè kúrá o.*
 Forest DEM NEG- large at all NEG
 ‘This *àvètsú* (big forest) is not big at all’

The significance of size in defining *àvètsú* (big forest) is not limited to landmass; it also extends to the size of *àtí* (trees) that makes it up. That is, density (number of trees clustering and thickness) and mass (size) of trees are equally important to the conceptualisation of *àvètsú* (big forest) (see example 32).

32. *Àvè- tsú- a nà- nyá bé nú kliklikli- wó*
 Forest- male- TP 2SG POT-know COMP thing IDEO- PL

lè é- mè; Àtí gã- wó èlã
 be.at 3SG- containing region/inside; Tree big- PL animal

wɔ- àdà- wó tsyé lè é- mè
 do- wild- PL also be.at 3SG- containing region/inside

‘When we talk about *àvètsú*, you should know that it means there are scary things, big trees and wild animals in it’.

To substantiate the importance of big trees as a distinctive feature of *àvètsú* (big forest), research participants listed the following as examples of *àtí gã* (big tree): *òdúm* (*milicia regia*), *wáwá*, *mahogany* (*macrophylla*), neem tree (*Azadirachta indica*), Rose wood, *Uùtí* (*ceiba pentandra*), *Yòkúti* (shea butter tree), and *dzìdótí* (baobab tree). These trees are big to the extent that they have big and strong stems and long branches, broad leaves as well as long life spans. They are resistant to seasonal change.

Apart from size, density is another feature that distinguishes an *àvètsú* (big forest) from other kinds of *àvè* (forest). Referring to example 28, the research participant describes the density of an *àvètsú* (big forest)

using the verb *dó* (to become thick). In Èvè, *dó* is used in association with other things like overgrown hair (see example 33).

33. *Èà- à dó*
 Hair- DEF become.thick
 ‘The hair is bushy’

In example 28 in particular, *dó* (thick) is further intensified with the adverbialized adjective *nyóedé* (very much) to suggest a sense of ‘saturation’ or maximum possibility of density that an *àvètsú* (big forest) may have.

Example 34 presents a research participant’s conceptualisation of *àvètsú* drawing on memories of *Àmègāvē*, which was a well-known *àvètsú* (big forest) among the Àsògli in the past. This forest received its name from a god called *Àmègā*. In contemporary times, *Àmègāvē* has lost its characteristics of *àvètsú* (big forest) because of forest depletion.

34. *Àvè dé lè Klèfé wó- yó- ó bé Àmègāvē*
 Forest INDEF be at *Klèfé* 3PL-call-HAB COMP *Àmègāvē*
Those days né è- yì àvè- -é mè
 Those days if 2SG-go forest-DEF containing region/inside
Twelve o’clock tsyé lá à- sú sú bé five-thirty to six
 Twelve o’clock also TP 2SG-think COMP five-thirty to six
èlàbéná the sun rays are not touching the ground. É-
 because the sun rays are not touching the ground. 3SG

mè fá míamíamía éyà há- wó- é nyé àvètsú
 containing region/inside cool IDEO 3SG kind-PL-FOC is forest
 ‘There is a forest at *Klèfé* called *Àmègāvē*. In those days when you enter the forest around twelve o’clock you would think it is five-thirty to six in the evening because the sun rays do not touch the ground. It is very cool. Such are the types of forests called *àvètsú*’

The idea of density is conveyed by alluding to the impenetrability of sunrays, temperature and illumination. The density of a typical *àvètsú*

(big forest) results in the formation of a canopy, which is as a result of the interlacing between the *àlòdzèwó* (branches), *àmàkpàwó* (leaves) of the *àtíwó* (trees) and *kà* (vine) that binds them together.

Regarding temperature, the verb *fá* (cool) together with the ideophone *míamíamía*, are used to modify *àvètsú* (big forest). *Míamíamía* produces a sense of freezing, and in the context of the example, it is chilly irrespective of the time of day. Being typically chilly, therefore, an *àvètsú* (big forest) is not susceptible to seasonal change and therefore not prone to burning. Illumination, on the other hand, is implied by reference to time. The research participant compares the extent of visibility in an *àvètsú* (big forest) around midday, in the tropics, to that of the light from the last dimmed rays of the setting sun, which usually occurs by 18:00 hours (GMT), after which darkness sets in rapidly.

Example 35 suggests significant hindrance to human mobility as another indicator of density in *àvètsú* (big forest). This hindrance also implies that though *àvètsú* (big forest) provides limited affordance, it was a place to find much game and served as good grounds for hunting, even if such hunting was reserved for the exploits of experienced hunters only. Thus, in a rather exaggerated manner, some of my interviewees described *àvètsú* (big forest) as a vegetation area which people never enter. What was sustained upon further probing of this statement and confirmed by other interviewees is the truth that in the past a typical *àvètsú* (big forest) was never cultivated. Figure 1 is a photograph of the remains of *Àmègãvè* at *Klèfé*.

35. *Né.nyé bé mí- bé àvètsú- a é- nyé àvè dé*
 If is COMP 1PL-COMP big forest-TP 3SG-is forest INDEF

àmè dèké mé- dè é- mè kpó ò
 person none NEG-went 3SG-containing region/inside PFV NEG
 'If we talk about *àvètsú* (big forest), (then) it is a type of *àvè* (forest) in which
 no one has ever been'



Figure 5.1: *Àmègāvè, àvètsú* (big forest) at *Klèfé*. Photograph by Author

The description of *àvètsú* (big forest) in physical geography is tropical rain forest. There is a marked difference between the modifiers, 'rain' and *tsú* (big). This provides a good illustration of the diversity in the cultural conceptualisation of the *Àsòglì* and what might be termed the universal ontology of the physical world. *Àvètsú* (big forest) emphasizes more of perceptual salience, while the geographical description places emphasis on the climatic condition associated with such forests. However, see later discussion of *dzògbè* (fire area/grassland) and its relation to climatic conditions.

Apart from the above-listed physical attributes, the Àsògli associate other intangible or religio-cultural beliefs with *àvètsú* (big forest) when it is conceived as a place, *àvètsú mè* (containing region/inside of *àvètsú*) in example 36 cited earlier and repeated below. In this example, *àvètsú* (big forest) co-occurs with *mè* (containing region/inside) to intimate that the landform is perceived as an abode for creatures associated with danger and fear: *lã wòàdàwó* (wild animals) and *nú kliklikliwó* (fearful things).

36.	<i>Àvètsú-</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>nà-</i>	<i>nyá</i>	<i>bé</i>	<i>nú</i>	<i>kliklikli-</i>	<i>wó</i>
	Forest-	TP	2SG POT-	know	COMP	thing	IDEO-	PL
	<i>lè</i>	<i>é-</i>	<i>mè</i>			<i>àtí gã-</i>	<i>wó</i>	<i>Èlã</i>
	be.at	3SG-containing	region/inside			tree big-PL		animal

wò-àdà -wó *tsé* *lè* *é -mè*
do-wild -PL also be at 3SG-containing region/inside
‘When we talk about *àvètsú*, know that it means there are scary things, big trees and wild animals in it’.

Examples of *lã wòàdàwó* (wild animals) listed by research participants include: *dzàtá* (lion), *àtíglínyì* (elephant), *gbèhà* (warthog), *hùdèkúkù* (panther), *àhlǎé* (antelope), *hò* (pythons), *glè* (cobra). *Nú kliklikli* (fearful things), as used by the research participant, refers to other kinds of creatures in *àvètsú* (big forest) that are not necessarily physical. *Nú* translates as ‘thing’, which is a generic noun. Its emptiness makes it a place-filling word for tangible or intangible entities.

Using ME, we can now pull together the ideas expressed in the analysis to reconstruct the meaning of the landscape term *àvètsú* (big forest) in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Explicating *Àvètsú* (big forest) in Minimal English

-
- a. A place of one kind
 b. It is a very big place
 c. There are many things growing out of the ground there
 d. People do not live in places of this kind
 e. Many animals live in places of this kind
 f. When people see a place of this kind, they can think like this:
 The things that grow out of the ground here are very close together”
 “Because of this, when one is in this place one cannot see the sun above; one cannot feel the sun touching one’s body”
 “Because of this, this place is always cool”
 “Because of this, this place is always dark”
 g. The Àsòglì think of places of this kind like this:
 “animals that can do bad things to people live in places of this kind”
 “some beings that one cannot touch live in places of this kind”
 “some beings that one cannot see live in places of this kind”
 “Because of this, people do not want to go to this big place”
-

5.2.1.2 *Àvèkó(é)* (hill-like forest)

Àvèkó is another kind of *àvè* (forest). Its morphological structure shown in example 37 is directly related to the concept of *kó* (lump) discussed in the domain of raised ground in Chapter Four (see subsection 4.5). The characteristics of *kó* (hill) are protrusion, smallness, ruggedness and solidification. The Àsòglì use the feature of “protrusion” associated with *kó* (hill) in distinction to *àvètsú* (big forest) to label the landform *àvèkó*.

37. À- vè- kó
 NPfx- forest- hill
 ‘Small forest’

In this context, however, *kó* (hill) in *àvèkó* (hill-like forest) deals most likely with shape, i.e., protrusion, rather than size. A typical *àvèkó* (hill-like forest) has the shape of a hill-like vegetation in the midst of a savannah area. Thus, an *àvèkó* (hill-like forest) assumes a protruded form

as opposed to the spread over a large area of land associated with *àvètsú* (big forest). Example 38 provides clues to the features of *àvèkò* (lump-like forest)

38 *Tà é- fía bé né è- fò xlā àvèkò lá*
So 3SG-show COMP if 2SG-beat around forest small TP

à- kpó Dzògbè gàké fí kè xé
2SG POT-see Grassland but this.place this TP

mí- yó- ó bé àvèkóé lá à- kpó
1PL-call-HAB COMP small forest TP 2SG POT-see

bé dèkò wò-lè àbé fí xé
COMP only 2SG-be.at like this.place TP

mí -lè káká vá tó dè fímí
2PL-be at extend come stop TP there

‘So, it means that you will find grassland when you go around *àvèkò* (lump-like forest). But where we refer to as *àvèkóé* begins here and ends there’.

Dwelling on the conceptual content of *kó* (hill) as discussed under raised ground, the label *àvèkò* (hill-like forest) unlike *àvètsú* (big forest), connotes accessibility and/or the ability of people to move around it. An *àvèkò* (hill-like forest) is also usually not cultivated. This means it is equally limited in affordance, though like *àvètsú* (big forest) it also offers some hunting opportunities. There is another type of landform of the forest category, which shares close similarity with, but is smaller than *àvèkò*. The Àsògli refer to this reduction in size by suffixing the diminutive morpheme *-é* to *àvèkò* as shown in example 39.

39. *Àvè- kó- é*
Forest- Hill- DIM
‘Smaller hill-like forest’

The diminution achieved through suffixing *é* provides some morphological evidence for the emphasis on size as the main distinctive feature between *àvèkó* (hill-like forest) and *àvèkóé* (smaller hill-like forest). Another essential feature that distinguishes *àvèkó(é)* from other forms of vegetation is that it is surrounded by *dzògbè* (fire area/savannah) (see subsection 5.3). Figures 5.2 and 5.3 are pictures of prototypical *àvèkó* (hill-like forest) and *àvèkóé* (smaller hill-like forest) respectively.



Figure 5.2: *Àvèkó* (hill-like forest) at *Hòsità, Hò*. Photograph by Author





Figure 5. 3: *Àvèkóé* (smaller hill-like forest) at *Hèvé fédǒ, Hǒ*. Photography by Author

At this point of the linguistic analysis of *àvèkó* (hill-like forest) and *àvèkóé* (smaller hill-like forest), it is useful to expand our understanding of both terms by paraphrasing their meanings. However, because of their shared characteristics, I paraphrase only *àvèkó* (hill-like forest), following the principles of the representation of meanings in the NSM framework using a metalanguage of Minimal English (see Chapter Three for meaning of Minimal English).

Table 5.2: Explicating *Àvèkó(é)* (smaller hill-like forest) in Minimal English

-
- | | |
|----|---|
| a. | A place of one kind |
| b. | It is not very big |
| c. | People can think of this place like this:
“There are things growing out of the ground there”
“People do not live in places of this kind”
“Animals live in places of this kind”
“other beings live in places of this kind”

“People can do thing in places of this kind” |
-

5.2.1.3 Àvè (forest) and its Spatial Parts

Concepts of *àvè* (forest) as a place are expressed in spatial language using postpositions and frames of reference. Postpositions identify spatial parts in contact with or detached from a reference object; in this case, the parts or regions associated with *àvè* (forest). Note that this discussion of *àvè* (forest) and its spatial parts includes all the variants of *àvè* (forest), namely, *àvètsú* (big forest), and *àvèkó(é)* ((smaller) hill-like forest). Table 5.3 lists *àvè* (forest) and its spatial parts and regions, while Figure 5.4 presents a pictorial view of the labels.

Table 5.3: *Àvè* (forest) and its Spatial Parts

<i>Àvè</i> Postposition	(forest)+ Gloss	Standard translation
<i>Àvè ñú</i>	Forest skin	Outer part of the forest
<i>Àvè tó</i>	Forest edge	Edge of the forest
<i>Àvè gbó</i>	Forest vicinity	Vicinity of the forest
<i>Àvè mè</i>	Forest containing region/inside	Interior parts of the forest
<i>Àvè xà</i>	Forest side	Side of the forest
<i>Àvè wó ñgò</i>	Forest POSS forehead	Front of the forest
<i>Àvè wó ñkúimè</i>	Forest POSS face	Front of the forest
<i>Àvè wó mègbé</i>	Forest POSS back	Back of the forest

Àvè mè refers to the containing region or interior part of the forest. Here one refers to a place inside the forest. Conceived as place, *àvè mè* serves as abode for plants and wildlife. *Àvè ñú* describes the outer part of the forest. It shows the places along the forest, which may not be the exact border but places along the border of the forest. *Àvè tó* refers to the edge of

the forest. *Tó* (edge) refers to the exact border of an entity, therefore, points to the border of the forest. *Àvè gbó* points to the vicinity around the forest. It does not point at any specific part of the forest but areas around the forest. *Àvè xà* describes an area that is next to the forest. It points more to the periphery of the *àvè* (forest).

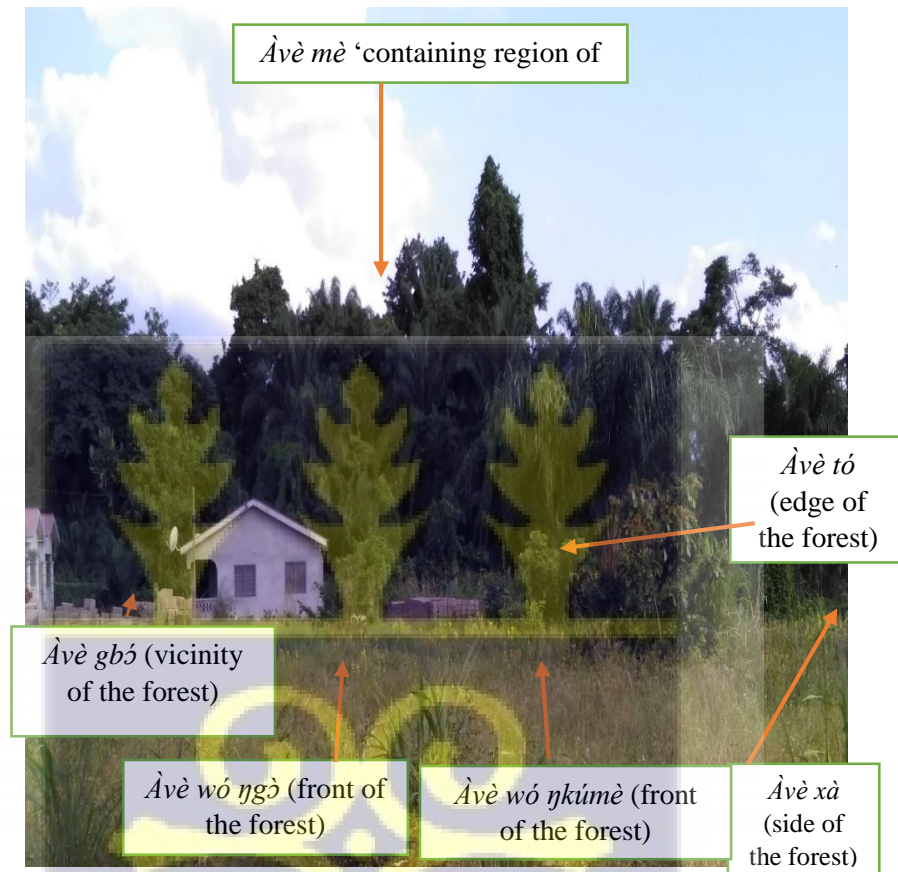


Figure 5.4: *Àvè* (forest) and its parts

5.2.2 *Dzògbè* (fire area/savannah)

The term is compositional, made of the noun *dzò* (fire) and the postposition *gbè* (area/region) as shown in example 40.

40. *Dzò- gbè*
 Fire- area
 'Fire area'

It has been argued that *dzò* (fire) serves in Èvè as it does in many languages as a prototypical referent for the idea of ‘hot’ (Ameka, 2015; Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2007, p. 772). There is, thus, a close connection between the words for fire or burning and the idea of ‘hot’ in many languages. For example, *fo utá* (get fire) describes the state of becoming hot in Sɛkpɛlé, a language spoken by the people of Likpe in the Volta Region of Ghana. According to Ameka (2015), the Èvè language lacks a term for temperature and speakers would translate same using *dzòxàxà*, the nominalized form of the predicate expression *xà dzò* (to be hot). He notes that in its nominalized form, the “object status” of *dzò* (fire) is proven. As Ameka further notes, the term *dzò* (fire) has multiple meanings and is used in different scenarios. For example, as a noun its meanings extend from fire to juju (black magic), hot temperature, hot weather, and ambience. As a derived adjective, *dzódzòé* (hot) is used to describe hotness of water and food. Similarly, there can be different perspectives of verbal expressions in which *dzò* (fire) “functioning as object” can be used to express “the hotness of things” (pp. 53-55). These perspectives come from some of the things that can be done to the vegetation using fire. To burn the vegetation, the Asòglì say:

41. *Tó dzò gbě*
 Torch fire grass
 ‘Burn the grass’

When they do so, the vegetation burns, which is expressed as:

42. *Gbě- é bì dzò*
 Grass-DEF burn fire
 ‘The grass is burnt’

On this view, it can be argued that among the various possibilities, it would seem the meanings of the term *dzò* (fire) connoted in the term *dzògbè*

(fire area/savannah) is associated with burning and hot climatic conditions such as hotness (of weather) temperature.

The clue for such a constructional interpretation can be found in other compound words, which take their meaning from *dzò* (fire) as the referential nominal as in example 43a-c:

43a. *Dzò- vé*
 Fire- forest
 N V
 ‘Fire forest/January’

b. *Dzò- dzè*
 Fire- contact
 N V
 ‘the onset of bush burning/February’

c. *Dzò- gbè- tsì*
 Fire- area- water
 N PostP N
 ‘Fire area water’

Examples 43 a and 43b are names of the eleventh and twelfth months of the Èvè calendar, (roughly January, and February). These months are experienced as the hottest. The other months of the Èvè calendar are: *Dzòvé, Dzòdzè, Tèdòxé, Fòfié, Dàmè, Màsà, Sìàmlóm, Dàsìàmimè, Ànyònyò, Kèlè, Àdèàmèkpóxě, Dzòmè* and *Fòàvè*. According to Spieth (2012[1906]), the agricultural activities in the twelfth month, *dzòdzè* (fire contact/February) are “grass burning and hunting” and the first maize season, which begins after clearing of the ground through hoeing and the burning of the grasses in February and harvested in June, is referred to as *dzògbè kpèli* (fire area maize/February maize) (p. 359). The interpretation of the name of the twelfth month itself follows Ameka’s (2015, p. 53) observation that “The noun *dzò* in the interpretation of ‘fire’ can occur in a

two-place construction where it is presented as the Effector-Theme in Subject role”, for example 44:

44. *Dzò bì àfè-é*
Fire burn house-DEF
‘Fire consumed the house’

Ameka notes also that the structure in this example can be reconstructed in such a way that *dzò* (fire) becomes “the sole participant in the situation [of fire burning the house]”. Thus, Ameka translates *dzòdzè* as ‘fire started’.

These illustrations suggest an interpretation of the landform term *dzògbè* (fire area/savannah) as the conceptualisation of the burning and climatic conditions associated with a type of vegetation area. We can thus paraphrase *dzògbè* as a region that is fire prone or burnable and is susceptible to seasonal fluctuations in temperature (climatic heat). This conceptualisation, in view of the observations of Spieth (2012), most likely relate to cultural practices and the people’s experience or sensation of ambience heat in vegetation areas like *dzògbè* (fire area/savannah). One can claim that *àvètsú* (big forest) is a perceptual concept, while *dzògbè* (fire area/savannah) is a concept associated with the climate. In this sense, *dzògbè* (fire area/savannah) is conceptually similar, but semantically contrastive to the English term ‘[rain] forest’.

There is another and more directly cultural practice-oriented meaning of *dzògbè* (fire area/savannah). From this perspective, *dzògbè* (fire area/savannah) connotes deforestation through human activity such as cultivation. It describes vegetation resulting from years of slash and burn practices. Hence, *dzògbè* is sometimes a deforested *àvè* (forest). This type of vegetation is slightly different as it is made of a few *àtí* (tree) and *kà*

(vine), but more *gbě* (grass). However, *dzògbé* can also be natural. In example 45 the research participant describes the deforested type of *dzògbè* (fire area/savannah).

45. Previously *lá* forest areas-*wó* *yè* cover the
 Previously TP forest areas-PL FOC cover the
- greater part of *Hǒ* ... *gàké* periodic cultivation *vá*
 greater part of *Hǒ* ... but periodic cultivation come
- wò-é* *bé* *àvè-wó* *tsrɔ̃* *zù* *dzògbè*
 do-3SG COMP forest-PL perish become grassland
 ‘Previously, a greater part of *Hǒ* was forest land but periodic cultivation has destroyed the forests, turning them into savannah/grassland’

It is not surprising for the Àsògli to recognise that the landform *dzògbè* (fire area/savannah) is a type of vegetation that can result from cultivation. They must certainly have learned this truth from cultural practices regarding farming. The Àsògli farmer prepares new farms at the beginning of every agricultural season. Each new farm, which was usually cultivated on a different portion of land (shifting cultivation) was always preceded by land preparation, which included the slashing of the bush, felling of shade-producing trees, and burning of the slashed grasses and hacked down trees to free the land for planting at the first rains (Ofori, 2008).

These traditional farming methods are the cultural practices that must have been part of the knowledge behind the labelling of *dzògbè* (fire area/savannah). From this perspective, *dzògbè* can also be translated as ‘farmland’, except that it is used for certain crops such as cereal and vegetables while others like maize and yams are grown in *àvè* (forest). Here

too, we can gain a further understanding of the landform *dzògbé* by paraphrasing it using the Minimal English Metalanguage as shown in Table 5.4. Figure 5.5 is a photograph of a typical *dzògbè* (fire area/savannah) found around an *àvè* (forest) while 6 shows a naturally occurring *Dzògbè* (fire area/savannah).



Figure 5.5: *Dzògbè* (farmland) around *Àvè* (forest), *Àkóféfé*. Photograph by Author



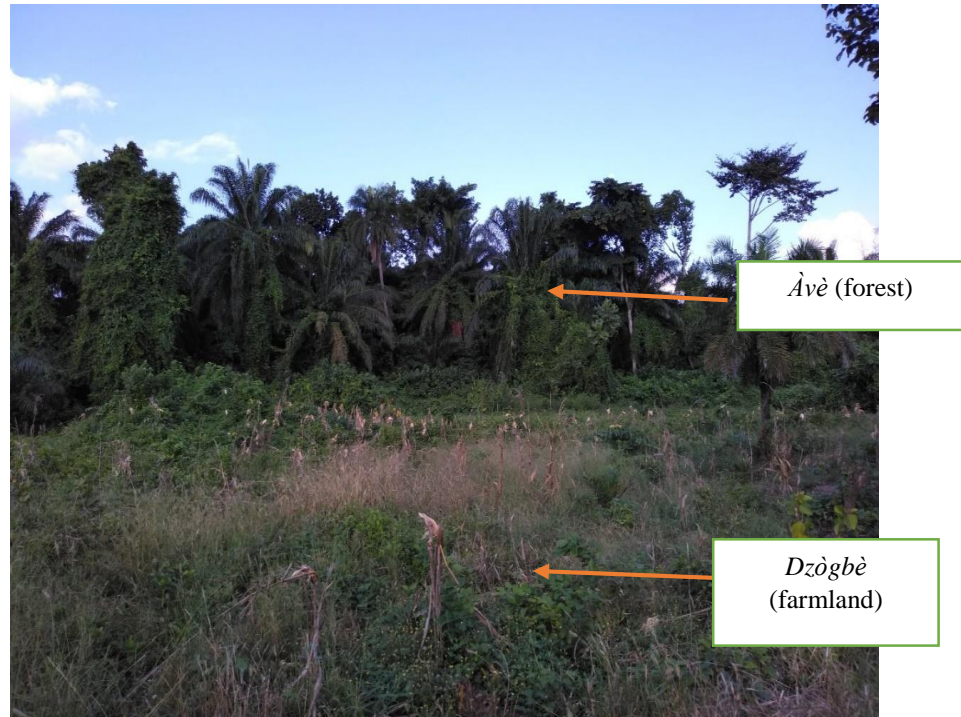


Figure 5.6: A naturally occurring *dzògbè* (fire area/savannah), Kalakpa Forest Reserve. Photograph by Author.

Table 5.4: Explicating *Dzògbè* (fire area/savannah) in Minimal English

-
- a. A place of one kind
 - b. When one is on one side of this place they cannot see the other side
 - c. When one is in this place they can see the sun above
Because of this one can feel the way one feels when they are near fire
 - d. When people see a place of this kind, they can think like this:
 - Many things not too hard grow out of the ground in this place
 - “one can do things with fire to this place”
 - “people can do things at this place because they want to grow things out of the ground to eat”
-

Unlike other categories of landforms, *dzi* (upper surface) is the only postposition that occurs with *dzògbè* (fire area/savannah). *Dzògbèdzi*, literally means the upper surface of *dzògbè* as illustrated in example 46.

- 46. *Dzò- gbè- dzi*
Fire- area- upper surface
‘Savannah region’

Yet, in this case, the literal gloss is deceptive, since *dzí* does not seem to be functioning as a postposition. Instead *dzògbèdzí* is written as one word referencing Savannah regions that exhibit *dzògbè* (fire area/savannah) type of vegetation and its associated weather conditions. In this case, *dzògbèdzí* (savannah area) is more of a place name (toponym) and the Àsògli use it to refer to the northern part of Ghana, which is mostly savannah region. Thus, the argument that Àsògli concept of *dzò* (fire) in *dzògbè* (fire area/savannah) relates to climatic conditions is especially underscored in this construction.

5.2.3 *Hò* (heap/collection of, grove)

The literal meaning of *hò* is ‘a heap of’ or a ‘collection of’ a thing. Ofori (2008) discusses *hò* in the domain of farming practices and argues that it functions as a complement for verbs that depict actions related to clearing farmland in preparation for cultivation. Such verbs include *kplò* (to gather) and *lò* (to collect) as illustrated in examples 47 and 48.

47. *Kplò hò*
gather collection of vegetation debris
‘gather vegetation debris’

48. *Lò hò*
collect collection of vegetation debris
‘collection of vegetation debris’

Ofori (2008, p. 53) argues that the underlying meaning of the verb *kplò* (to gather) is to “gather undesired things together in a place for the purpose of moving them away to make the place tidy and neat”. *Lò* (to collect), on the other hand, has to do with the “manner in which cleared weeds are gathered in a heap with the help of strong forked sticks or wooden

poles and collected and deposited at the edges of the farm” (p. 54). When *hò* (collection of/grove) functions as complement in both cases, there is the shared meaning of ‘collection of a thing’. But the main idea is about the putting together of debris of vegetation in the form of sticks and shrub remnants after burning.

There is reason to argue that the meaning of a “collection of a thing” is what was adopted into the domain of landscape. When the Àsòglì talk about *hò* they are referring to the ‘collection’ of a specific type of tree at a location. Because of the specificity inherent in the term, *hò* (collection of/grove) occurs in compounds in which the name of the specific type of tree is mentioned (see examples 49-51).

- 
49. *Pàmprǒ* -*hò*
Bamboo -collection
‘Bamboo collection’ bamboo grove
50. *Bímbòl* -*hò*
Bimbol -collection’
‘Bimbol grove’
51. *Dě* -*hò-è*
Palm -collection-DIM
‘small Palm grove/plantation’

It is notable that in the case of *dě* (palm), the diminutive marker is attached to the compound. Such vegetation may occur naturally or may be cultivated. When it is cultivated, *hò* (collection of) may be translated as “plantation” to the extent that a plantation refers to “a large farm, especially in a hot part of the world, on which a particular type of crop is grown” (Cambridge dictionary). When it occurs naturally, however, *hò* (collection of) may not have any direct English equivalent. A research participant summarises the argument so far when he describes the landform *hò*

(collection of/grove) in example 52. Figures 5.7 and 5.8 are examples of *dèhòè* (palm grove) and *pàmprǒhǒ* (bamboo grove) respectively.

52. *Né wó- bé hò dè, é- fía bé*
 if 3PL COMP grove TP, 3SG-show COMP

àtí dèká ñkú kò- é lè fímí. àbé
 tree one type alone-FOC be.at there. like

dè- hò dè (è)dè dèdè kò- é. lè kpódéñú
 Palm-collection TP palm alone only FOC be.at example

mè pàmprǒ-hò lèe àblàdzó-hò lè-e
 containing region/inside bamboo-grove exists Plantain-grove be.at 3SG

Bimbòl-hò, kplé dè- hòè tsé lè- é
 Bimbol-grove and Palm-grove also be.at 3SG

‘When they say *hò* it means there is only one kind of tree there. Like palm grove is made of palm trees only. For example, there exists bamboo grove, plantain grove and bimbol grove.



Figure 5.7: *Dèhòè* (palm grove), *Kpògãdzí*. Photograph by Author

The more specific types of *hò* such as *pàmpròhǒ* (bamboo grove), *dèhòè* (palm collection) among others, co-occur with postpositions. Table 5.5 is a list of *pàmpròhǒ* (bamboo grove) and its spatial parts while Figure 5.9 illustrates the labels and as with the other terms, Table 5.6 paraphrases the term *hò* (grove) using the Minimal English Metalanguage.

Table 5.5: *Pàmpròhǒ* (bamboo grove) and its spatial parts

<i>Pàmpròhǒ</i> (bamboo grove)+Postposition	Gloss	Standard translation
<i>Pàmpròhǒ mè</i>	Bamboo grove + containing region	Containing region of the bamboo grove
<i>Pàmpròhǒ ηgò</i>	Bamboo grove + forehead	Front of the bamboo grove
<i>Pàmpròhǒ ηkímè</i>	Bamboo grove + face	Front of the bamboo grove
<i>Pàmpròhǒ mègbé</i>	Bamboo grove + back	Back of the bamboo grove
<i>Pàmpròhǒ wó mìamè</i>	Bamboo grove + left side	Left side of the bamboo grove
<i>Pàmpròhǒ wó òisimè</i>	Bamboo grove + right side	Right side of the bamboo grove
<i>Pàmpròhǒ wó àxà</i>	Bamboo grove + side	Side of the bamboo grove
<i>Pàmpròhò gbó</i>	Bamboo grove vicinity	In the vicinity of bamboo grove



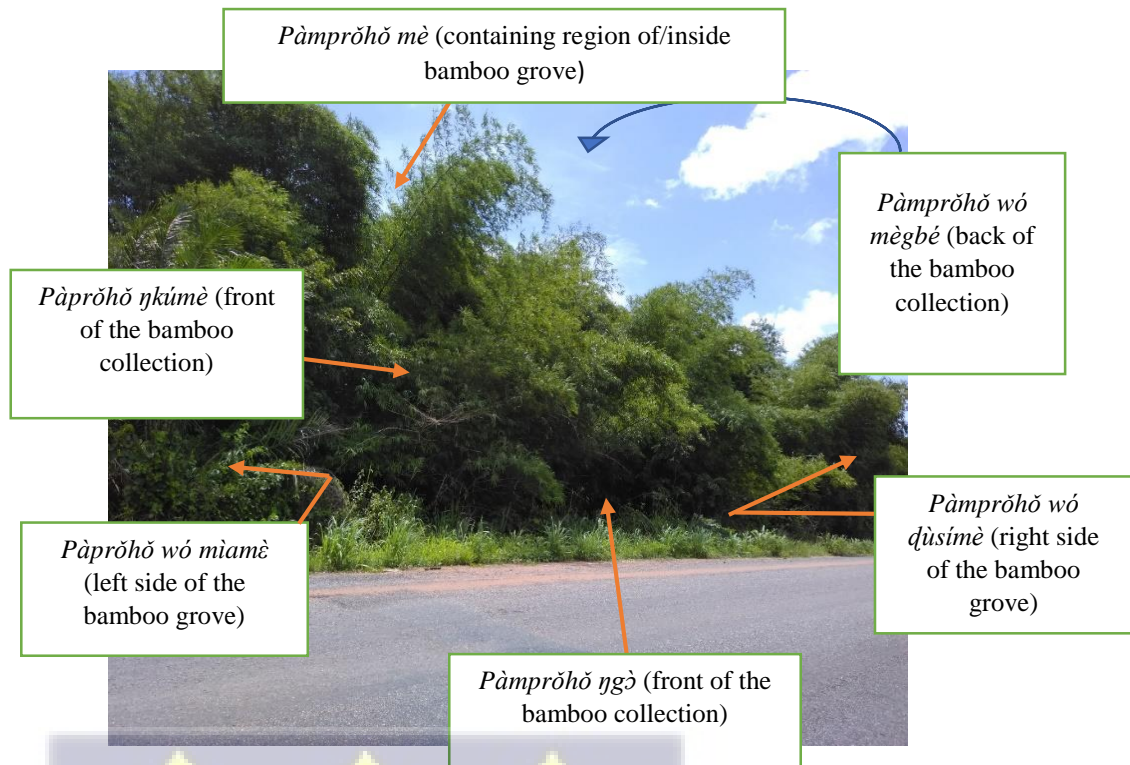


Figure 5.9: Pàmprǒhǒ (bamboo grove), Àkǒféfé and its spatial parts

Table 5.6: Defining hò (grove) in Minimal English

a.	<p>A place of one kind When a person sees a place of this kind, this person can think like this: “the trees here are of one kind” “they are very near one another” Because of this when one is on one side, one cannot see the other parts “people can do some things in places of this kind”</p>
----	--

Apart from these landscape terms dedicated to vegetation there are others for waterbodies. In the section that follows I apply the same theory and analytic methods to discuss the landscape terms for waterbodies in Àsògli.

5.2 Water Features

This section discusses water related landscape terms among the Àsògli Èvè. The goal is to explore the conceptual content of the terms as it is reflected in language. There are four basic categories in this domain.

These are: *tsì/tsìtsàtsà* (water/stream), *tò* (river), *tá* (pond) and *àfù* or *àtsíafú* (sea). Consistent with the approach adopted in the previous discussions, each term will be analysed in context first and subsequently defined using Minimal English metalanguage.

5.3.1. (È)tsì (water) as “substance”

The Èvè word *tsì* can be glossed as ‘water, liquid, fluid’ (Ameka, 2015, p. 61). The basic referent of *tsì* (water) is mostly the natural liquid which the Àsògli use for economic, domestic and other purposes. But there are contexts in which *tsì* (water) takes on specialized meaning such as ‘pus’ in the context of a boil (Ameka, 2015, p. 61). Apart from the basic and such specialized meanings, *tsì* (water), can feature in N1-N2 classificatory compounds to denote different kinds of liquids. In such structures, *tsì* (water) functions as the referential element (N2) to be classified by N1. Accordingly, in examples 55, 56 and 57, the generic nominals *nó* (breast), *àgòné* (coconut) and *dzè* (salt) serve as classifiers for the referential nominal *tsì* (water) to indicate the kind of water in reference.

55. *Nó* *tsì*
Breast water
‘Breast milk’

56. *Àgòné* *tsì*
Coconut water
‘Coconut water’

57. *Dzè* *tsì*
salt water
‘Saline water’

A similar linguistic structure is used to differentiate between *dzì-tsi* (rainwater) illustrated in example 58 and *ànyígbá-tsi* (ground water) shown in example 59.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 58. <i>Dzì- tsi</i>
Sky water
'Rainwater' | 59. <i>Ànyígbá- tsi</i>
Earth water
'Water on land' |
|---|---|

Examples 55 to 59 concern water as a thing or substance as regards its form, *tsífáfá* (cold water), or usage, *tsìnòndò* (drinking water), or source, *dzìtsì* (rainwater). But none of these examples expresses the idea of a water body in the sense of a landform. However, as Ameka (2015) explains, Èvè terms that indicate different types of water tend to use compounds that derive from places in the landscape—water bodies—in which the water is observed as illustrated in examples 60 to 62. For examples 60 and 61, see also Ameka (2015, p. 66).

- | |
|---|
| 60. <i>Tò- mè tsi</i>
River- containing region/inside Water
'River water' |
| 61. <i>Àfù- mè tsi</i>
Sea- containing region/inside Water
'Sea water' |
| 62. <i>Tá- mè tsi</i>
Pond- containing region/inside water
'Pond water' |

These types of water indicate the water bodies in which they are observed, namely, *tò* (river), *àfù* or *àtsíafú* (sea) and *tá* (pond). In addition to these, interviewees identified *tsìtsàtsà* as a description for water bodies that were smaller and more sluggish than *tòsísí* (river). I discuss *tsìtsàtsà* as a term describing a class of smaller flowing water bodies, which may be

equivalent to the English terms ‘stream’, ‘creek’ and ‘brook’. The discussion will begin with *tsìtsàtsà*, continue with *tò* (river), *tá* (pond) and *àfù* (sea).

5.3.1.1 *Tsìtsàtsà* (water wandering/stream) and *Tòsísí* (river running/river)

The Àsòglì combine *tsì* (water) with adjectives to refer to particular types of waterbodies. For instance, interviewees compounded *tsì* (water) with the adjective *tsàtsà* (wandering) to refer to small waterbodies such as ‘streams’, ‘creeks’ and ‘brooks’, which are known to have a smaller volume of water. *Tsàtsà* (wandering) is a verbal adjective derived from the reduplicated verb stem *tsà* (to wander). *Tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water) is glossed in example 63.

63. *Tsì* *tsà-tsà*
Water RED-wander
‘Wandering water/stream’

The deverbal adjective *tsàtsà* (wandering) has semantic implications for unravelling the Àsòglì conceptualisation of its referent. First, the verbal stem *tsà* (to wander) is a motion verb; it entails movement. Therefore, the adjectival derivative *tsàtsà* (wandering) is basically indicative of motion. When the Àsòglì combine *tsì* (water) with *tsàtsà* (wandering) – *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water), they mean a waterbody that is not static, but flows with a longitudinal dimension. Another semantic content of the verbal stem *tsà* (to wander) implies sluggishness, which is often without any specific destination. As a wandering water, therefore, *tsìtsàtsà* moves sluggishly with little current.

The Àsòglì's description of small waterbodies as *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water/stream) finds full expression in a research participant's response to the question, "tòsìsì dèwó lè éfià?" meaning "Are there some rivers here?" His response is captured in example 64:

64. *Nú dèké mé- lè- è míá-yó bé tò-sìsì*
 Thing none NEG-bet.at -2SG 1PL-call COMP tò-run RED

áfé o gàké náné, èdè lè- é
 before NEG but Something, some be.at 3SG

wó- yó- ó bé Kálàkpá tsyé dè Kálàkpá
 3PL-call-HAB COMP Kálàkpá INT TP Kálàkpá

mé- tsà tó míá gbó lé tútútú o.
 NEG-roam through 1PL side like.this INT NEG.
 'There is nothing here that we may refer to as *tòsìsì* (river), though there is one called *Kálàkpá*, but then *Kálàkpá* does not flow through our land'

The first observation is that although the question was in connection with *tòsìsì* (river), the research participant does not only consciously avoid using *tòsìsì* (river) to describe the waterbodies within the territory but also categorically rejects the possibility of describing any waterbodies in the area as *tòsìsì* (river). This reluctance to use *tòsìsì* (river) to describe the waterbodies in the area found further supports during my interview with other research participants who systematically used *tsìtsàtsà* as in example 65. Alternatively, some participants collocated the proper name (place name) of the waterbody and the verb *tsà* (to wander) as in example 66 to describe the various waterbodies in the research area.

65. *Núwðé nyé tsì-tsàtsà dè tó Àxðé...*
Núwðé is water-RED wander INDEF through Àxðé...
 'Núwðé is a 'wandering' water that passes through Àxðé...'

66. *Xáqòmè tsà tó Bànkóé kákáá yì...*
Xáqòmè wander through *Bànkóé* ideophone go....
'*Xáqòmè* 'flows' through *Bànkóé* all the way to

Thus far, one gains the impression that participants conceptualise *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water/stream) through perceptual salience. They know *tsìtsàtsàwó* (wandering water/streams) as a flowing surface water, which is smaller than a river. In other conversations with participants, I gained the impression that they also associate *tsìtsàtsà* with a landform that lacks permanence of flow, limited volume of water and the possibility of drying up when there is no rainfall. The "smallness" of *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water/stream) makes waterbodies of this kind friendlier to movement or land travel from one side to the other. All the *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water/stream) I visited in the research area could be forded at vantage points with some ease and less risk. Figure 5.10 shows an example of *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water/stream) called *Núwǎé* in *Hǒ*.



Figure 5.10 *Núwǎé* as *Tsìtsàtsà* in *Hǒ*. Photograph by Author

However, *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water/stream) that dries in the dry season is referred to as *dzògbè-tsi* (fire area/savannah water) (see subsection 5.4, example 43c). *Dzògbè* (fire are/savannah) has been explained as a vegetation area which is prone to burning-- a landform term that encapsulates the harsh climatic conditions of hotness, dryness and burning potential of the vegetation. In other words, the type of vegetation *dzògbè* (fire area/savannah) describes is prone to the effects of seasonal changes. Thus, the Àsògli transfer this knowledge in connection with seasonal change on vegetation to describe a similar characteristic of certain *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water/stream), as shown in the case of a participant's description of *Kòbié*, a *dzògbètsi* in example 67:

67. *Kòbié, éyá é- nyé dzògbètsi dè kò. Tsi kè- wó*
Kòbié, 3SG FOC-is fire area water INDEF only. water this-PL
... È-kpó tèté dè- wó ètsi dè- wó
... 3SG-see place INDEF-PL water INDEF-PL
- tsì- dzà- nòlí dzáá kò à- kpó wó.*
water-fall- season alone only 2SG-POT-see 3PL.

‘*Kòbié*, that one is just a *dzògbètsi*. These [types of] water...You see, there are some places, there are some waterbodies that you find in rainy seasons only’

Similarly, “*tsì* + adjective” structure is employed to describe other water-related landscape features which have relatively little volume of water as illustrated in example 68 with *tsìtsétsé* (waterfall).

68. *Tsi- tsétsé*
 Water- RED bear.fruit
 ‘Waterfall’

Evidently, adjectives that describe *tsì* (water) contain perceptual readings as evidenced by the term for waterfall *tsìtsétsé* (fruiting water) (see Figure

5.11). The verb *tsé* (to bear fruit) is usually associated with fruit-bearing trees, such as, mangoes and oranges. For instance, the expression for fruiting mango and orange trees are exemplified in 69 and 70 respectively.

69. *Máŋgò* -ò *tsé*
Mango DEF fruit
'The mango tree has borne fruits'

70. *Àkùtú* -ò *tsé*
Orange DEF fruit
'The orange tree has borne fruits'

From this perspective, the term *tsìtsétsé* can translate as 'water fruiting'. Thus, an analogy is drawn between a fruiting tree and a waterfall based on the way the waves flow from the top of a mountain similar to the way fruits hang from the top of trees. In that case, the basis of the perceptual analogy is the dimension of height.



Figure 5.11: *Tsìtsétsé* (waterfall), *Òtè*, *Avatime*. Photography by Researcher

In view of the argument advanced so far, it is possible to say that the Àsòglì consistently use two linguistic strategies in labelling water bodies of flowing surface water of relatively smaller volume than a river and sometimes reduced speed of flow. The first strategy is perceptual salience and the second is to combine the basic term *tsì* (water) with adjectives. Following this supposition, I argue that the Àsòglì do not coin basic landscape terms for flowing surface water bodies that are smaller than rivers. They rely on the basic term, *tsì* (water) and attach the adjective *tsàtsà* (roaming) to form a cover term for all such water bodies. In specialized cases, another perceptually salient feature of the landform concerned will combine with *tsì* (water) to form the required term such as *tsìtsétsé* (waterfall).

5.3.1.2 *Tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water) and its Spatial Parts

When *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water) is conceived as a place, it is possible to refer to its precise parts or regions using postpositions. Yet, *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water) offers an interesting domain when it co-occurs with spatial relators because the specific adjectives or modifiers are dropped. For instance, postpositions do not occur directly with *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water), therefore, we cannot have *tsìtsàtsà dzí* (upper surface of the wandering water) or *tsìtsàtsà tó* (bank of wandering water). Instead, native speakers will use the metonymic approach that allows them to use just *tsì* (water) to talk about *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water) when there is a need to use *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water) together with a postposition. Table 5.7

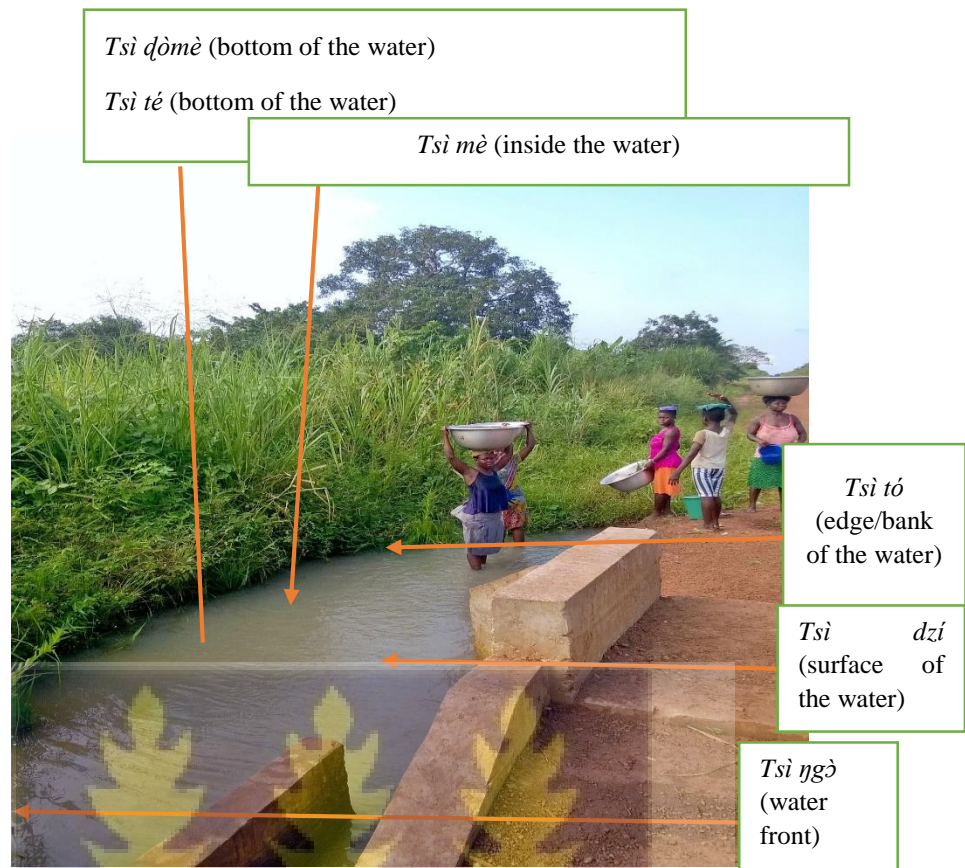


Figure 5.12a: Wàtsě, tsítsàtsà (roaming water) and its Spatial Part, Tàklà.
Photograph by Author

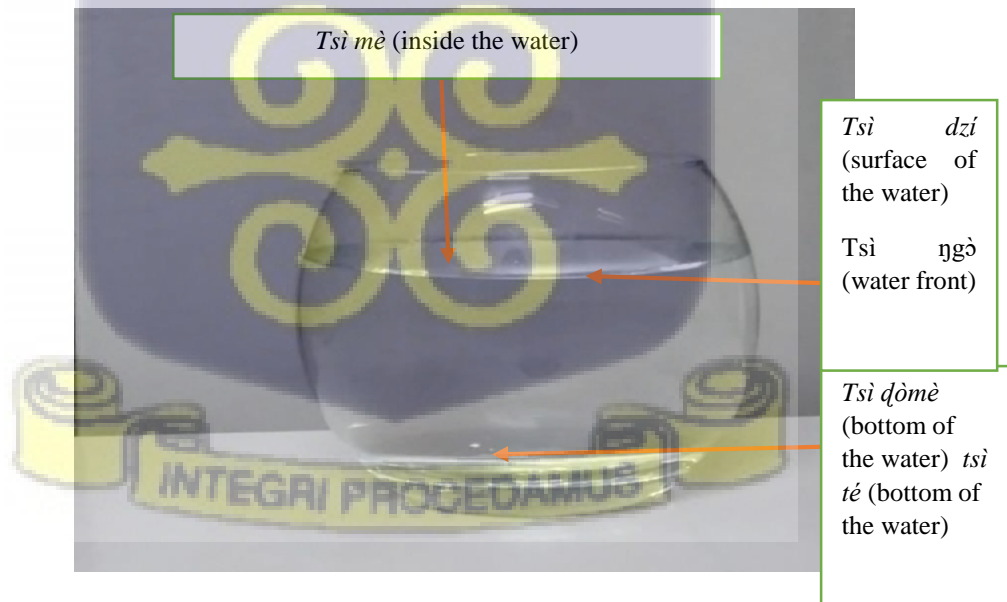


Figure 5.12b: Tsi (water) as substance its Spatial Parts. Photograph by Author

Tsì tó refers to the ‘edge/bank of the water’, however, because *tó* (edge) denotes the precise border of a thing, it is assumed that it applies solely to places that have specific demarcations. As a result, the referent of *tsì* (water) in *tsì tó* (edge or bank of water) can only be a waterbody, rather than the substance “water”, since *tsì* as a substance does not have borders or banks. Water in a vessel (substance) does not have clearly defined edges.

Both *tsì ηgð* (water front) and *tsì wó ηgð* are restricted to the domain of waterbodies. Yet, they are semantically different. The Àsògli use *tsì ηgð* to label the surface of the waterbody, which is similar to *tsì dzí* (upper surface of the water). *Tsì wó ηgð*, on the other hand, expresses the direction of flow. Thus, *tsì wó ηgð* is in contradistinction to *tsì wó mègbé* (back of the water), which is also determined by the direction from which the water flows. However, both *tsì* as waterbody and *tsì* as substance have *tsì dzí* (surface of water), *tsì mè* (containing region of water), *tsì dòmè* and *tsì té* (bottom of water) are parts common to both concepts. The above analysis of the landscape term *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water/stream) makes it possible to propose the following paraphrase in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8: Explicating *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water) in Minimal English

-
- | | |
|----|--|
| a. | A place of one kind |
| b. | A place of this kind is not a big place |
| c. | A place of this kind has water |
| d. | Places of this kind have two sides |
| e. | A place of this kind has a long side |
| f. | Water in this place moves |
| g. | When someone is somewhere on one side of a place of this kind, this someone can think like this:
“some time before this, this water was in a place near this place”
“Some time after, this water will be in another place near this place” |
-

5.3.2 *Tò* (*sísí*) (river escaping)

Tò (river) refers to a natural sizeable fresh watercourse with flow. *Tò* (river), thus, shares the characteristic of “flowing” with *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water). *Tò* (river), however, flows with more speed or current than *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water) and this is reflected in its collocation with *sísí* (escaping) – *tòsísí* (water escaping). Structurally, *tòsísí* is composed of the basic term *tò* (river) and a duplicated verb *sí* (to escape). By reduplicating the verb *sí*, the adjective *sísí* (escaping) is derived to describe a perceptual feature of the river. The adjectival derivational process is consistent with deverbal adjectives in the Èvè language. In this process, the reduplication maintains the high tone of the verb root, which is unlike the verbal nominalisation process where the first syllable will bear a low tone, irrespective of the tone of the root term (Ameka, 1991, p. 80).

Tò (river) is inherently marked for largeness. In some cases, however, adjectives of dimension are employed to distinguish the size of various *tò* (river). The Àsògli have *tò gã* (big river) (example 71) and in rare cases *tò ví* (small river) (example 72). Smallness can also be expressed in a negative sentence (example 73).

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-----------|--|-----|---------------|-----------|
| 71. | <i>Tò</i> | <i>gã</i> | | 72. | <i>Tò</i> | <i>ví</i> |
| | River | big | | | River | small |
| | ‘Big river’ | | | | ‘Small river’ | |

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|-----------|------------|-------------|----------|
| 73. | <i>Tò</i> | <i>kè</i> | <i>mé-</i> | <i>lòlò</i> | <i>o</i> |
| | river | this | NEG-large | NEG | |
| | ‘This river is not large/big’ | | | | |

A typical *tò gã* (big river) is a deep fast flowing watercourse that gains size from the tributaries that empty into it. One cannot navigate it on foot, but by canoes and under some circumstances, pontoons or boats. In

the rainy season, some of them swell up or even break their banks to become a dangerous impediment for land travel. A research participant’s description of *tò gã* (big river) presented in example 74 substantiates this assertion. Due to the volume of water in *tò* (river) the dry season has minimal effect on it; it does not dry up.

74. *Né wó-be tò dè, é- fia bé é- lòlò.*
 If 3PL-say River TP, 3SG-show COMP 3SG-fat.

M- à-té ñú á- tsò- é kplé àfò ò.
 2SG-NEG-POT-can POT-cut-3SG and leg NEG.

À-hiã àkró gódóo
 2SG-need canoe by.all.means

‘If they say *tò* ‘river’, it means it is big. It cannot be crossed by foot. One needs a canoe by all means’

There is no known *tò* (river) within Àsòglì territory. The research participants named *Àmù-gã* (*Àmù*-big) “the Volta River/Lake” and *Tòdzẽ* also known as *Uùtò* as typical examples of *tò* (river). Figure 14 shows *Tòdzẽ* as an example of *tò* (river).



Figure 5.13: *Tòdzẽ* or *Uùtò* at Nyivé, Ghana. Photograph by Author

5.3.2.1 Tò (river) and its Spatial Parts

When the Àsògli consider *tò* (river) as a place, they indicate its parts with postpositions. Table 5.9 is a list of the various parts of *tò* (river). Figure 5.15 shows the labelled parts. The meaning of the parts is the same as discussed previously under *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water) (see subsection 5.6.2.1).

Table 5.9: *Tò* (river) and its Spatial Parts

<i>Tò</i> (river) + Postposition	Gloss	Standard translation
<i>Tò mègbé</i>	River + back (of body)	Behind or back part of the river
<i>Tò gódò</i>	River + other side	Other side of the river
<i>Tò fò</i>	River + horizontal surface	The upper surface of the river
<i>Tò ñú</i>	River + skin	Along the river
<i>Tò nǔ</i>	River + mouth	Bank of the river
<i>Tò tó</i>	River + edge	Edge or bank of the river
<i>Tò dzi</i>	River + sky	On top if the river
<i>Tò ñgò</i>	River + front	In front of the river
<i>Tò wó mègbé</i>	River POSS back	Behind or back part of the river
<i>Tò wó ñgò</i>	River POSS front	Front of the river
<i>Tò wó qùsímè</i>	River POSS right hand side	Right hand side of the river
<i>Tò wó miàmè</i>	River POSS left hand side	Left hand side of the river

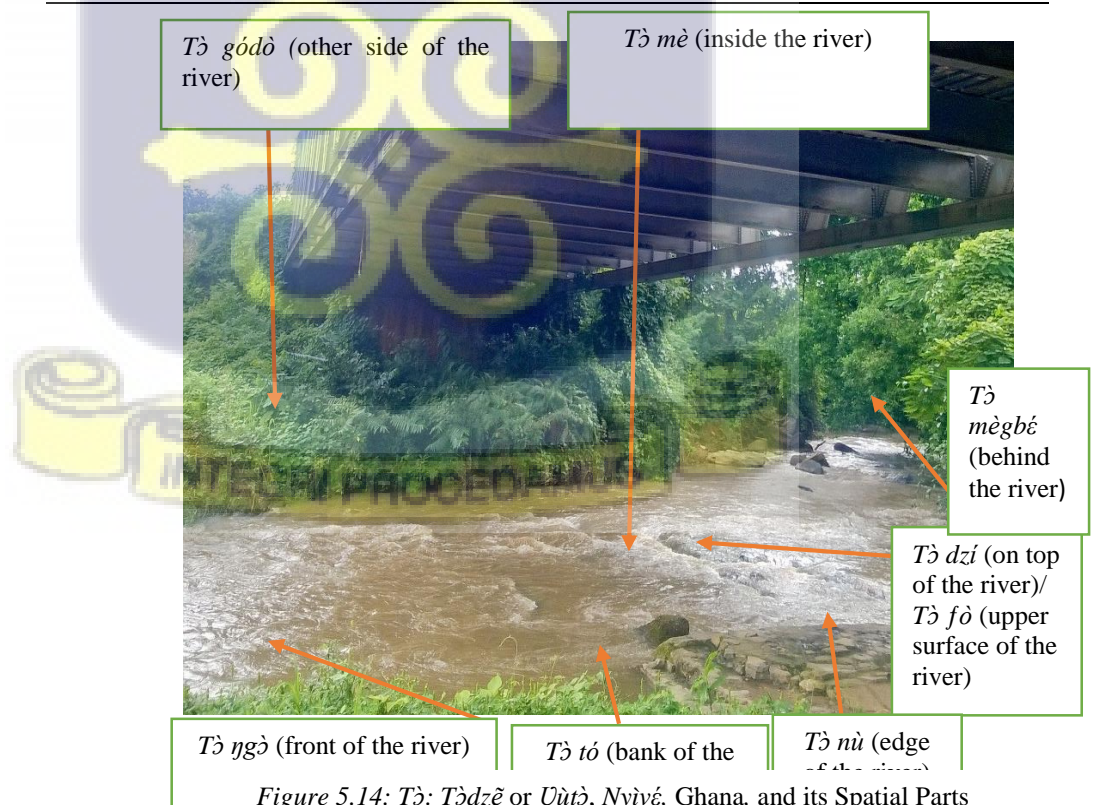


Figure 5.14: *Tò*: *Tòdzẽ* or *Uùtò*, *Nyivé*, Ghana, and its Spatial Parts

The analysis thus far allows us to paraphrase *tò* (river) using the Minimal English Metalanguage as shown in Table 5.10. From this paraphrase, the similarities between *tò* (river) and *tsitsàtsà* (wandering water) are augmented.

Table 5.10: Explicating *tò* (river) in Minimal English

a.	A place of one kind
b.	Places of this kind are big places
c.	Places of this kind are long places
d.	There is a lot of water in places of this kind
e.	The water in places of this kind is always moving
f.	Places of this kind have two sides
g.	When a person is at one side of a place of this kind, this person can think like this:
	“some time before this, this water was in a place far from here”
	“some time after this, this water will be in another place far from here”

5.3.3 (È)*tá* (pond)

Tá (pond) refers to a still waterbody. It does not have any visible flow. Unlike *tò* (river) which has a longitudinal dimension, the shape of *tá* (pond) is deep with a round upper surface. It is possible to see the entire perimeter of *tá* (pond) in one view, but not the depth. Two research participants describe the distinguishing features of *tá* (pond) in examples 75 and 76.

75. *Tá yà tɛfɛ dɛkà kò wò- tò dé*
 pond as for place one only 3SG-stop TP...
 ‘As for *tà* (pond), it stands at one place’

76. *Tá- á mè gòglò*
 Pond-DEF containing region/inside deep
 ‘The *tà* ‘pond’ is deep’

Tá (pond) serves various purposes for the people, including domestic and agricultural uses. But as the research participant mentions, most of the *táwó* (ponds) in the research area have either dried up or have become weedy (example 77). Figure 5.16 shows a typical *tá* (pond) but the photograph was taken at *Kpógãdzí* close to *Àsògliland*.

77. *Tògbó bé mí- wò- ò ñú dó tsã*
 Although COMP 2PL-do-HAB skin work previously

tsyé la, tá- wó bétéé kú vò lè míá-gbó
 also TP pond-PL all die finish be.at 1PL-side

àló gbě tó xò wó....

or grass grow receive 3PL....

‘Although we used *tá* in the past, they have all dried up or they have been taken over by weeds’



Figure 5.15: *Tá*, at *Kpógãdzí*, Photograph by Author

5.3.3.1 Tá (pond) and its Spatial Parts

Similar to other landforms, *tá* (pond) also has spatial parts where things can be located. These parts are listed in Table 5.11 and shown pictorially in Figure 5.16

Table 5.11: *Tá* (pond) and its Spatial Parts

Tá (pond) + Postposition	Gloss	Standard translation
<i>Tá tó</i>	Pond edge	Edge of the pond
<i>Tá mè</i>	Pond containing region	Inside the pond
<i>Tá wó ngò</i>	Pond POSS front	Front of the pond
<i>Tá wó mègbé</i>	Pond POSS back	Back of the pond
<i>Tá wó miàmè</i>	Pond POSS left	Left hand side of the pond
<i>Tá wó òsímè</i>	Pond POSS right	Right hand side of the pond

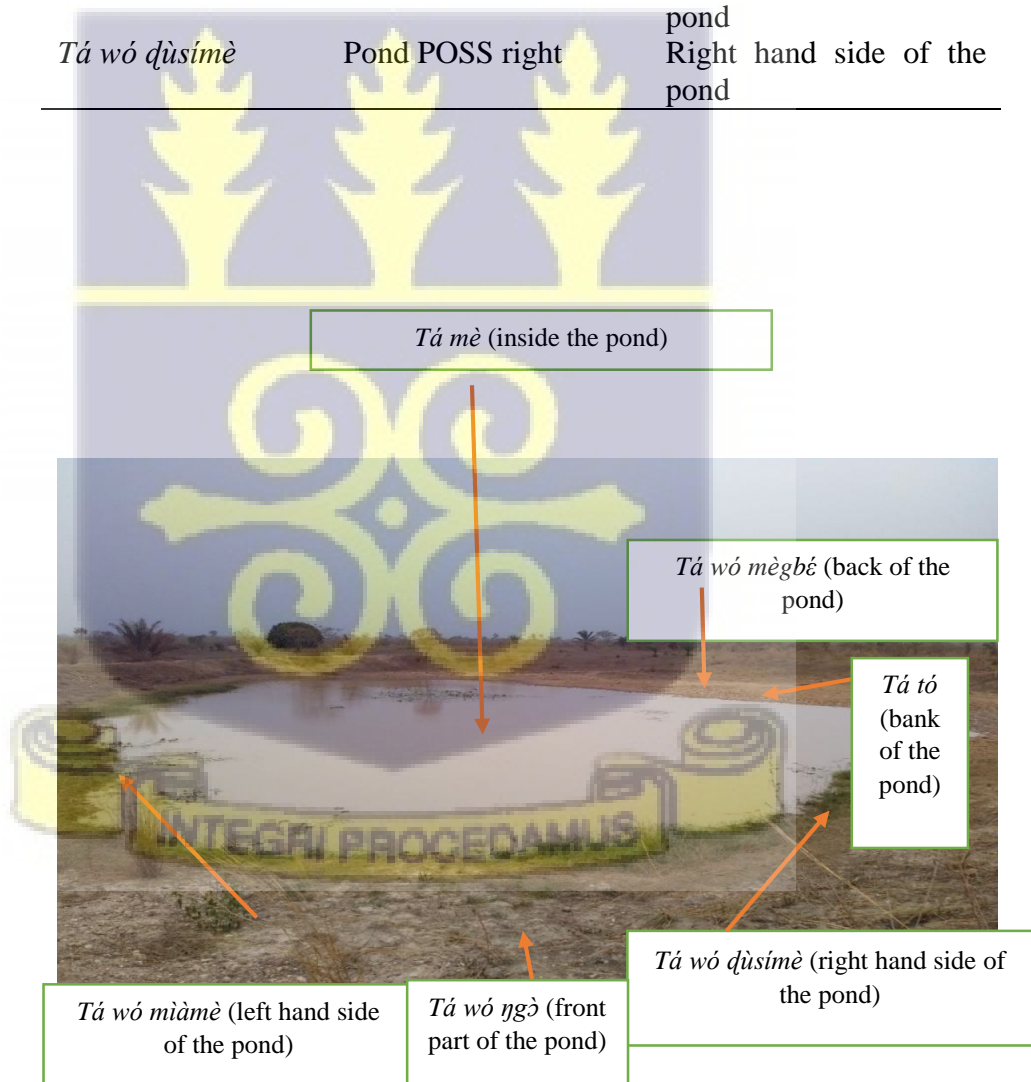


Figure 5.16: *Tá* (pond) and its Spatial Parts

There is an element that calls for attention in dealing with the spatial labels of *tá* (pond). This has to do with the determination of the parts labelled *ɲgò* (front) or *mègbé* (back). In the case of *tsìtsàtsà* (wandering water/stream) and *tò* (river) these parts were determined using the perspective of the orientation of flow. Since *tá* lacks flow, it is not conclusive as to how to determine *tá ɲgò* (front of the pond) and *tá mègbé* (back of the pond). Table 5.12 paraphrases the conceptual content of *tà* (pond) in Minimal English.

Table 5.12: Explicating *tá* (pond) in Minimal English

a.	A place of one kind
b.	A place of this kind can be big
c.	A place of this kind can be small
d.	There is water in places of this kind
e.	A place of this kind does not have a long side A place of this kind has sides all round
f.	When someone sees a place of this kind, this someone can think like this “The water in this place does not move” “It is deep”

5.3.4 Àfù (sea)

Àfù (sea) is the largest form of waterbody known to the Àsòglì Èvè. It is the final receptor of flowing waterbodies. A research participant describes *àfù* (sea) in the following words in example 78:

78. *Àfù dè, éyá tó vòvò tsó tò- wó bété*
 sea TP, 3SG pass different from river-PL all

gbó. É- gòglò wú tò- wó bété. É- kpè
 vicinity. 3SG-deep more.than river-PL all. 3SG-big

tsyé wú wé
 Also more.than 3PL

‘As for *àfù* (sea), it is different from all other rivers. It is deeper and bigger than them’

Conceptualisation of *àfù* (sea) involves its material makeup as well as the implication for the kinds of living organisms that survive in it. In example 79, the participant observes that *àfù* (sea) is made of saline water; as such, it supports only specific types of organisms.

79. *Dzè-tsi yé tà mé- nyé lã dè síáa dè yé*
 Salt-water FOC so NEG-is animal all FOC

nɔ-ɔ mè o
 sit-HAB containing region/inside NEG
 ‘Because it is salty water not every animal lives in it’

Tides are also associated with *àfù* (sea) and the research participants are aware that though tides rise and fall, they do not break their banks as captured in example 80.

80. *Àfù dè àhòmu tũ- ò lè é- mè*
 Sea TP tide grind-HAB be.at 3SG-containing region/inside

gàké mé- gbò- ò é- fé lífò nù o
 but NEG-cross-HAB 3SG-POSS boundary skin NEG
 ‘Tides rise and fall on *àfù* (sea), but it does not break its banks’

Some of the socio-cultural associations of *àfù* (sea) include its cleanliness, which a participant expressed in example 81 by alluding to the aversion of *àfù* (sea) to filth.

81. *Àfù mé- dí- é dǐ o. Né dǐ gé dè*
 Sea NEG-search-HAB filth NEG. If filth drop at

mè á- dè- è gódóó
 containing region/inside SUBJ-remove-3SG by all means

‘The *àfù* (sea) does not accept filth. If your filth enters into it, the sea will bring it out by all means’

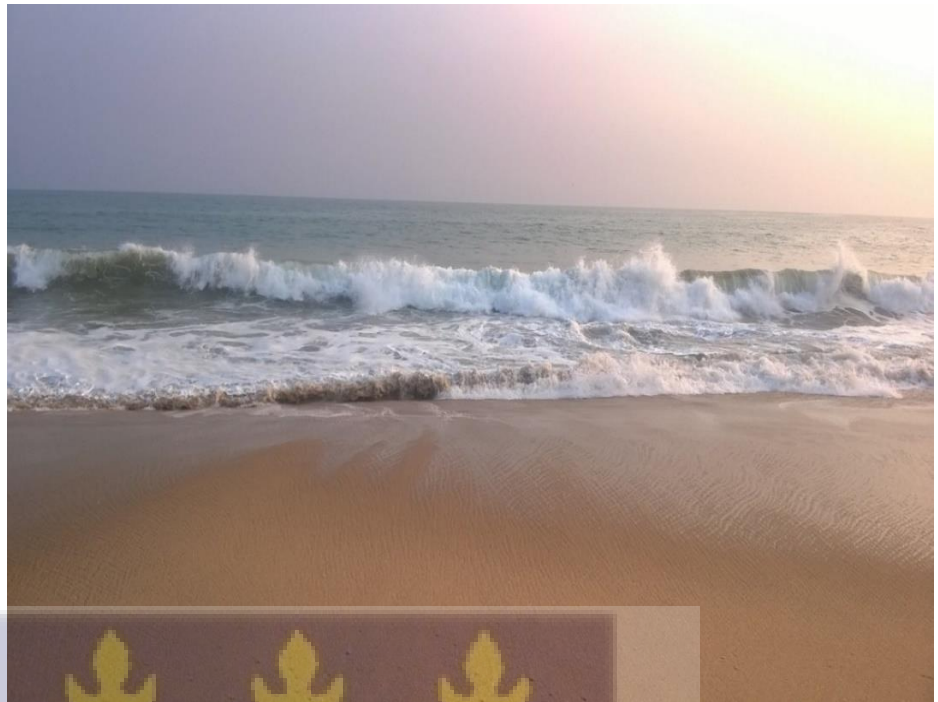


Figure 5.17: *Àfù* (sea), Cape Coast, Photograph by Author

5.3.3.2 *Àfù* (sea) and its Spatial Parts

Àfù, like the landforms discussed earlier, has spatial parts where things can be located and these parts are indicated with postpositions. Consistent with the approach employed in earlier discussions, the parts of *àfù* are listed in Table 5.13 and its pectoral labels shown in Figure 5.19.

Table 5.13: *Àfù* (sea) and its Spatial Parts

<i>Àfù</i> (sea) + Postposition translation	Gloss	Standard
<i>Àfù tó</i>	Sea edge	Edge or shore of the sea
<i>Àfù tà</i>	Sea head	Coastline
<i>Àfù dzí</i>	Sea sky	On top of the sea
<i>Àfù gómè</i>	Sea direction	In the direction of the sea

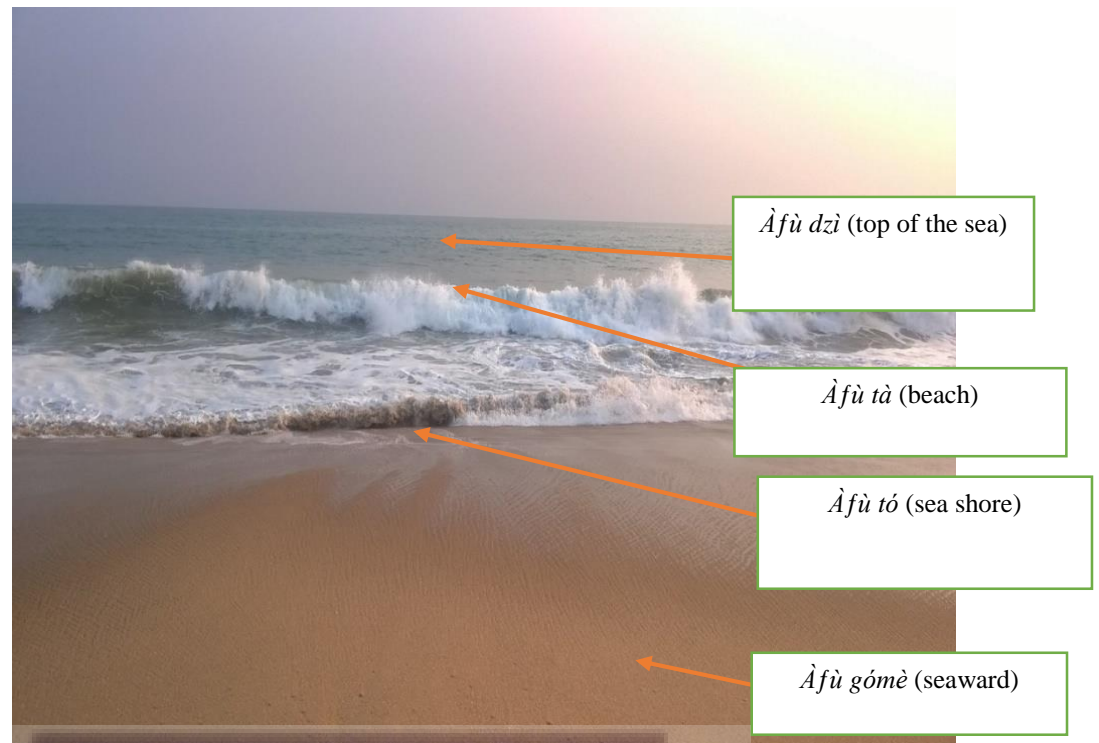


Figure 5.18: *Àfù* (sea) and its Spatial Parts

Information about *àfù* (sea) is scanty given that it does not exist in Àsògli territory. Conversations with participants yielded, in comparison with other water features, less clues for a more comprehensive understanding of *àfù* (sea). However, based on the foregoing analysis and personal knowledge of *àfù* (sea) I paraphrase it in Table 5.15.

Table 5.14: Defining *Àfù* (sea) in Minimal English

-
- | | |
|----|--|
| a. | A place of one kind |
| b. | It is a very big place |
| c. | There is water in this place |
| d. | The water in this place is salt water |
| e. | The water is always moving |
| f. | People can do many things at places of this kind |
| g. | When someone is at one side of a place of this kind, this person cannot see the other side of places of this kind |
| | When a person is on one side and this person wants to be on the other side of a place of this kind, this person cannot be on the other side after a short time |
-

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on landform terms associated with vegetation and water features. Similar to other domains, the terms for vegetation and water features may be basic or compositional. The latter are either compounds or word forms containing affixes attached to stems such as the diminutive marker. Àsògli Èvè classification of vegetation and water features are influenced by perceptual salience, affordances, and cultural significance. Regarding perceptual salience, size and height, density and temperature are paramount. Attention is paid to plant species, the compactness of the plants and the area of land covered. The Àsògli also consider utility that vegetation and water features offer them when they classify their landscape. For instance, areas that support farming are differentiated from those that do not.

Areas that served as hunting grounds for professional or experienced hunters were differentiated from those that serve the needs of amateur hunters. However, in modern times, there is no professional hunting in Àsògli. Yet, the distinction ties in well with the role cultural significance plays in determining plant cover categories. Cultural significance harnesses perceptions of climate conditions, agricultural practices and socio-religious beliefs of the people. For example, the linguistic patterns associated with the use of the term *dzò* (fire) to express ideas of heat, temperature, weather (Ameka, 2015; Spieth, 2012; Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2007) and others give clues to guide an interpretation of the landform term *dzògbè*. It would seem to be informed by cultural practices of farming and the people's experiences of the climatic conditions to which

dzògbè is susceptible and from which it develops. Thus, the term conceptualises climatic states of hot weather or high temperature, dryness, and especially combustibility. The meanings connoted by *dzògbè* (fire area) in relation to the ideas of heat are among others that show Èvè as belonging to the languages in which fire serves as a prototypical concept of heat (Ameka, 2015). Interestingly, the landform term *àvètsú* (large forest) does not connote the climatic states (rainfall, cold weather, resistance to climatic changes) with which it is associated. Rainforest, on the other hand, are thought to be in hot humid climates.



CHAPTER SIX

ÀSÒGLÌ PLACE NAMES

6.1 Introduction

The anxiety of finding one's way around the immediate and, worse still, distant environments is now completely a thing of the past. Today Google Maps bring places to our doorstep and there are electronic place name generators such as the geographic information systems (GIS). These scientific and technological advancements tend to diminish the historically significant role of place names in human-environment relations (Rybka, 2015). But the meaning of place names, the processes of their evolution and their appropriation in language continue to show the social and cultural importance of place names. To name a place is to identify it from a broad spatial continuum. A place name is a proper name which designates and distinguishes geographical entities, features of the landscape like mountains or rivers; human settlements, such as villages and towns; and civil divisions like countries and continents (Berry, 1958). By implication, a place name is a name given to a spatial entity and used to refer to that particular entity. Through naming practices, places are marked off and made identifiable. They function as mental markers that underlie how people know and conceptualise their immediate environment, what it represents for them and how they relate with it (Heikkila, 2007). These and many more reasons have made the study of place names a matter of great interest to many disciplines of study, including linguistics.

Linguists study place names in different ways, but for the purposes of this research, this chapter focuses specifically on the linguistic form and semantic content of Àsòglì place names. Studying form and content is in line with the view that the two important issues to address in investigating or reconstructing the origin of indigenous place names concern their meaning and form (Koch, 2009). By linguistic form, I mean the phonological, morphological or syntactic structures that Àsòglì place names may assume in view of their consistency with the internal structure of the Èvè language. The form that place names take, that is, whether simple words, phrases or clauses inform the reconstruction of the meaning of names. Semantic content, on the other hand, takes into account 1) the locational referent—what specific place did the name originally refer to? 2) the etymology—what the ordinary language meaning of the word in the relevant language is, and 3) the etiology—the story behind the name (Koch, 2009). Thus, analysing the semantic content of Àsòglì place names fundamentally requires the linguistic forms, empirical and historical evidence as well as the folk narrative behind the place names. This chapter explores these key features of Àsòglì place names with the hope to derive relevant answers to the questions regarding their cultural specificity, their role in the conceptualisation of the immediate environment, and the social and cultural beliefs and memories they represent.

6.2 Linguistic Form of Àsòglì Place Names

This subsection explores the linguistic form of Àsòglì place names. By form, I mean an “associative order in which [phonemes, morphemes,

and other elements] are brought together in a meaningful way” (Syal & Jindal, 2010, p. 35). Koch (2009) argues that reconstructing the etymology of place names begins with the “[I]ntellectual transmission and the linguistic reconstruction of sounds” (discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis), followed by the combinatorial patterns of the morphemes of the name. Our concern here is with the latter, which involves the lexical and syntactic components of the place names, their combinatorial patterns, as well as the semantic content arising from the combinations. This approach of the etymological reconstruction of Àsòglì place names from their linguistic structures offers at least two levels of results. The first is the semantic classification of the place names and, based on such classification, the second level of making meaning of how the Àsòglì conceptualise their physical environment.

Structurally, Àsòglì place names can be grouped under two broad categories. They are either basic or complex. In the next section, I discuss in some detail basic place names as monomorphemic and unanalysable, and complex place names as compositional (dimorphemic or polymorphemic). They may be formed by combining a number of bases or a base with a number of affixes. Complex place names can be binominal, that is, two or more isolatable place names co-occurring to designate a place, or compounds formed by combining two or more stems of various word classes. Other nominalisation processes within this category include affixation and reduplication. The analysis of the Àsòglì basic place names will follow the template outlined in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Simple/Basic Àsòglì Place Names

Word Type	Referent	Example
Monomorphemic	Landform	<i>Hliha</i>
	Traditional Agricultural Activity	<i>Hõ</i>
	Event/Borrowed	<i>Tàklà</i>
	Ideophone	<i>Àlálè</i>
	Eponym	<i>Dèmě</i>

6.2.1 Basic Place Names

As mentioned in the previous subsection, Àsòglì basic place names are definite, unanalysable descriptions of the entities they name. The referents of basic place names gathered among the Àsòglì relate to landforms, eponyms, historical events, traditional agricultural activities or ideophones. Basic place names typically suggest a sense of meaning regarding their referents. Some examples taken from Table 1 are discussed below. This category of place names is not compositional, rather the relation between the names and their referents is motivated by conventional association.

6.2.1.1 Landform only (see Table 6.1)

Hlihà: *Hlihà* is one of the five suburbs/divisions of *Hõ*. Literally, *Hlihà* means ‘fericrust rock’. There are various traditions that explain the etymology of the place name, but this discussion focuses on only two popular ones, namely, Spieth’s account (2012, p. 129) and another tradition that I collected during fieldwork. Spieth’s account ascribes the place name *Hlihà* to the stream called *Àhlihà*. However, this tradition lacks any surface evidence today to validate the existence of a stream now or earlier. The

closest streams within the vicinity are *Àgblènúqòmè*, toward the south and *Xáqòmè* northward. It is possible to surmise that the supposed *Àhlihà* stream must have been renamed *Àgblènúqòmè* or *Xáqòmè*, but this rather obvious supposition also lacks any historical record or linguistic evidence to support it. Several other interpretations are possible, yet this can only be an exercise of conjecture. For instance, we may argue that there has been a geographical transformation in the landscape resulting in the drying up of the stream. It is also possible to suggest a transference of a name from some other location carried over to the present location based on coincidence with the current landform found at the current settlement, which is a fericrust rock. The fact is that this first tradition that traces the name to the landform stream does not have any current empirical evidence.

The second account that I collected from contemporary oral tradition associates the place name with the landform *hlihá* (fericrust rock), which is empirically evident at the location as shown in Figure 6.1. This tradition, corroborated by Amekpordi (2012, p. 57), can be considered as a second account (distinct from Spieth's) that is popularly known. Knowledge from other disciplines such as archaeology may be needed to solve the riddle. In the meantime, it might be necessary to not hurriedly dismiss less dominant traditions.

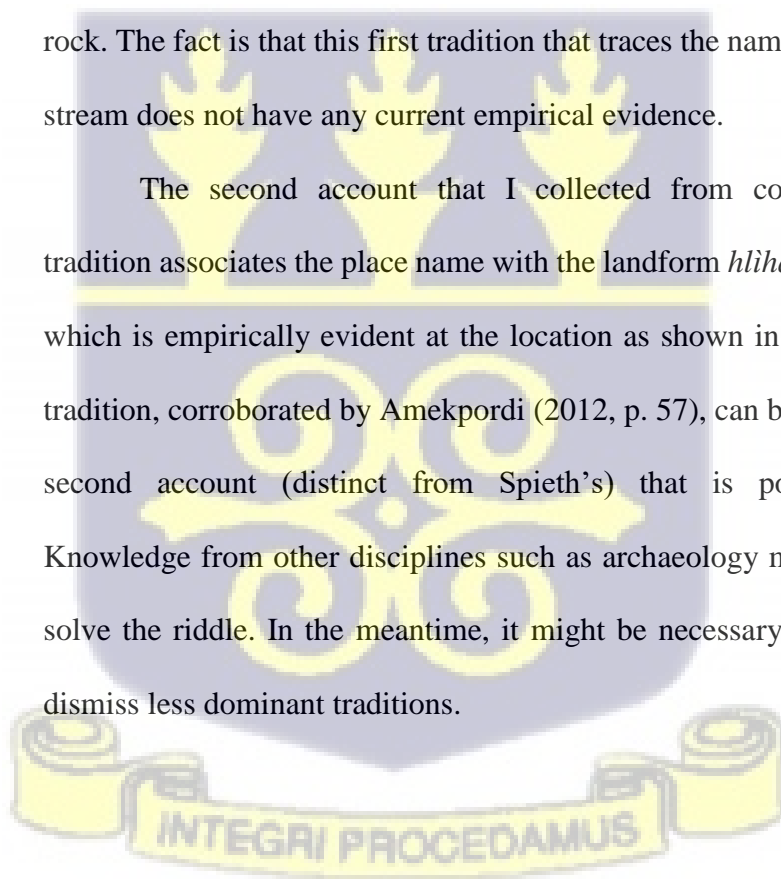




Figure 6.1: Picture showing *hlihà* (fericrust rock) at *Hlihà*, *Hõ*. Photograph by Author

6.2.1.2 Traditional Agricultural Activity (see Table 6.1)

The etymology of *Hõ* is traced to *hò* meaning ‘heap of something, grove’, discussed in Chapter Five, subsection 5 as a vegetation area made of a specific kind of plant. Yet, as a place name, *hò* is better understood in the context of the farming practices discussed by Ofori (2008). This assertion is premised on the meaning of an appellation the people of *Bànkóé* ascribe to themselves. In the context of traditional farming practices, *hò* relates to a heap of bush cut down after farmers clear their land for farming. This heap functions as a storing place for farming implements (Spieth, 2012). The heap of vegetation debris can also serve as a haven for reptiles including snakes and scorpions. The people of *Hõ Bànkóé* are considered the direct descendants of *Káklá Àsò*, the progenitor of the town, about whom Amekpordi (2012, p. 50) records this appellation:

Appellation of the People of *Bànkóé* (translation modified)

Èvè	English
<i>Àdàwúró kòtòkò</i>	<i>Àdàwúró kòtòkò</i>
<i>Àgànúàwó, Hòdémàkówó</i>	Those at the slope of mountain, <i>Hò</i> which cannot be carried
<i>Hòtùtòkólíkà, wókà àmètò</i>	<i>Hòtùtòkólíkà</i> , they scatter other people's <i>hò</i>
<i>Wómékáná wótò o</i>	Others do not scatter theirs
<i>Hòtòkàgbè, àvì ò</i>	The day of scattering theirs, people cried

One may deduce a sense of an unbreakable bond of union of the *Bànkóé* people from this appellation. In a sense, they are like a grove or heap of debris that cannot be scattered. However, Spieth (2012, p. 29), drawing on the farming practices of the people, explains that the appellation is built on their unstated experience. He notes that *hò* means the grass that farmers heap after cutting it. They also use the heap as a place to hide their farm implements. Yet, the heap of grass also tends to be a habitat for scorpions and snakes, making anyone who attempts to collect the heap for burning (or scatter it to retrieve the implements hidden in it) risk the attack of snakes and scorpions. According to Spieth, this experience provides the context for understanding the appellation as a parallel between the danger *Bànkóé* people pose to their enemies and that of poisonous reptiles to unsuspecting farmers who collect vegetative debris to prepare their new farms for sowing seed.

6.2.1.3 Event/Borrowed/Loan Word (see Table 6.1)

Tàklà: This place name refers to one of the main Àsògli traditional areas. The name is believed to be a borrowed Akan word for feathers, *ntàkrà*. Borrowing, as a linguistic concept usually implies cross-cultural contact and influence (Ehret, 2000). “When languages adopt loan words, they typically modify the new items in keeping with the pre-existing

structure of the language” (Newman, 2000). Thus, to determine the direction of borrowing requires questions relating to phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of the two languages involved. For the purposes of tracing the etymology of *Tàklà* to *ntàkrà* (an Akan word), it is important to discuss the phonetic changes that must have occurred. The linguistic transformation of *ntàkrà* (feathers, Akan) to *Tàklà* (feathers, Èvè) are on two phonological levels. At the first level, the alveolar nasal sound /n/ has been dropped because it functions as a nominal prefix marking plural or mass in Akan. In Èvè, however, such number marking does not exist. Similarly, other nominal prefixes such as class markers are ordinarily dropped in Èvè. On analogy with the Èvè word for feather *è-fũ*, /e/ is typically dropped leaving a zero prefix for the word *fũ*. On the second level, when borrowed words are fully integrated, the distribution of the liquids follow the patterns of the main sound system. Thus, since the liquid sound /r/ does not follow the velar plosive /k/ in Èvè it was only natural that in the process of the transformation the people replaced /r/ sound with /l/ to achieve an Èvè variant of the borrowed word. It is also interesting to note that the phonemes /r/ and /l/ are free variants in Akan, as such, *ntàkrá* (feather) may also be rendered as *ntàklá* (feather) without causing a change in meaning.

The etiology of the place name *Tàklà* is steeped in mysticism and relates closely to practices and beliefs associated with the war of 1869 between the Àsòglì and the Ashanti. According to oral tradition, in the course of the war, the people of *Tàklà* turned into feathers, struck their enemies and killed them instantly. The mythology has it that having been

thus vanquished, the Ashanti began to shout, *ntákráfòò é-bá* (the feathered people are coming), any time they saw feathers flying in their direction. At least three levels of linguistic transformation mark the change from *ntákráfòò é-bá* to *Tàklà*. First, there is the deletion of the VP *é-bá* ‘he/she (POT) is coming’ from the NP. The second level involves the deletion of the two plural markers {*n...foɔ*}, where *n* marks the plurality of *takra* (feather) and *foɔ* (PL) for the people. The final level is the adaptation of the stem into the linguistic structure of the Èvè language as explained earlier.

6.2.2 Complex Place Names

Complex Àsòglì place names are compositional. Their structures are consistent with various Èvè nominalisation processes and their respective phonological and morphological rules. Complex place names include compounds, reduplications, borrowed/loan words or affixes. Àsòglì complex place names form about Ninety Percent (90%) of the total names collected from the field. Many Àsòglì place names are formed through compounding. This is a process in which two or more lexical items are concatenated into one lexical entry and derive their meaning from either the individual lexical items or otherwise (Kpoglu, 2019). This subsection explores Àsòglì compound place names, their constituent lexical items and combinatorial patterns. As discussed in chapter two (see section 2.3.2.1), Èvè compounds may consist of nominals + nominals; verbs + verbs only, nominal + adjective and other such combinations. It is not surprising that Àsòglì place names will be formed through the use of compounds, given the prevalence of compounding in Èvè (Ofori, 2002; Atakpa 1997).

I begin the discussion with compounds composed of noun-noun, noun-adjective and noun-quantifier. I then discuss affixation and reduplication processes for composing Àsòglì place names. The approach I used for this discussion of complex Àsòglì place names is outlined in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Complex Àsòglì Place Names

Morphological Process	Internal structure	Example	
Compounding	Binominal (only)	<i>Hõ Fiàvé</i> <i>Hõ Dòmè</i>	
	Bilingual Binominal	<i>Tàklà New Town</i>	
	Nomi + Adjective	<i>Dù - gbàdzà</i> Town - broad N - Adj	
	Nomi + Quantifier	<i>Àgò - dáké</i> Date palm - one N - Quant	
	Nomi + Nomi	<i>Yé - vé</i>	
	Nomi + Landscape Term (LT)	<i>White clay - forest</i> N - LT	
	LT + LT	<i>Kpé - nvígbá</i> Stone - land LT - LT	
	PN + PN	<i>Kàblè - kó fé</i> Kabye - cottage PN - PN	
	Affixation	Postposition Only	<i>Dòmè</i>
		LT + PostP	<i>Tó - ñú</i> Mountain - outer surface LT - PostP
Nomi + Nomi + Postposition		<i>Àvà - tí - dòmè</i> war - tree - bottom N N PostP	
Nomi + Adj + PostP		<i>Gbò xó mè</i> Town old inside N N PostP	
Nomi + Adj + LT + PostP		<i>Tsi yě kpó tà</i> Water white mound top N Adj LT PostP	
Verb based phrasal place name		<i>D' àfò lè nyà mè</i> remove leg be.at word Remove oneself from trouble' Containing <i>Hè gbě</i> Pull gras 'Pull grass' region/inside	
Reduplication		<i>Kàbàkàbá Hill</i> <i>RED.kàbà Hill</i> Hurry Hill 'Hurryng to climb the hill'	

6.2.2.1 Noun + Noun Compound Place Names

Nominal + nominal compounds form one of the major categories of Àsòglì place names. This noun-noun group of place names can be further subdivided into bi-nominal place names and binominal-bilingual place names. The bi-nominal place names can be split (composed of two separate or hyphenated words) or non-split (two words joined together). Non-split binominal place names are usually not bilingual, but they can be composed of noun + landscape term, landform + landform, and place name + existing compound words. Each of these is explained in a separate section beginning with binominal split place names.

6.2.2.1.1 Binominal Split Place Names

Binominal split place names refer to place names composed of two words, which may be hyphenated or separated (Schaefer, 2017). Their structure may be represented as PN1 (-) PN2, where PN1 is the name of the traditional area and PN2, a major suburb. Binominal split place names are thus composed of two independent names juxtaposed to express a meronymic relationship. That is, PN2 is a constituent part of PN1. As a result, the main suburb (PN2) is to be understood in relation to the traditional area (PN1). Apart from the function of connecting suburbs to their traditional areas, binominal split place names also serve pragmatic functions such as the avoidance of ambiguities that arise from overlapping place names of the major suburbs of the four traditional areas. For example, the split binominal place names *Hõ Dòmè* and *Tàklà Dòmè* are used to avoid the confusion that might arise regarding *Dòmè* as suburbs of *Hõ* and *Tàklà* respectively. Though indigenes may not notice any ambiguity, outsiders do.

Thus, the location of the discourse influences the use of the traditional area name to qualify the specific location in reference.

However, over and above the functions of disambiguation and the establishment of meronymic relations another way of understanding binominal split place names is granularity. This suggests the expression of detail by first referring to the traditional area before referencing the specific place. Table 2 presents a list of the binominal place names among the Àsòglì.

Table 6.3: Binominal Split Place Names

Traditional Area	Binominal Place Name
<i>Hõ</i>	<i>Hõ B̀̀nkóé</i>
	<i>Hõ Dòmè</i>
	<i>Hõ Hèvé</i>
	<i>Hõ Hlìhà</i>
	<i>Hõ Àxóé</i>
<i>Àkóéfé</i>	<i>Àkóéfé Gàdzà</i>
	<i>Àkóéfé Àtsãtí</i>
	<i>Àkóéfé Àvènyúí</i>
	<i>Àkóéfé Tókó</i>

See Appendix H,a for full Table

6.2.2.1.2 Binominal Split Bilingual Place Names

Another type of binominal split place name is what may be described as bilingual. This type of place names is composed of traditional Èvè names and English words or phrases such as “Down” or “New Town”. Their structure may be represented as PN1 (-) PN2 as discussed previously, except that the PN2 is in the English language and may either be a word or a phrase. This structure is important since it suggests that one would not

find place names having the structure of an English word followed by an Èvè name. Similarly, one will not find English words standing alone as names of places, they relate only to parts of a place bearing an original Èvè name. This pattern, however, is experiencing change (see subsection 6.4). In this composition, the English word or phrase constituting the PN2 is understood as a description of a new or emerging settlement of the PN1. That is, the locations of these kinds of place names are newly emerging settlements around the older settlements mentioned in PN1.

Table 3, examples a–c are binominal split bilingual place names using “New Town”, while examples d and e illustrate those composed with the word “Down”. Examples f and g of Table 6.4 also represent a new trend in place naming practices in Àsògli, which reverts to the use of English designations (see discussion under new naming trends in Àsògli).

Table 6.4: Binominal Split Place Names

	Place Name
a.	<i>Flàvè</i> New Town
b.	<i>Tàklà</i> New Town
c.	<i>Gògòkpóé</i> New Town.
d.	Àlàyí Down
e.	Sòmè Down
f.	Barracks New Town
g.	Power House Down

6.2.2.1.3 Binominal Non-split Place Names: Nominal + Landscape Term Compounds

Landscape terms are generic by nature and function as the head word. They are classified by the noun with which they form the place name. The noun could be an entity associated with the landform or an historical event marker linked to the landform. In Table 6.5, example e, *Klàtsàvèkó*, illustrates a nominal + landform term type of place name in which the noun (N1) is an entity associated with the landform. *Klàtsàvèkóé* (antelope smaller hill-like forest) is the combination of *klàtsà* (antelope) + (*à*)*vèkóé* (smaller hill-like forest: see chapter five subsection 5.2.4). The elision of the nominal prefix *à* from *àvèkóé* during the compounding process is sufficiently explained in the chapter on the Èvè language as a common phonological process observed during compounding, especially regarding the second noun. Thus, the place name connotes the meaning of a forest in which *klàtsà* (antelope) may be found. Such a name gives hints about one of the occupations of the people; they are hunters who possess knowledge about the habitat of specific kinds of game.

Kúvé (death forest) – example c in Table 6.5, illustrates another type of the nominal + landscape term place name in which the nominal marks an event associated with the referent location. The individual lexical items suggest the meaning of the compound. *Kúvé* (death forest) as a place name is linked in Àsòglì oral tradition to some remarkable fatal event in this forest, which now bears the name. Place names of this structure are particularly suggestive of past occurrences and the nature of the locations they describe. For instance, the use of the landscape term *àvé* (forest) suggests the nature of the landscape at the time of bestowing the name.

Many of these forests have been destroyed with the passage of time due to human activities, but they have been survived by their names, which now serve as windows into the nature and history of the landscape. Table 6.5 shows examples of place names formed with this nominal + landscape term morphological structure.

Table 6.5: Nominal + Landscape Term Compounds

Place Name	Internal Structure
a. <i>Fìàvé</i>	<i>Fìà</i> (à)vè Chief Forest 'Chief's forest'
b. <i>Dòvé</i>	<i>Dò</i> (à)vè Hunger Forest 'Hunger forest'
c. <i>Kúvé</i>	<i>Kú</i> (à)vè Death Forest 'Forest of death'
d. <i>Àhàvé</i>	<i>Àhà</i> (à)vè Drink Forest (alcoholic) 'Alcoholic drink forest'
e. <i>Klàtsàvékóé</i>	<i>klàtsà</i> (à)vékó-é Antelop forest-hill-DIM 'Smaller hill-like forest'

(see Appendix H,c for full Table)

6.2.2.1.4 Landform + Landform Compounds

The next category of nominal + nominal place is the combination of landform + landform compound type of place names. The first landform (N1) is usually a hyponym of the second landform, the super-ordinate category. The second landform (N2) usually functions as the head of the compound, while the first landform (N1) functions as a specifier of the head

word. Place names of this nature indicate the type of landform that may have been or currently at the location they describe. Table 6.6 lists some examples of place names of this type of complex place names formed through compounding of landforms or entities. The place name *Àtsãtí* (Blighia Sapida tree) in Table 6.6a is used in both *Àkóféfé* and *Hõ*. The one located in *Hõ* was also pronounced as *Àtsãsí* by some research participants. Both ways, the specific Blighia Sapida tree after which the place was named still exists today as shown in Figure 6.2.



Figure 6.2: Picture of *Àtsãtí* (Blighia Sapida) at *Hõ Dòmè*. Photograph by Author

Table 6.6: Landform + Landform Place Names

Place Name	Internal Structure
a. <i>Àtsā́tí</i>	<i>Àtsā́</i> (<i>à</i>) <i>tí</i> Cashew Tree 'Cashew tree'
b. <i>Hèvé́tí</i>	<i>Hèvé</i> (<i>à</i>) <i>tí</i> ?? tree '?? tree'
c. <i>Kpényígbá</i>	<i>Kpé</i> (<i>à</i>) <i>nyígbá</i> Stone Land 'stony land'

?? indicates obscure words

6.2.2.2 Nominal + Adjective Compounds

Some Àsòglì place names are composed of a nominal and an adjective. Adjectives in Èvè are post-posed to the nominal head (Ameka, 1991) to describe a quality of the noun they modify. Regarding Àsòglì place names, the nominal in this type of structure is either a landscape term or an inherent locative noun, whereas the adjective describes a perceptually salient feature associated with the nominal, thus forming an endocentric compound. Place names with this structure are shown in Table 6.7. For instance, the place name *Dùgbàdzà* is an illustration of a compound place name involving an inherently locative noun *dù* (town) and the ideophonic adjective *gbàdzà* (broad). The combination of these two lexical items suggests that the location is marked by large expanse of land. Oral history, however, indicates that the place acquired its name not from its physical attribute, but from the function it performed for the people. According to the narrative, *Dùgbàdzà* (broad town) served as a meeting ground for

people from the various Àsòglì traditional areas and also as a place for trading activities with time.

The exact period in which *Dùgbàdzà* (broad town) became a market cannot be ascertained currently. However, the transformation of an open place into a market is known in history. Good (1975) citing (Hodder & Ukwu, 1969, p. 1299) recounts how Ibo markets “developed out of the custom of rest day’ during which people refrain from labour” and gather around open places for meetings and petty trading. There is a similar tradition among the Àsòglì, especially regarding the four-day week system with one mandatory day of rest. The Àsòglì days of the week are: *àfénòégbè*, *àsítóégbè*, *àsìàmígbè* and *àsìgbè*, with *àfénòégbè* being the day for rest (Tógbé Kòmlà, personal communication, September 10, 2018). According to research participants, *Dùgbàdzà* served as a village square where people met, loitered, and where peasant farm products were bartered for other goods like salt. Good (1975) suggests that these localised rudimentary meetings to exchange products may have been part of the evolution of markets as we know them today (second order markets). However, one may not hurriedly force oral history about *Dùgbàdzà* into Good’s (1975) theory; the process through which *Dùgbàdzà* developed into *Àsìgãmè*, remains an element of interest for further research.

Tsìyě (white water) is another example of the nominal + adjective compound type of place name, with the nominal being (the element) water.

Tsì (water) was discussed in chapter five as denoting either the natural substance ‘water’ or a metonymic landscape term for smaller waterbodies like streams and brooks. Yet, while the referent of this place name is a

waterbody located in *Hõ*, the nominal *tsì* (water) may not be understood to be referring to a landform in this context. The lexical item *tsì* (water) in the place name is better understood as the substance ‘water’, which is modified by the adjective *yě* (white) to suggest the perceptual attribute it possesses. Thus, the meaning of *Tsìyě* has to do with the colour of the content of the landform it names. Research participants substantiate the whiteness of the *tsì* (water) in *Tsìyě* when they compared it with milk. The plausibility of this assertion cannot be verified now, since this waterbody has become contaminated through human activities. Figure 6.3 shows the current state of *Tsìyě*.



Figure 6.3: Current state of *Tsìyě* stream in *Hõ*². Photograph by Author

Tsìyé is the name of a stream in *Hõ*. The name however serves as the source of the place name *Tsìyékpótà* (see subsection 6.3.4.6), the settlement around the waterbody. The other examples in Table 6.7 can be

² The picture in Figure 6.3 was taken in the dry season, hence the limited volume of water. One can however see the watercourse, which is dry given the waterbody the image of a pond.

analysed in line with *Dùgbàdzà* and *Tsiyě*. The adjective describes a physical attribute associated with the nominal that it modifies.

Table 6.7: Nominal + Adjective Compounds

	Place Name	Internal Structure	
a	<i>Dùgbàdzà</i>	<i>Dù</i> Town N	<i>gbàdzà</i> broad ADJ 'Broad town'
b.	<i>Tsiyě</i>	<i>Tsi</i> Water N	<i>yě</i> white' ADJ 'White water'

(See Appendix H,c for full list)

6.2.2.3 Nominal + Quantifier Compounds

Another form of compounding found in Àsòglì place naming practices is the use of a noun and a quantifier. In this case the nominal is not necessarily an inherent locative noun and is thus distinguished from the nominal + adjective type of place names. However, just like adjectives, quantifiers are also post-posed to their heads in Èvè. This sub-category of place names is interesting for a reason other than their structure. In this sub-category, what meets the eye is the fact that 'quantity' in terms of scarcity leads to perceptual salience, inducing the 'scarce' object or element to attain remarkable importance as a location marker. In Èvè, as in some other languages, an 'only' (child, tree, professional of a kind, etc.) usually conjures attention and endearment. Such sentiments are expressed in statements as shown in example 1:

1. *Kofi wó ñkú dèké/dàké yé nyé Abra loo!*
 Kofi POS eye one-DIM/one-DIM FOC is Abra IDNT
 'Kofi's only eye is Abra/Abra is the only person Kofi has'

Emphasising how eyes are treasured because they are delicate, *ɲkú dèká* (one eye) expresses the idea of a treasured “thing” among the Àsòglì. In example 1, one observes that the basic structure for the numeral “one”, *dèká* is changed to *dèké* or *dàké* due to the coalescence of the diminutive marker *-é* and the final vowel /á/. Thus, the underlying structures of the *dèké/dàké* are *dèká-é/dàká-é* respectively. The addition of the diminutive marker adds an emotional element associated with being attached to something precious, in this case expressing the subject’s (Kofi) endearing affection towards the object (Abra).

Examples *a* and *b* of Table 6.8 illustrate the structure of the nominal + quantifier type of Àsòglì place names. *Uùdàké* literally means ‘one blood’, but as a place name, it is traced to a river god that is believed to have offered protection to the people in the past. *Uùdàké* (same blood) offers an interesting co-occurrence of a noun *vù* (blood) and the numeral *dàké* (one). *Dàké* (one) in this context is better interpreted as “sameness”, since a mass noun like *vù* (blood) would not occur with numerals unless there is a unit of measurement (Klugah, 2012). This interpretation is buttressed by the fact that research participants explain that the name *Uùdàké* (same blood) can only be understood in terms of the blood covenant that binds the god and its ardent worshippers; they are the same by covenant.

Àgòdàké, on the other hand, takes its meaning from the referent of the nominal, *àgò* (date palm). Being a relatively rare species in Àsòglì vegetation, the date palm was frequently used as a landmark and this

explains the significance of the place name. The quantifier *dàké* is an Àsògli variant of the Èvè numeral *dèká* (one).

Table 6.8: Nominal + Quantifier Compounds

	Place Name	Internal Structure	
a.	<i>Uùdàké</i>	<i>Uù</i> blood N	<i>-dàké</i> One QT 'Same blood'
b.	<i>Àgòdàké</i>	<i>Àgò</i> Date palm N	<i>-dàké</i> One QT 'One date palm'

6.2.2.4 Affixation: Spatial Relation Terms

There is yet another distinct group of Àsògli place names. These names are overtly marked locative nouns, using postpositional phrases. This section examines the combinatorial patterns of these types of place names, paying attention to the postpositions and the information they provide about the meanings of the place names. As in the case of compounding, the formation of place names through affixation results in a number of sub-categories which are marked by postpositional suffixes. I begin the discussion in this section with place names arising from postpositions only and work through the different sub-categories to the type of place names that are formed through a combination of a nominal, an adjective, and a postposition.

6.2.2.4.1 Postposition or Spatial Relation

Only complex postpositions stand on their own as place names. Examples of complex Postposition are *gòmè* (under), *gódzì* (in the direction

of) (see Chapter Two, Table 2.7). Though such place names can be independent, they would usually occur in binominal place names where they function as the PN2 (as discussed in 6.3.1). This co-occurrence in binominal place names may be accounted for by recalling the function of postpositions in the Èvè language. They instantiate parts or regions anchored to a relatum or a reference object. In view of this, when they are used as place names, they are post-posed to the name of their respective traditional areas (PN1) to express a geo-spatial relationship with them. The relationship between PN1 and postposition place names is meronymic, so that the postposition is to be understood as a geo-spatial part of PN1. In Table 6.9, example a shows that *Dòmè* (between or among) should be understood in terms of its spatial relationship with the name of the traditional area. The centrality of *Dòmè* in *Hǒ* can be empirically established in geographical terms, since it is located at the center in relation to the other major suburbs. Table 6.9 shows examples of spatial relation terms category of place names.

Table 6.9: Postposition or Spatial Relation Place Names

Place Name	Internal Structure
a. <i>Hǒ Dòmè</i> ,	<i>Hǒ Dòmè</i> Hǒ Between 'Hǒ central'
b. <i>Tàklà Dòmè</i>	<i>Tàklà Dòmè</i> Tàklà between 'Tàklà central'
c. <i>Tàklà Tókó</i>	<i>Tàklà Tókó</i> Tàklà Edge 'Edge of Tàklà'
d. <i>ÀkóféTókó</i>	<i>Àkófé Tókó</i> <i>Àkófé</i> Edge 'Edge of <i>Àkófé</i> '

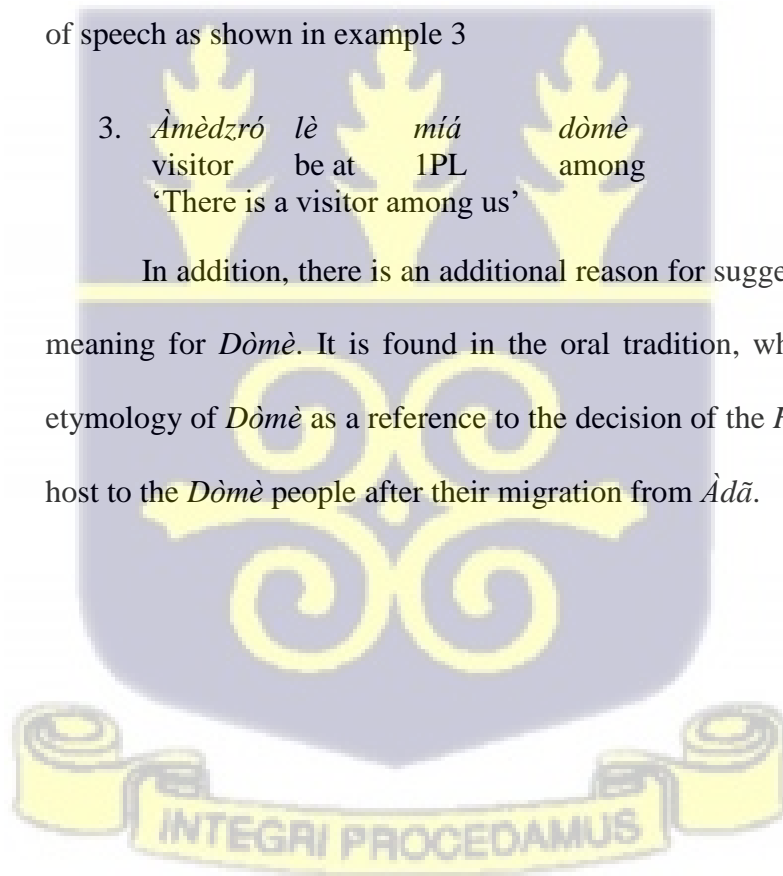
Since this category of place names localises their referents, their etymology is usually not disputed. The meaning of *Hõ Dòmè* (*Hõ Central*), for example, reflects its current geographical location as illustrated in Figure 6.4. However, central here should be understood in the sense of “being in the midst of/among” more than geographical centrality. This meaning suggests that the people moved from a location to settle in the midst of the *Hõ* people, which can be expressed as in example 2.

2. *Wó- vá lè Hõ-à-wó dòmè*
3PL-come be.at Hõ-DEF-PL among
‘They came to settle in the midst of the Hõ people’

The meaning of *Dòmè* in example 2 can be found in other contexts of speech as shown in example 3

3. *Àmèdzró lè miá dòmè*
visitor be at 1PL among
‘There is a visitor among us’

In addition, there is an additional reason for suggesting this special meaning for *Dòmè*. It is found in the oral tradition, which explains the etymology of *Dòmè* as a reference to the decision of the *Hõ* people to play host to the *Dòmè* people after their migration from *Àdã*.



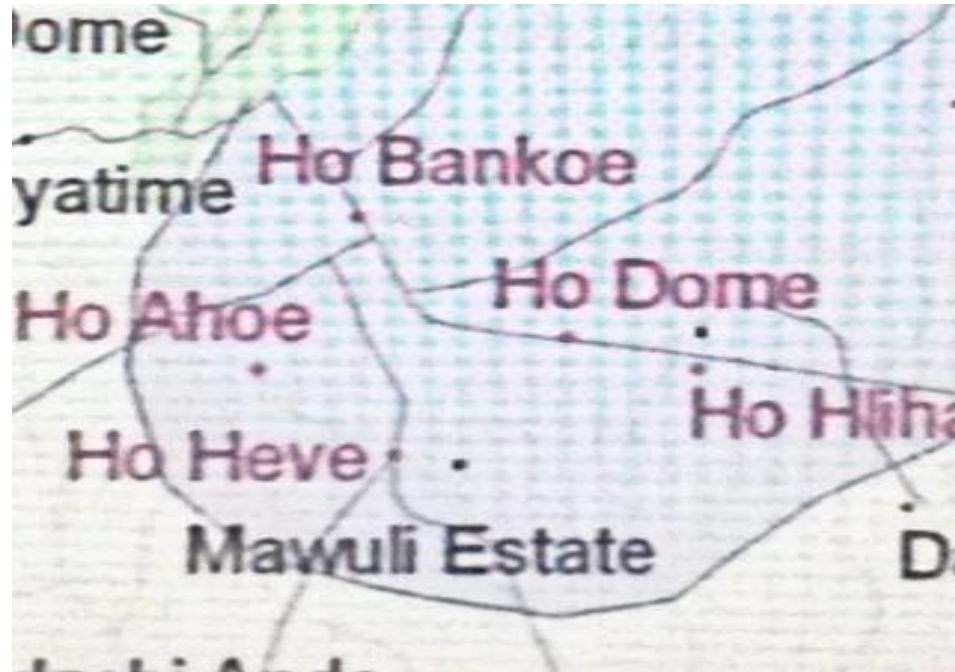


Figure 6.4: Geographical location of Dòmè in Hõ. See also Figure 1.2: Map of Àsògli Settlements, adapted from Anekpordi (2012, p. 8)

6.2.2.4.2 Landscape Term + Postposition

Another subcategory is the group of names formed through a combination of landscape terms (LT) and postpositions. This combination is the result of affixation, which may be structurally represented as shown in example 3.

3. *Tó* *ɲú*
Mountain outer surface
LT PostP
'Along the mountain'

In this structure, the landscape term is usually a generic nominal while the postposition expresses a geo-spatial relationship with the LT. In example 3 *ɲú* (outer surface) expresses a geo-spatial relationship with *tó* (mountain)

and indicates that the referent of the name is located on the outer surface of *tó* (mountain). Figure 6.5 shows *Tóhú* at *Kpéghè*.



Figure 6.5: *Tóhú* at *Kpéghè*. Photograph by Author

The landscape term in these types of place names may be general landscape terms like *tó* (mountain) and *àvè* (forest) discussed in Chapters Four and Five respectively or they could refer to specific entities such as types of plants or soil that may be found at the location (see Table 6.10).

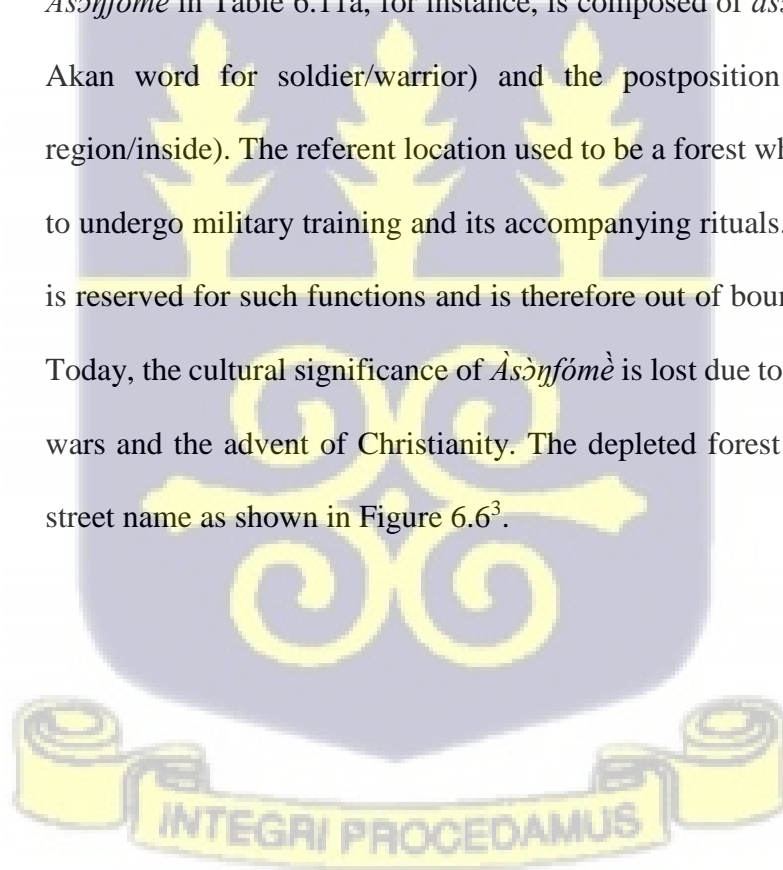
Table 6.10: Landscape Term + Postposition

	Place name	Internal Structure	
a	<i>Tóhú</i>	<i>Tó</i>	<i>Dú</i>
.		Mountain	outer surface
		LT	PostP
		'Along the mountain'	
b	<i>Àvèhúí</i>	<i>Àvè</i>	<i>Dúí</i>
		Forest	outer surface
		LT	PostP
		'Along the forest'	

See Appendix H,d for full Table

6.2.2.4.2 Borrowed Nominal + Postposition *mè* (containing region/inside)

A third sub-category of the affixation type of place names combines the nominal and postposition *mè* (containing region/inside) to form a complex place name, which has the same structure as Landscape term + Postposition place names discussed under 6.3.4.2. In this sub-category, however, nominals relating to cultural or traditional activity and not LT are used. The postposition *mè* (containing region/inside) indicates that the activity represented by the nominal takes place at the referent location of the place name. To offer just one illustration of this group of place names, *Àsòḡfómè* in Table 6.11a, for instance, is composed of *àsòḡfó* (the adopted Akan word for soldier/warrior) and the postposition *mè* (containing region/inside). The referent location used to be a forest where warriors met to undergo military training and its accompanying rituals. *Àsòḡfómè* in *Hõ* is reserved for such functions and is therefore out of bounds to the public. Today, the cultural significance of *Àsòḡfómè* is lost due to the end of ethnic wars and the advent of Christianity. The depleted forest is survived by a street name as shown in Figure 6.6³.



³ *Àsòḡfómè* is the *Àsòḡlì* rendition of the place name whereas Asonfu is the Anglisised



Figure 6.6: Street named after that depleted *Àsòhómè* forest

Table 6.11: Nominal + Postposition *mè* (containing region/inside)

Place Name	Internal Structure
a. <i>Àsòhómè</i>	<i>Àsòhó</i> - <i>mè</i> Soldier containing region/inside N PostP 'Region for warriors'
b. <i>Àsòlíémè</i>	<i>Àsòlíé</i> - <i>mè</i> 'opaque' containing region/inside N PostP '?ʔʔ'
c. <i>Àblòmè</i>	<i>Àblò</i> - <i>mè</i> Street containing region/inside N PostP 'Meeting place'
d. <i>Àsìmè</i>	<i>Àsì</i> - <i>mè</i> Market Containing region/inside N PostP 'Market'

⁴ Opaque place name

6.2.2.4.4 Nominal + Nominal + Postposition

Among the affixation type of place names is a fourth group where the place names are formed through a combination of nominal compounds and postpositions (see section 6.3.3 above and the discussion on compounding in Chapter Two). The examples of place names collected show that consistent with the rule of compounding in Èvè, the place names of this category have their spatial relation terms localising the compounds. The compounds on their part serve as the head words for understanding the place name. Example 4 illustrates how compounding may obliterate the individual boundaries between *àblàdzó* and *àtí* to become one lexical item. Evidently, the nominal prefix of the second nominal *à-tí* is deleted at the phonological word junction in the compounding process

4.	Lexical items		Compound word
	<i>Àblàdzó</i>	<i>(à)tí</i>	<i>àblàdzótí</i>
	Plantain	tree	Plantain tree

Example 5 illustrates a type of place name which combines a compound word with the postposition, which localises it.

5.	<i>Àvâ-tí</i>	<i>dòmè</i>
	War tree	Bottom
	N1 N2	PostP
	Compound	PostP
	'Under the war tree'	

It can be noticed from this example that the weight of the interpretation of the place name lies on the compound word. In this case *dòmè*, the postposition, localises *àvâtí*, which is the headword that suggests the meaning of the place name as “under the war tree”. This meaning goes beyond the morphological structure to suggest historically relevant information expressed by the name, which will be taken up later in the

chapter. The only other two examples of this type of place name are presented in Table 6.12.

Table 6.12: Nominal + Nominal + Postposition

	Place Name	Internal Structure
a.	<i>Kégbòmè</i>	<i>Ké-</i> <i>gbò</i> <i>mè</i> Sand town containing region/inside N1 N2 PostP Compound PostP 'Sandy town'
b.	<i>Tòsìmè</i>	<i>tò-</i> <i>sì</i> <i>mè</i> River market Containing region N1 N2 PostP Compound PostP 'River market' referring to "the confluence of five streams"

6.2.2.4.5 Nominal + Adjective + Postposition

This sub-category of affixation place names combines the nominal, adjective, and postposition. It is thus no different in terms of structure from other place names that are formed through the use of compounds and spatial terms. In chapter two, section 2.3.3.1, it was explained that adjectives usually follow the head noun directly. This rule applies particularly in the formation of a noun phrase. Apart from the adjective, the role of the postposition remains the same as in other categories of the affixation type of place names. The postposition localizes the nominal, while the adjective describes the part or aspect of the nominal that is the referent of the place name. Examples of such place names are provided in Table 6.13.

Table 6.13: Nominal + Adjective + Postposition Place Names

Place Name	Internal Structure		
a. <i>Gbàxómè</i>	<i>Gbà</i> Town N	<i>xó</i> old ADJ	<i>mè</i> Containing PostP 'Old town'
b. <i>Tóviènú</i>	<i>Tó</i> Mountain N	<i>ví</i> small ADJ	<i>é</i> DET PostP <i>nù</i> mouth 'At the foot of the small mountain'
c. <i>Tóviádzí</i>	<i>Tó</i> Mountain N	<i>ví</i> small ADJ	<i>á</i> DET PostP <i>dzí</i> upper surface' 'On top of the small mountain'

6.2.2.4.6 Place Name + Landscape Term + Postposition

Some place names are composed of place names, landscape terms, and postpositions. These place names rely on the dominance of a landmark, activity, landform, or event. In the case of Àsòglì place names of this kind, the dominating element of the existing place name that is transferred to the new place name usually relates to landforms, which are then localized by the postposition. Such place names indicate that their referents are either segments of previously well-known locations, or places within the vicinity of the known locations. It is usually the case that landscape terms are always inserted between the existing place name and the spatial relation term. The way to understand the structure of these place names has also been discussed in chapter two, subsection 2.4.1.1. Table 6.14 presents examples of this sub-category of place names. Example *a* is made of *tsiyé* (white water), which is a well-known place name, *kpó* (mound), which is a landform, and the spatial relation term *tà* (apex). These three terms combine to form a new place name that describes the raised ground area around the

to their current location. Thus, *Hòfédõ* means something like the place deserted by (the people of) *Hõ*. One should bear in mind, however, that in the context in which *dõ* (hole) can be understood as empty, it explains the idea of desertion in the place name and therefore causes the structure not to be an exocentric compound.

Table 6.15: Place Names + *Àfédõ*

	Place name	Internal Structure
a.	<i>Hòfédõ</i>	<i>Hõ</i> - <i>fédõ</i> PN abandoned settlement 'Hõ old settlement'
b.	<i>Hèvéfédõ</i>	<i>Hèvé</i> <i>fédõ</i> PN abandoned settlement 'Hèvé old settlement'

The second group of compound place names also uses a combination of a place name and *kpódzì* (compound). *Kpódzì* is composed of *kpó* (mound) and *dzì* (upper surface). This co-occurrence has been discussed in chapter four as a relationship between a landscape term and its spatial part. In this context, however, the relationship between *kpó* (mound) and *dzì* (upper surface) is not spatial; it is a compound word whose meaning is not driven by a head word. *Kpódzì* is best translated as 'compound' which is indicative of a housing structure (see example 6).

6. *Kpó- dzì*
Mound upper surface
'Compound'

In Àsògli place names, the compound *kpódzì* is used for places relating to Christian missionary activities. The close association between Christianity and term *kpódzì* is underscored by oral tradition and literature (Awoonor, 1976; Gavua, 2000). Oral history recounts that at the beginning

of their activities among the indigenes, missionaries usually settled at the outskirts of towns and villages in which they carried out their evangelising missions. These settlements were usually constructed on raised grounds and consisted of the dwellings of the missionaries, the schools, hospitals and churches that they established as part of their missionary activities. Converts to Christianity were considered, on the one hand, by the indigenes as traitors and unwelcome members of their communities (Awoonor, 1976). On the other hand, the missionaries considered indigenous communities 'pagan territory' thus expecting converts to live outside of such environments. Therefore, converts were resettled around the dwellings of the missionaries, their schools, hospitals and churches. These created settlements on raised grounds exclusive to the missionaries and their converts in distinction to the places of the indigenous communities came to be known as *kpódzì* (compound)

It would seem, therefore, that the meaning of *kpódzì* (compound) must have developed from the experience of colonial missionary practice in which indigenous settlements were segregated from the residences or quarters of missionaries. Where the school was separated from the missionary quarters, it was described as shown in example 7, while the school area assumed the description in example 8.

7. *Sòlimè* *Kpódzì*
Church Compound
(mission)
'Church/mission compound'

8. *Sùkú* *Kpódzì*
School Compound
'School compound'

As the number of Christian denominations increased, the need to specify a denomination's compound became important. This gave rise to the second phase of the development of the term *kpódzi*-involving the linguistic process of compound place names. Such compound place names specified the name of the denomination that owned the referent of the place name. Place names of this form, represented as PN1 + *kpódzi* (compound), suggest the meaning that *kpódzi* (compound) is owned by the referent of PN1. Table 6.16 presents examples of this sub-category of place names.

Table 6.16: Place Name + *Kpódzi* (compound)

Place Name	Internal Structure
a. <i>Hõ Kpódzi</i>	<i>Hõ</i> <i>Kpódzi</i> Hõ Compound
b. <i>R.C Kpódzi</i>	<i>R.C</i> <i>Kpódzi</i> Roman Catholic Compound 'Roman Catholic Church compound'
c. <i>Zion Kpódzi</i>	<i>Zion</i> <i>Kpódzi</i> Zion compound 'Zion Church compound'
d. <i>E.P. Kpódzi</i>	<i>E.P</i> <i>Kpódzi</i> Evangelical Presbyterian Church Compound 'Evangelical Presbyterian Church compound'

The third group of compound place names consists of a combination of proper name + *kódzi* (settlement). Similar to *kpódzi*, *kódzi* is a compound word whose etymology is better traced to Àsògli cultural healing places and rituals. These were usually carried out at hilly places. From this cultural perspective, *kó* is better understood as hill (see *bàbàkó* 'anthill' in chapter four subsection 4.4.3.1) rather than lump. Example 9 is the illustration of the morphological structure of *kódzi*.

9. *Kó* *dzí*
Hill upper surface
'Settlement'

Generally, *kódzì* is translated as hospital, but the term is actually an abbreviation or clipping of *dònəkòdzì* (sickness suffering owner settlement, see Table 6.17e). This means when *kódzì* is used alone to refer to hospital, there is a metonymic relation because the term itself implies a place where people who share a certain trait can be found. Thus, *kódzì* occurs as the second item of a binominal place name, where the first nominal can be the name of an individual, a clan or a unique group of people identified with a certain trait. Accordingly, the place name *Ànàgókódzì* is composed of *Ànàgó* (Nigerian) and *kódzì* (settlement). *Ànàgókódzì* developed as a settlement of Nigerian immigrants and has remained so till date, since many of the people who live there are Nigerians. *Àqábràkódzì* (Table 6.17b) is another example of a place name involving *kódzì* (settlement). In this case, however, *Àqábrà* is a personal name of the individual who established the settlement. Table 6.17, b-e present other examples of this type of place names.

Table 6.17: Proper Name + *kódzì* (hospital)

Place name	Internal Structure
a. <i>Ànàgókódzì</i>	<i>Ànàgó-</i> <i>kódzì</i> Nigeria settlement 'Settlement of Nigerian immigrants'
b. <i>Àqábràkódzì</i>	<i>Àqábrà-</i> <i>kódzì</i> Personal settlement Name 'Àqábrà's settlement'
c. <i>Àṅlòkódzì</i>	<i>Àṅlò-</i> <i>kódzì</i> Àṅlò settlement 'Settlement of the Àṅlò ethnic group'
d. <i>Kàblèkódzì</i>	<i>Kàblè-</i> <i>kódzì</i> Kàblè settlement 'Settlement of the Kàblè ethnic group'
e. <i>Dònəkódzì</i>	<i>Dò-</i> <i>nò-</i> <i>kódzì</i> Sickness Suffering owner settlement 'Settlement for sick people'

To end the discussion in this unit, I like to present one other type of place name, which is the combination of a nominal + *kófɛ́* (cottage). The term *kófɛ́* can be analysed in two different ways. It could be taken as a dimorphemic term consisting of *kó* (hill) and *fɛ́* (place) or as a monomorphemic term. I propose that the latter alternative to explaining *kófɛ́* is applicable in this research. In this case, the term should be understood from the perspective of a grammaticalisation process developed to a point where the individual constituents of the term cannot be isolated. *Kófɛ́* in this sense means a cottage or settlement.

I place the monomorphemic over the dimorphemic interpretation for a couple of reasons. First, as a dimorphemic term *kó* can be either a nominal or a verb. As a nominal I have interpreted *kó* from different perspectives as “lump” or “hill” (see chapter four). When *kó* is taken to be a nominal, *fɛ́*, consistent with the Èvè language structure must be understood as the Èvè root word for place. The difficulty, however, arises about whether *kófɛ́* can be understood as hilly place, since not every *kófɛ́* is a settlement on raised ground. Thinking as an anthropologist, Spieth (2012) suggests a variant meaning of *kó* as a nominal. He argues from the perspective of the people’s agricultural practices that *kó* be understood as that portion of the Èvè extended family system called *kò* (clan?). But there is a linguistic challenge about this interpretation. Spieth fails to mark tone for the word *kò* suggesting that he confused two different referents. The tone difference which Spieth overlooks has important semantic implications. This means one may not presume that the low tone of *kò* (clan?) is necessarily intended in the term *kófɛ́* (cottage) with the high tone *kó*.

The other reason why I prefer a monomorphemic interpretation is that if *kó* is understood as a verb, *-fÉ* becomes a suffix. Similar words where *-fÉ* is suffixed to a verb exists in Àsòglì Èvè. Examples are *yì-fÉ* (go + place, destination) and *mlò-fÉ* (lie + place, sleeping place). While this is the case, *kó* as a verb has multiple meanings like ‘to be tall’, ‘to lift’ or ‘to carry’. Therefore, a dimorphemic interpretation with *kó* understood as verb also does not completely clarify the ambivalence.

When used as a place name, *kófÉ* occurs as a second item. Two examples of such place names collected from Àsòglì are *HèlútsèkófÉ* and *DzògòkófÉ*, explained in Table 6.18. Following the discussion so far, *HèlútsèkófÉ* is understood as a small farm house established in this case by a person named Hèlútsè. Spieth (2012) corroborates this type of place name which combines a personal name with *kófÉ*.

This place naming strategy which combines a lexical item with *kófÉ* is more common among other independent Èvè states such as the Tòhú and the Àhìlò. For example, the Tòhú Èvè have *SògǎkófÉ* and *MàmǎnékófÉ* while the Àhìlò have *DzèlúkófÉ*, and *KédzíkófÉ* among others. These are however not based on personal names but largely on a perceptually salient feature at the location. For instance, *Ké-dzì-kófÉ* (soil-upper surface-cottage) is based on the type of soil found at the place. When *kófÉ* is associated with farm houses established outside of the main town they are commonly called *àgblèkófÉ* (farm house). According to Spieth (2012), the origin of this place name must be traced to the agricultural practices of the people where farmers travel long distances away from home to find arable land. Once they make their farms, they establish hamlets that allow them to live on the

farm to protect their produce at harvest time. These hamlets, according to Spieth, later develop into settlements of other members of the farmer's family. "The village that [emerges] usually adopts the name of the man who settled there first" (p. 405).

Table 6.18: Proper Name + *kófě* (cottage)

Place Name	Internal Structure
a. <i>Hèlútsèkófě</i>	<i>Hèlútsè</i> - <i>kófě</i> Hèlútsè cottage 'Hèlútsè's cottage'
b. <i>Dzògòkófě</i>	<i>Dzògò</i> - <i>kófě</i> Dzògò cottage 'Dzògò' cottage'

6.2.2.5.1 Substantive + (POSS) + Substantive Compounds

Some complex place names are couched in possessive constructions, that is, their underlying structures are in the form of connective possessive constructions (see Chapter Two). Consistent with the connective possessive constructions in Èvè, the structure of such place names can be represented as NP1 *wó* NP2. However, NP1, usually a proper name, may be a personal or clan name. The possessive connective *wó* connects the NP1 to NP2 which is always *àfě* (home). NP1 possesses NP2.

Example 10 illustrates this type of place name.

10.	<i>Àgbàsíáfě</i>		
	<i>Àgbàsíá</i>	<i>wó</i>	<i>àfě</i>
	<i>Àgbàsíá</i>	POSS	house
	' <i>Àgbàsíá</i> 's house'		

Àgbàsíáfě acquired its name from *Àgbàsíá*, which is the personal name of one of the deities of Àsòglì. The referent location of the place name is the shrine of the deity. It is common practice among the Àsòglì to establish a

home for their gods. This may take the form of a mini structure located at a specific place such as a grove. Such ‘deity-homes’ constituted a kind of localisation of spirit which is comparable to cultures that build alters, temples and churches for their gods. The Àsògli express the practice of spirit localisation as:

11. *Wó-tsò àfÉ ná trǔ-ɔ*
 3PL-cut house for Deity-DEF
 ‘They have established a home for the deity’

With time, and due to speech economy, the possessive connective is omitted and the nominal prefix of *àfÉ* (home) is elided as well. This results in the process of nominalisation leading to the place name consisting of the name of the deity plus *-fÉ* (home).

ÀkófÉ is another example of this type of place name formed through the compounding of *Àkóé* and *fÉ* (home). One account renders the same name as presented in example 12 (Spieth, 2012, p. 636). The tradition explains that NP1 is a proper name operating with NP2 to identify a group of people as the owners of the location described by the place name. NP2 and the possessive connective (now dropped as a result of omission and elision) indicate that the location is owned by a descent group.

12. *Àkóé ví-wó fÉ kófÉ*
Àkóé child-PL POSS Cottage
NP1 NP2
 ‘The cottage of *Àkóé*’s children’

Àkóé (also known as *Káklá Àkóé*) is said to be the progenitor of the people of *ÀkófÉ* and the founder of the settlement. This tradition is the historical basis of the meaning of the name and the legitimation for the claim of the people to be the owners of their habitat (Amekpordi, 2012, p. 47-48). Table 6.19c and d are other examples of this type of place names.

Table 6.19: Substantive + (POSS) + Substantive

	Place name	Internal Structure
a.	<i>Àgbàsíáfé</i>	<i>Àgbàsíá</i> <i>fé</i> Name of deity house' <i>Àgbàsíá</i> 's (a deity's) house'
b.	<i>Àkóéfé</i>	<i>Àkóé</i> <i>-fé</i> Personal name house ' <i>Àkóé</i> 's house'
c.	<i>Múvíéfé</i>	<i>Múvíé</i> <i>-fé</i> Clan name house ' <i>Múvíé</i> 's house'
d.	<i>Hònúvíéfé</i>	<i>Hònúvíé</i> <i>-fé</i> Clan name house ' <i>Hònúvíé</i> 's house'

6.2.2.6 Sentential Place Names

The last group of Àsògli place names, which for want of a better description I propose to call sentential place names are presented in Table 6.20. These place names are easy to reconstruct as the verbs usually tell important aspects of the event that informed the place-naming process. Example *c* in the Table 6.20, *Èdàfèlènyàmè* (take (one's) leg from trouble), is a good example of this type of place names. Its gloss shows that the vowel of the verb *dè* (remove) is elided when followed by the noun *àfè* (leg) thereby allowing the nominal prefix to take its place. This elision process is different from what has been discussed so far, since it is usually the nominal prefixes that are dropped. Yet, the elision of the *e* of the verb is consistent with what pertains in the Èvè language. Duthie (1996, p. 25) explains this kind of elision as follows: "vowel prefixes of nouns may drop out, sometimes leaving their tone behind, when they are preceded by

another noun or sometimes by a verb. If the vowel of the verb is *e*, then that *e* may be dropped instead”.

The sentence *dè àfɔ̀ lè nyà mè* (remove leg from trouble) is a common everyday expression used by the Àsòglì to communicate their desire to avoid trouble. For instance, when a person makes the statement in example 13, that individual wishes to dissociate himself or herself from all issues concerning Adzo.

13. *mè-dè àfɔ̀ lè Adzo wó nyà mè*
 1SG-remove leg be.at Adzo POSS word inside
 ‘I have dissociated myself from issues concerning Adzo’

The common meaning embedded in this kind of expression explains the etymology of the place name. According to oral tradition, shortly after the Àsòglì made their first settlement at *Kòmèdzralě*, some misunderstandings developed between two families, which compelled one of them to migrate and establish the referent location as a rather sarcastic way of informing the opposing faction that they have no desire to continue a fight.

Table 6.20: Sentential Place Names

Place Name	Internal Structure				
a. <i>Hèvé</i>	<i>Hè</i> pull V	<i>vé (gbě)</i> grass N	‘Way maker’		
b. <i>Xòvì</i>	<i>Xò</i> receive V	<i>vì</i> child N	‘Receive a child’		
c. <i>Đàfɔ̀lènyàm</i> <i>è</i>	<i>Đè-</i> remove V	<i>àfɔ̀-</i> leg N	<i>lè-</i> be at V	<i>nyà-</i> word N	<i>mè</i> containing region PostP
	‘Remove one’s leg from trouble/avoid trouble’				

d	<i>Mótàkpéfé</i>	<i>Mó-</i>	<i>tà-</i>	<i>kpé-</i>	<i>fé</i>
		road	top	meet	place
.		N	PostP	V	LOC
		‘place of convergence’			

6.3 Discussion: Making Meaning of Àsòglì Place Naming Practices

This subsection discussed how the morphological structure of Àsòglì place names gives clues to their semantic implications. This way of making meaning offers an opportunity for a general understanding of Àsòglì place names. The analysis has shown that while Àsòglì place names can be simple or complex, the latter form the majority of the place names. Àsòglì place naming practices use spatial relation terms, landscape features, socio-historical events, and proper names of persons, clans and ethnic groups.

Given that traditional Àsòglì relied frequently on oral tradition, it is significant to note that sentential place naming does not attain the level of prominence one would expect for a society that keeps knowledge in oral form. The explanation may be due to the fact that Àsòglì naming practices would seem to be based more on the geophysical salience. Thus, even place names that have socio-historical connotations are non-sentential complex place names formed from names that serve as event markers rather than sentences that explain the socio-historical event that is referenced by the place name. Similarly, personal names or eponyms (especially of the simple type) are uncommon. Simple or monomorphic place names typically refer to a landscape feature found in a particular location. For example, *Hlihà* (fericrust rock) is the landform found in the suburb of Ho bearing the name.

Having analysed Àsògli place names it is now possible to turn attention to their semantic classification. This classification can be done according to the referent location, that is, a town or landscape feature. Such an analysis helps to answer questions relating to the kinds of things that receive place names and the unique naming strategies that are involved. In the sections that follow, I attempt to outline through the use of tables, the patterns of names that emerge when we try to understand Àsògli place names from the perspective of their semantic content.

6.4 Semantics of Àsògli Place Names by Traditional Area and Major Towns

Constituents of the names of Àsògli traditional areas and their suburbs suggest five domains of meaning for the place names—socio-economic activity, landscape feature, spatial relation term, clan names, and non-indigenous sources. Table 6.21 presents Àsògli place names according to this semantic scheme.

Table 6.21: Àsògli Traditional Areas and their Major Towns

Traditional Area	Towns	Semantic Content	Traditional Area	Towns	Semantic Content
<i>Hõ</i>	<i>Hõ</i>	Traditional economic activity	<i>Tàklà</i>	<i>Tàklà</i>	Historical event + Myth + Non-indigenous
	<i>Dòmè</i>	Spatial relation term		<i>Gbàxómè</i>	
	<i>Hèvé</i>	Traditional function		<i>Dòmè</i>	Spatial Relation
	<i>Àxǎé</i>	Ethnonym		<i>Tókó</i>	Spatial Relation
	<i>Bankóé</i>	Traditional function		<i>Dzèvǎé</i>	???
	<i>Hlìhà</i>	Landscape feature			
<i>Àkóéfé</i>	<i>Àkóéfé</i>	Personal name	<i>Kpéǎé</i>	<i>Kpéǎé</i>	Mythical Character
	<i>Gàdzà</i>	???		<i>Àtsóǎì</i>	Clan name
	<i>Àtsǎí</i>	Landscape feature/god		<i>Àdèsíǎkú</i>	Clan name

<i>Àvènyí</i>	Landform term	<i>Àgàdzí</i>	Clan name
<i>Kégbòm</i>	Landscape feature	<i>Àsíálē</i>	Clan name
<i>Àgòdàké</i>	Landscape feature	<i>Dèglèvètsú</i>	Clan Name
<i>Tókó</i>	Spatial Relation	<i>/Glètsú</i>	
		<i>Gbòxómè</i>	

It is visible from Table 6.21 that among the four traditional areas of Àsògli, *Hõ*, *Àkóféfé*, *Tàklà*, and *Kpéyèé*, only *Kpéyèé* uses an identifiable clan system of naming its major towns. This means the names of the suburbs of *Kpéyèé* traditional area are the same as the names of the clans of the traditional area.

6.4.1 Place Names Designating Water Features

More than half of the place names associated with water features (about 57%) reference names of gods or spiritual forces that are believed to inhabit the waterbodies. This pattern of naming water features suggests that Àsògli conceptualise waterbodies from a metaphysical perspective. The reasons for and the nature of this way of conceptualising water bodies is subject to further investigation, especially because not all waterbodies are given names to imply that they are abodes of gods or spirits. For example, some waterbodies capture the physical state or perceptual feature of the waterbody itself.

It was observed (see Chapter Five) that the waterbodies in the territory are typically small and as a result they are mostly described as *tsìtsàtsà* (roaming water/stream). The structural way in which this ‘smallness’ is represented is the use of compounds consisting of *tsì* (water) and a descriptive adjective which specifies the unique feature. Examples

are *Tsìgblē* (bad water) and *Tsìyê* (white water). Rather than indicate aspects of how the Àsògli conceptualise such waterbodies, this type of place name would seem to relate more to descriptions of the state or quality of the water in view of its usability. For example, *Tsìgblē* (polluted water) indicates that the water is not potable. Conversely, *Tsìyê* (white water) describes the whitish/milky colour of the water. According to a research participant, *Tsìyê* is considered as ‘pure water’ in the sense of being potable. Another example of waterbody place names is *Wótàé*. According to research participants, the name refers to the colour of the water, which is likened to *wó* (flour) *tà* (roast) *é* (DIM). The name, thus, means ‘roasted flour’, which by association describes the brownish colour of the water in the river *Wótàé*. One of the delicacies of the people called *dzènkplé* is prepared with roasted corn, which is then ground into flour. The meal is cooked by pouring the floured into a pot of soup and mixed while the soup boils until the combination solidifies and can be dished and served.

Some place names designating waterbodies are based on a perceptually salient feature at the location of the waterbody, rather than on a feature of the water itself. These features are usually the species of flora found at the location or the kind of vegetation at the place. Evidently, most of the plant names found in place names refer to species that are important in some way or other to the community’s cultural practices. However, when certain species are used as part of place names, they usually encode a perceptually salient landmark. These kinds of place names are encoded linguistically with the name of the landmark and a postposition. *Àqàqòmè* (under the *Saccharum* bush) is an example of place names that identifies its

referent as a waterbody that takes its source from a location dominated by the *Saccharum* bush. Similarly, *Dzò̀nù̀tò̀é* (fire mouth river DIM, meaning, river in savannah region) is located at a place where the vegetation is *Dzò̀gbè* (fire area/savannah) (see Chapter Five, subsection 5.2.2). The waterbody was therefore given the name based on its location and the possibility of the dry season having an effect on it.

As in the case of other categories of place names, some waterbody related names also refer to historical events that took place around them. These events may be, for example, experiences of the manifestation of the god that inhabits the waterbody. An example of this category of place names is *Xò̀vì*, which can be glossed literally (see Table 6.22) as, *xò̀* (receive), *vì* (child). *Xò̀vì*, is said to have acquired its name from a myth about the river spirit snatching a baby from a nursing mother, who went there to draw water. It is believed that the baby snatching was the water god's revelation of its presence in the water and an expression of which taboos the people were to observe regarding their use of the river.

A few place names can also encode the sensory experience afforded by the waterbody. The name *Àlálè* is traced to the ideophone *láláálá* (smoothly), which describes the smooth flow of the water as well as the smooth feeling that comes with its taste and journey down the throat. Another example of a waterbody place name which is attributed to the sensory experience it induces is *Waya* (Appendix A). *Wà* (to do) and *yàà* (ideophone) together means "to become refreshed". It is said to offer a feeling of refreshment and relaxation after drinking its water. Hardly do the *Àsò̀gli* name a waterbody from the perspective of what they are used

for. There is only one such name, *Àgblènúdòmè* (under the hoe), that attests to a functional motivation for naming. Its referent is said to have been a place for people returning from their farms to clean their implements before going home. Table 6.22 presents an example of each of the categories of waterbody related place names discussed in this section.

Table 6.22: Examples of waterbody related place names by category

Category	Place Name	Internal Structure	
State/perceptual feature of the waterbody	<i>Tsìgblě</i>	<i>Tsì</i> Water	<i>gblě</i> spoil 'Polluted water'
Event	<i>Xòvì</i>	<i>Xò</i> Receive	<i>Vì</i> Child 'Snatch child'
Perceptual feature at the location	<i>Tsìvé</i>	<i>Tsì</i> water	<i>Vé</i> Forest 'Water forest'
Sensory Experience	<i>Àlálè</i>	<i>Àlálè</i> Ideophone	
Function	<i>àgblènúdòmè</i>	<i>Àgblènú</i> Hoe	<i>dòmè</i> Bottom 'Under the hoe'
Habitat of local gods	<i>Àmànúvé</i>		

6.4.2 Place Names Designating Other Landscape Terms

The important element about the semantics of place names containing landscape terms is their direct association with an event or a physical perceptual characteristic of the place. Usually the perceptual element of the place being named is vegetation or the thing that conspicuously populates the location such as game. From this perspective such place names not only explain the semantics, but also point to how

people have related with the vegetation over time. For example, from this perspective we notice how places, now reduced through human activity to grassland, bear names that suggest they used to be forests some time ago (at the time they were named). Such place names have the the general form (a)vé (forest), as found in names such as *Tsivé* (water forest), *Àhàvé* (alcoholic beverage forest), and *Yévé* (white clay forest). Regarding landscape-term related place names that reference the kind of game that was found in abundance at the location, there is the example of *Klàtsàvékóé*. This place name is indicative of the abundance of *klàtsà* (antelope) at the location.

Apart from focusing on the type of vegetation or dominant species of a kind, we have previously discussed other significant variations in the strategies that the Àsògli employ in naming landforms. These strategies also relate to the meanings of landscape terms and related place names. For example, the strategy for naming mountains was usually associative, allowing mountains to be named after their location. Thus, *Kpéjéétó* (*Kpéjéé*-mountain) simply means the mountain located at the place called *Kpéjéé*. Research participants from *Hõ* were of the view that the mountain, now called *Gà-lè-ηkú-í-tó* (metal-be.at-eye-DIM-mountain, meaning, in the small spectacles mountain) did not bear a name until the German governor came to reside on it. It was therefore easy to associate the mountain more with the governor.

There is a general principle of considering landforms as abode for spirits forces. But this principle differs from one cultural group to another. The variation is demonstrated between the Asogli and their neighbours

mountains were abodes of spirits. For instance, unlike their neighbours in *Mátsě* and *Tókókóé* consider mountains called *Fiàkpé* and *Nútídzrálè* as being inhabited by spirits, but the Àsòglì do not seem to associate any supernatural forces with mountains. Rather, they believe that it is the rocks that are abodes of spirits. Examples of such rocks abound in Àsòglì. *Àsíàtǔkpé* (five fingers stone) in *Àkóéfé*, is considered a great deity of war and is still revered. *Àbàlì*, is another example of a spirit inhabited rock at the summit of the *Távíéfé* mountain. It is believed to be the provider of water for the stream that bears the place name *Àbàlì* (Spieth, 2012, p. 669). Other examples are *Kpétsú* and *Àvávíkpe*. Figure 7 is a bar chart indicating percentage of all landforms that are given a name by the people.

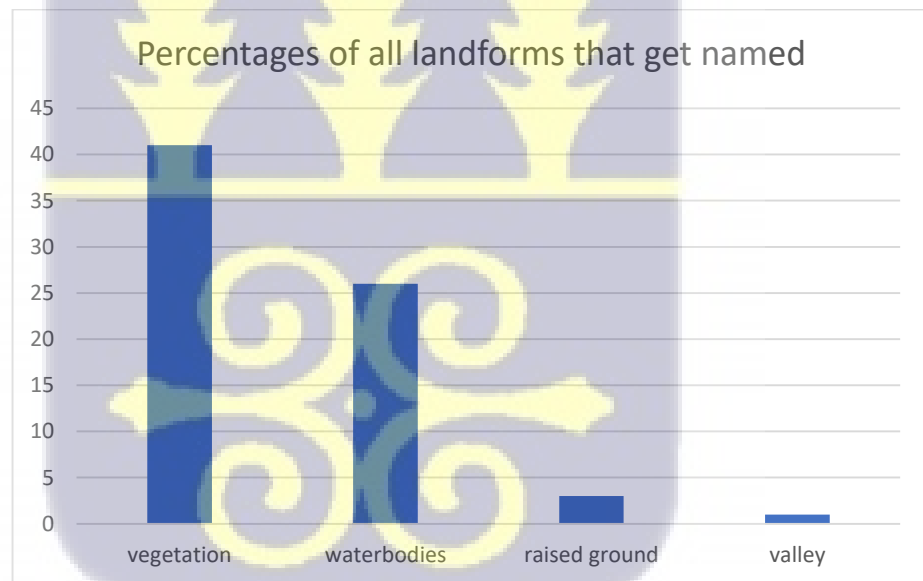


Figure 6.7: Percentage of landforms that are given names

6.4.3 Place Names Relating to Colonial Presence in Àsòglì

Some scholars who study place names with colonial underpinnings are mostly interested in unpacking their meanings from the perspective of

power relations (Heikkila, 2014; Heikkila, 2007). Heikkila (2007, p. 9), for example, is of the view that it is possible to understand

the long reaching effects of colonial toponymy and related cartography [by observing] how ... the manner in which people envision, comprehend and interact among themselves in relation to the land they occupy, has been managed, used and re-fashioned by colonial powers.

This means that indigenous place naming practices that result from colonial encounters manifest complex levels of power negotiations between indigenes and colonialists, and their attending social, cultural, economic and political transformations.

In this research the focus is not concerned directly with such post-colonial theoretical exploration of place names. The point here is to show how the semantics of some Àsògli place names can be traced to the colonial experience, beginning with the German occupation of what was then called the Trans-Volta Togoland. The main point of reference to this effect is *Gàlènkúító* (see example 14), the name of the mountain in *Hõ*, and how it preserves Àsògli specific memories of the colonial experience.

14. *Gà* *lè* *ɲkú* *í* *mè*
Metal be at eye DIM containing region
N V N PostP
'In the small spectacles'

Oral tradition has it that *gàlènkúí-tó* (*gàlènkúí*-mountain), from which the place got its name *Gàlènkúí-mè* (within *Gàlènkúí*), was the residence of the Germans around the 19th century. *Gàlènkúí* is a metonymic expression the Àsògli associated with the then Governor Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg, who was known for wearing spectacles. The Èvè

term for spectacles is *gàṅkúí* (small metal eye). By inserting the locative verb *lè* (be at) the term *gàlèṅkúí* literally means ‘spectacles be at the eyes (of the governor)’.

There is archaeological evidence to the fact that the remains of the rock building foundation at the location reflect European occupation of the site in the late nineteenth century, since such a foundation is different from the “wattle and daub” building style used by the early local settlers (Dogbey, 2015, p. 7). Figure 6.8 is a photo of the ruins of the German governor’s residence on *Gàlèṅkúító* in *Hõ*. *Gàlèṅkúító* served as residence for the British from the time they took over from the Germans in 1918 till the 1950s when they left. The area is currently under the control of the Forestry Department of the Volta Region.



Figure 6.8: Ruins of the main house foundation of *Gàlèṅkúító*, Adapted from Dogbey, 2015, p. 8

6.4.4 Place Names Relating to the Àsògli-Asante War

One of the important elements of Àsògli oral tradition is the war they fought against the invasion of the Asante state. It is, therefore, not surprising that several place names tend to document some aspects of the war. Two place names selected from among the others can be used to demonstrate how Àsògli tradition captures the war through the semantic content of some place names. The first of the two examples is *Àvàtìqòmè* (under the war tree). It is believed that the referent location of this name was associated with the war, serving particularly as a place of the traditional oath of war characteristically known to the people as *Hõwó fé fié* (oath of the night). Spieth (2012, p. 29) recorded this battle when he described the 1869/70 war in which the North German Mission station was destroyed. My research participants could recall that portion of the tradition which holds that a woman who was working on her farm heard the Asante warriors marching towards the *Hõ* town. She managed to go stealthily ahead of them and announced the imminent danger of an attack by the Asante to the chief of *Hõ*. It is believed that the battle that ensued between the people and the Asante took place at the referent location, that is, *Àvàtìqòmè* (under the tree). The account of my participants is corroborated by Spieth's ethnographic data. Spieth's narrator includes details regarding how the Asante attacked the mission station in *Hõ*. This mission station is currently located close to the then *Àvàtìqòmè*. Spieth's record concludes that sensing defeat, the people of *Hõ* fled to *Tàklà* that night.

6.5 Changes in Àsòglì Place Naming Practices

The discussion thus far has been on the linguistic form and semantic content of Àsòglì place names. It was observed that the place names are both simple and complex and may be motivated by a perceptually salient feature at the location, a historical event, economic activity, a clan name, or personal names of founders of the settlements. In contemporary times, however, there are certain changes in the place naming practices of the Àsòglì Èvè. One finds a growing number of new names that are encoded mainly in foreign languages, especially English and Akan. Borrowing, the technical description of this new toponymic trend, is a nominalisation process in which words from other languages are adopted into a recipient language and modified to suit its linguistic structures. Unlike the traditional or indigenous Àsòglì place names, the emerging or borrowed place names do not seem to follow any combinatorial pattern. Rather, they emerge as English or other language names for churches, hotels, schools, shops, hospitals, and government administrative departments, which are then ascribed to whole residential areas or other referent locations of their vicinity. Evidently, these emerging place names are substituting indigenous names. Table 6.23 is a proportionate breakdown of indigenous place names and emerging place names according to the four traditional areas of Àsòglì.

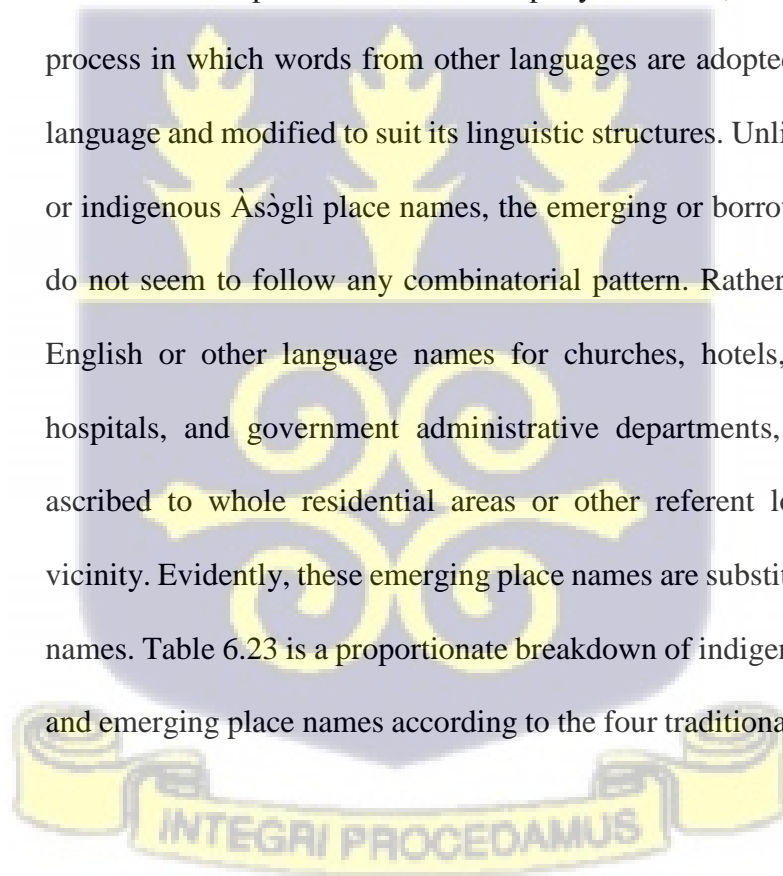


Table 6.23 descriptive breakdown of indigenous place names and emerging names

Traditional Area	Total place name	Traditional Place Names	Borrowed Place Names
<i>Hõ</i>	125	89 (71%)	36 (29%)
<i>Tàklà</i>	29	26 (93%)	2 (7%)
<i>Àkóéfé</i>	43	26 (87%)	3 (10%)
<i>Kpéjòé</i>	19	14 (88%)	2 (12%)
Total	216	155 (78%)	43 (22%)

New names constitute 22% of the total number of place names collected from the field. The data also indicate that the new names are growing fastest in *Hõ* (29%) traditional area. This can be accounted for in different ways. First is the development of economic activities in the area. *Hõ* performs both traditional and civil administrative functions for the Àsògli state and the Volta Region, as described in earlier chapters. *Hõ* town is the seat of a paramountcy for the Àsògli state and also serves as the capital for *Hõ* Zonal Council as well as the administrative capital of the Volta Region of Ghana. As a result, *Hõ* has become a hub for developmental infrastructure, including hospitals, schools, churches, barracks, and real estate. It also serves as the hub for good education in the region. For instance, Mawuli (Senior High) School, OLA Senior High, and Mawuko Girls in *Hõ* are perceived to provide the best standards of senior secondary education in the Volta Region. Recently, the establishment of two universities, University of Health and Allied Sciences (UHAS) and Evangelical Presbyterian University College (EPUC) has catapulted the infrastructural development in the area. It is thus possible to understand how the names of these relatively monumental institutions or buildings

quickly replace and cause the extinction of existing traditional names of their respective locations.

Table 6.24 lists examples of place names that have changed due to new naming trends arising from the new political, economic and social circumstances of *Hõ*. For example, the location that was formally called *Àsòṅfómè* (the place of warriors) is now called *Winners' Chapel* (referencing a Christian church built in the area). The fact that both names may have something religious about them may be sheer coincidence. Still, the change is interesting given that the most important activity and center of attraction (religion/church) replaces a defunct activity (war rituals). In cultural memory theory, churches and other symbolic monuments frequently serve as mnemonic triggers for initiating meanings of heritage and importance attached to places. This may well be the case for the naming of *Àsòṅfómè* and now the name *Winners' Chapel International*.

A similar example is *Hõ Kpódzì*, which used to be the settlement of the Bremen Missionaries. Before their arrival, the place was called *Kívèkpótà*. Thus, *Hõ Kpódzì* predates *Winners' Chapel International* and though both names share the same naming trend, the former still found expression in Èvè, while the latter changed both in name and language.

Table 6.24 lists the changes in some *Àsòḡlì* place names according to the categories of institutional or other circumstantial factors that led to the new names. Here, only a few examples have been provided. The fact that the new names tend to erase the knowledge of older and more traditional names from communal memory was corroborated by the unfamiliarity of participants below the age of fifty years, excepting my key informant, with

the older names. However, some new names occurred with the new situation and do not have any previous names that must give way to the new ones. For example, the places now called *Balthasar tá tó* or *New Jerusalem* did not yield any data about previous indigenous names.

Some scholars have pointed out that native speakers of a language would usually have access to a resource/store of names (onomasticon) in their locality. Some names from this resource are known to only those in a locality, others to people in districts and still others to people in regions (Helleland, 2012 citing Olsen, 1939). However, my data would seem to indicate that levels of knowledge of the referential system of place names can also be generational. This means that in contrast to Helleland's model where name users' knowledge of names is based on locality, district or region, Àsògli onomasticon seems to be based more on age. Older people have more knowledge of names than the younger ones. What is worse, it is not just the younger generation that does not know about older place names, but it is also the case that contemporary sources such as Google Maps and other digital place naming systems too record only the new names. Thus, both Àsògli new naming practices and contemporary digital place naming systems run the risk of obliterating indigenous names in Àsògli. This shows that place-naming practices are not static and names of places may not be permanent.

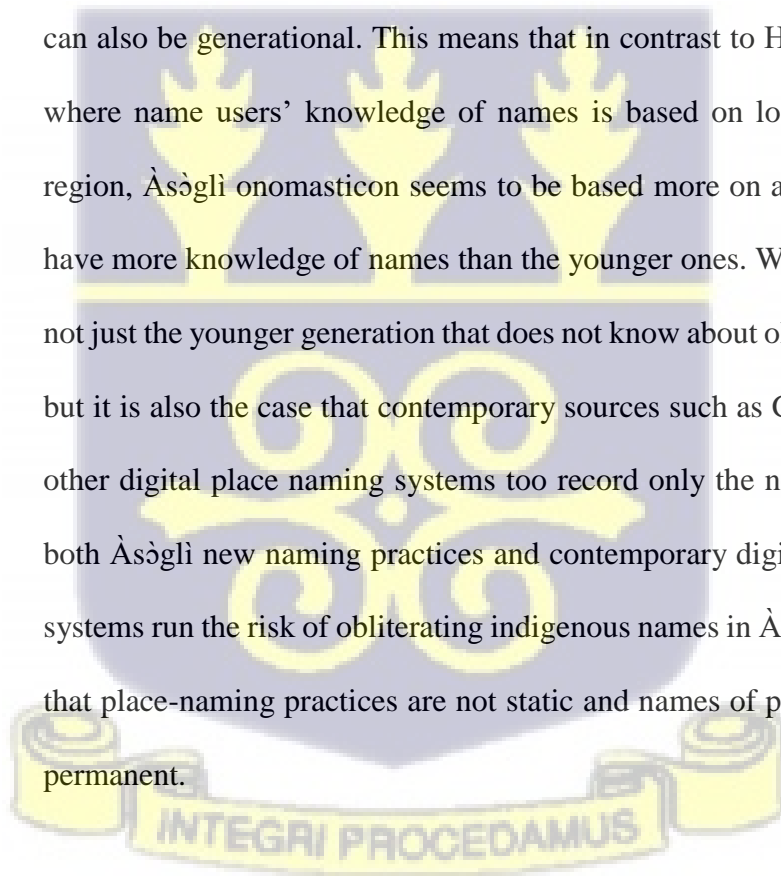


Table 6.24 Changing Naming Practices and their resultant New Names

Category	Traditional Àsòglì Name	New Name	Language of the New Name
Churches	<i>Àsònfómè</i> <i>Tòsìmè</i>	Winners' Chapel International Redeem and Zion (church)	English
Market	<i>Dùgbàdzà</i>	Ho central market or Àsigāmè	
Residential areas		Medical Village	
Civil Administration		Mawuli Estate Ministries	
Hotels		Residency Chances Hotel	
Schools	<i>dàfòlènyàmè</i>	Tarso Hotel Mawuli School	
Hospitals		Our Lady of Apostles (OLA) Trafaga	
Others	<i>Lútà</i> <i>Hòsità</i>	Leprosarium Barracks Newtown Power House	

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter answered research questions relating to the linguistic processes involved in naming places among the Àsòglì Èvè. It illustrated how the place names reflect Àsòglì cultural memories, beliefs, and values which are indicators of how they conceptualise the physical world. The analysis was based on the linguistic form and semantic content of the place names. In terms of form, the findings revealed that Àsòglì place names can be simple (basic) or complex. The simple place names are typically definite terminologies, which offer clues for reconstructing the etymology of the place names. Complex place names, on the other hand, are structurally

phrases or sentences formed through the processes of compounding and affixation.

Important ideas arising from the discussion include the fact that, firstly, the Àsòglì draw a close semantic association between landscape terms and place names. Landscape terms feature prominently in place names and function, generally, as the generic labels in the structure of the place names. As a result, they suggest the geo-physical nature of the referent location at the time of naming. Secondly, spatial relation terms in Àsòglì place names localise the generic labels in the names. For instance, the fact that postpositions such as *dòmè* (under), *mè* (containing region/inside) are used in forming place names indicate that spatial concepts are important models that the people use to structure their environment. However, even though intrinsic, relative, and absolute frames of reference exist as spatial labels in the Èvè language, they do not feature in Àsòglì place names.

Thirdly, several place names describe their referent locations in ways that suggest that the place names are linked to historical events and the mythology of the people. This connection substantiates the social and cultural functions that place names continue to perform for various groups of people.

Finally, there is evidence of change in Àsòglì place naming practices. These changes reflect not only in the languages in which they are formed but also the referent “items” of the names.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Summary

The main objective of this thesis was to explain the unique ways in which the Àsògli Èvè construe, categorise and relate to their physical environment by studying their landscape terms and place names. The study identified with contemporary interdisciplinary research in the humanities, which proposes that the way a group of people categorise their environment reveals the way they understand and relate to their ecology. The outcome of the study has added to existing knowledge about the Àsògli. For example, their ways of naming different geographical entities do not only tell how they relate with their habitat, but also uncover aspects of their history, beliefs, values and cultural practices (Burenhult 2008; Mark and Turk, 2003; Rybka, 2015; Batoma, 2006; Brown, 2016; Myers, 2016; Pirie, 2016). The study has also added to knowledge in the discussion about developing a cross-cultural model of ideas about the physical environment. Such conceptualisations play an important role in the different practices of environmental management. In this regard, the study makes a contribution to current concerns for sustainable development and the need for intergenerational equity.

The study sought to attain this objective from the perspectives of language and language use by highlighting the structural aspects that provide a way of understanding the linguistic processes that underlie the people's perception about the world (Kropp-Dakubu, 2013). These

structural aspects were the focus of the second chapter of the thesis which described relevant aspects of Èvè, the language spoken by the Àsògli people. The chapter highlighted key phonological, morphological and syntactic features of the language, which are deemed to have direct implications for understanding the linguistic processes involved in the formation of landscape terms and place names, and their interpretations. Chapter two also laid the foundation for understanding the way that data regarding space and spatial relations were analysed and discussed. The treatment was limited to static spatial relation only, thus, discussing topological relations and frame of reference that concentrated mainly on postpositions, which denotes spatial axial parts and regions.

Methodological concerns were taken up in chapter three of the study. Research on African-specific questions in the humanities today is faced with the challenge of how to produce African-centred knowledge by taking seriously African experiences and indigenous knowledge (Awuah-Nyamekye, 2013; Haverkort, Apusigah, Millar, Shankar, Rist, & Delgado, 2012). Thus, to satisfy the interest of explaining the unique ways in which the Àsògli perceive the physical world, I sought to respond to this challenge by adopting frameworks that did not presume a normative relevance of Western theories and analytic methods. One would, therefore, look in vain for specific Western theories that underly major parts and themes of the research. Consequently, I used frameworks that work together in an ecumenical way, and where applicable, the theories on which my thoughts and discussions were based have been highlighted. Notable among these theories and approaches, was the use of semantic decomposition as an

analytic method and of Minimal English (ME) based on the natural semantic metalanguage (NSM) (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2014) as the metalanguage for the representation of the meanings of the landscape terms.

The results obtained from a research project are just as good as its approach and design. Departing from the premise that Àsòglì traditions and indigenous knowledge are available in the form of oral tradition and in everyday language use, the study was conducted from an ethnographic perspective. Data was generated from extended field studies of a total of an eight-month period of immersion, during which individual and group interviews, and participant observations were conducted. Chapter three of the thesis was dedicated to a description of my research methodology and how it was applied on the field. What needs renewed expression here is the tremendous contribution of key informants in terms of their role as gate keepers—those who facilitate entry into the communities and places otherwise inaccessible to the general public (Bryman, 2012) and their role as custodians of indigenous Àsòglì knowledge. Though data was subjected to linguistic treatment, the findings can be said to be the result of looking beyond linguistics for knowledge from other disciplines such as history, geography, and anthropology.

The remaining chapters treated the main content of the research. They dealt with the linguistic structure of Àsòglì terms of the landscape and names of locations. The discussion focused on the linguistic structure, conceptual content, ontological status, and spatial parts of the terms collected from the field. The relationship between landscape terms and body parts was also considered. *Ànyígà*, the closest term that one may

associate with the concept of “landscape”, is treated in chapter four as a kind of superordinate to other Àsòglì landscape terms (see chapter four, diagram 4.1). The analysis of the term resulted in the finding that its conceptual content varies in various linguistic contexts depending on the perspective from which it was used. As such, *ànyígbá* yields a much more diverse meaning of “landscape” in Èvè than its geo-scientific specifications. For example, the analysis showed that *ànyígbá* could have an “earth” reading when considered from the perspective of *xéxémè* (world). In this context, it is either an entity created by a god or a place analogous to *dzifó* (sky). From another perspective, *ànyígbá* has “land” and/or “territory” readings, when it is conceived as an entity with well-defined boundaries that can be possessed and used by individuals or groups of people. From yet another perspective, *ànyígbá* is conceived as “ground”, connoting a locational meaning. The analysis of *ànyígbá* substantiates Lyon’s (1977) observation about the ambiguity of landscape terms. The people conceive of the landscape they occupy both as an entity and a place.

As a superordinate term, *ànyígbá* has several hyponyms occurring in three main classes—raised ground, vegetation area, and water features. Hyponyms relating to raised ground were treated together with *ànyígbá* in chapter four, while those of vegetation area and water features were treated in chapter five. Chapter six was dedicated to treating place names. In what follows, I recapitulate essential points of the discussion and the answers the chapters suggest for the research questions that guided the study.

7.2 Àsòglì linguistic processes in place naming and landscape categorisation

This part of the conclusion addresses the first research question about how to understand the linguistic processes employed by the Àsòglì in categorising their landscape and naming places. At the end of the chapters dealing with Àsòglì place names and landscape terms, there were two essential suggestions for answering this first research question. First, the Àsòglì use four morphological processes. These are compounding, reduplication, affixation and coinage. In compounding, the Àsòglì bring together a number of lexical words, originally independent of each other to function as a single unit (Dimmendaal, 2000), for example *tógbèkà* (mountain range). The Àsòglì also form landscape terms by repeating a part or the whole base of a word in the process called reduplication or duplication (Akmajian, Demers, Farmer & Harnish, 1990). This is shown, for example in the term *tsìtsétsé* (water fruiting) (see chapter five, subsection 5.3.1.1, example 64).

When the Àsòglì use place names such as *àvènyúi* (Table 6.9), they are making use of a compound and diminutive affixation, showing that some of their place names are composed from affixes attached to other lexical items. In the case of affixation, the processes are combined in various terms such as a combination of a landscape term and a postposition (for example *dzògbèdzí*, see chapter five, subsection 5.2.1.3, example 42). The fourth process — coinage, is a word formation process that allows the invention of new words. This approach of new word formation is illustrated in terms such as *àvè* (forest), *tá* (pond), *tò* (river) among others.

7.3 Uniqueness and Variation as Continuum

The next question that the study sought to answer was whether one could account for culturally specific elements unique to Àsògli linguistic processes in landscape labelling, place naming and spatial language. The study provided support for understanding cultural uniqueness to include the sense of a continuum. Existing literature (Brown, 2008; Levinson, 2008) has established that the processes leading to landscape terms, place naming and spatial language are generally informed by three important elements. These are perceptual salience, affordances and cultural significance. All three were found to play a role in Àsògli linguistic processes, but this did not negate the unique ways in which these elements played out in Àsògli Èvè. For example, perceptual salience plays different roles in the conceptualisation of the landform “mountain” in English, Èvè and Yélf Dnye, a language researched by Levinson (2008).

In English and Māori (Murton, 2011), size plays a key role in distinguishing between a mountain and a hill. This does not seem to be the case for Èvè and Yélf Dnye. Size is needed to define *tó* (mountain) in Èvè, but size variation is not the strongest motivation for conceptualizing and categorizing *tó* in the first place. Where there is need to emphasize variation in size, an adjective is introduced to qualify the term *tó* (mountain) as in *tókplĩ* (small mountain). It would seem, then, that the essential role of perceptual salience for the definition of *tó* (mountain) in Àsògli is from the perspective of height. This inference from the data led to the conclusion in chapter four that size was “indeterminate for conceptualizing *tó* (mountain) among the Àsògli” (section 4.6). Similarly, the Yélf Dnye term *mbu*,

(mountain, hill), is unspecified for size. It is even used as a description for crab mounds on the beach (Levinson, 2008). Thus, the way the term *mbu* categorizes its referents depends more on their (conical) shape.

These examples suggest that talking about cultural specificity can also be understood as the extent to which different cultural groups make use of the same processes at different points of a continuum. In this case, we can say of the example about “mountain” above that using different properties of perception, different languages and cultures give salience to certain perceptual properties. English would seem to emphasize “size”, Eve, “height” and Yéli Dnye, “shape”. The various ways in which size, height, and material make-up of the landforms are emphasized in the formation of landscape terms in Eve was elaborated in the respective chapters of the thesis. This means that the conceptual content of the landscape terms was analysed and represented in a way to understand language to reveal the perceptual properties of the terms. For example, height was important for conceptualising *tó* (mountain) and the perceptual property of length was important for conceptualising *tsì* (stream) and *tò* (river).

7.4 Ontology of Landscape Terms and Àsògli Knowledge of the World

The other research question that guided the study was about what we can understand of the nature of Àsògli conceptualization of their environment when considered from the nature and meanings of their landscape terms. As is the case with other studies of this kind, this question is also interested in the ontology that the terms project. How do Àsògli landscape terms capture concepts of entity (thing) and place (location)?

It was found that by the use or avoidance of postpositions, Àsòglì landscape terms capture the idea of entities and places (Lyons, 1977). For example, *àvè* (forest) is an entity, which is made of *àtí* (tree), *kà* (vine) and *gbě* (grass); however, when it is conceived of as a place, it occurs with various postpositions to indicate parts or express locative regions. In this regard, when *àvè* (forest) occurs in the construction *àvè mè* (inside the forest), the focus is on a place where things exist or happen. Ameka (1995, p. 146) formulates the idea succinctly when he says postpositions, by their nature “designate and create places as entities (as opposed to place as a relation)”.

Closely connected with the question of the ontology of landscape terms is their relation to body-parts. Here it was found that “Èvè postpositions are mostly grammaticalised human body part terms that have evolved into an independent identifiable word class” (Ameka & Essegbey, 2006, p. 146, see chapter 2). But it is not just that human body parts are related to postpositions in Èvè. They also provide affordances for representing the construal of space, and for expressing topological relations and frames of reference. The importance of body part terms and how they relate with landscape terms was discussed in chapter two under the section that treated spatial language. The discussion concluded that the relationship between landscape terms and body part terms can be direct or indirect. The direct relationship is expressed by imposing parts of the body onto the landscape guided by how similarity of shape. This occurred especially in the way the Àsòglì described or named raised grounds. For example, it was found that the term for mountain, *tó*, has some relation with the human body

part *tó* (ear) based on their perceptual similarities of shape and protrusion from their surrounding grounds. The same observation applies to other terms in the domain of raised ground. It was particularly interesting to find that the use of body part terms was one of the ways in which Àsòglì demonstrated cross-cultural variation regarding the properties for labelling the landscape (Burenhult, 2008; Bromhead, 2011). For example, the Àsòglì conceptualize what the English call ant hill, that is, a raised ground resulting from termite activity, as *bàbàkó* (termite hill) and not *bàbàtó* (termite mountain) (see chapter four).

It was also found that the nature and meanings of Àsòglì landscape terms give us a glimpse into what the people think about their environment generally. It is a space in which human and non-human life is sustained and where things occur. Their understanding of non-human life extends to all the landforms and other aspects of the environment itself and even metaphysical beings and objects. This cultural view of the Àsòglì participates to a large extent in a shared African cultural worldview that tends to ascribe cosmic characteristics to the environment (Mligo, 2013; Olupona, 2004). In this thesis such a conclusion came up strongly in the discussion on *àvè* (forest) in chapter five, though one would find elements of it in the other chapters, especially the sections of chapter four that dealt with *ànyígbá* (earth). In this regard, I proposed that Àsòglì place names and landscape terms function as a coherent system for knowing the world rather than a mere set of labels for familiar landscape features (chapter 1, pp. 5-6). It was found that elements of this knowledge system are linked to the

people's store of experiences and their interpretations of those experiences over time.

7.5 Names and Terms that Transport Memories, Beliefs, and Values

Finally, the study sought to answer the question about which cultural memories, beliefs and values inform Àsòglì Èvè landscape terms and place names. This question is situated, to a great extent, in the semantic content of Àsòglì place names. The discussion in chapter six, therefore, sought to understand place names on three levels. This approach is commensurate with other studies that have divided the semantic content of place names into their locational, etymological, and etiological aspects (Koch, 2009). The locational referent deals with the specific place that the name originally referred to. The etymology is about the ordinary language meanings of the name and the etiological meaning deals with the narrative behind the name.

It was found that Àsòglì place names can be basic or complex and that the complex ones can be phrasal or sentential. An interesting discovery was the fact that though traditional Àsòglì depended on oral tradition, sentential place names were not many and did not carry as much cultural memory as one would have thought. Together with basic names, however, the chapter concluded with some important findings relating to the cultural memories, beliefs and values of Àsòglì people. For example, it was clear that hunting and farming were important traditional economic activities. These memories were carried in names such as *Klàtsàvékóé* (antelope lump-like small forest), and *Hǒ* (grove/town named *Hǒ*) respectively. It was not

just memories about what the people did for a living in the past, but also how the environment looked like at the time the names were formed. For example, *Fìàvè* (chief forest) suggests that the location was once a forest but is currently a settlement with no traces of a forest.

The other finding regarding cultural memory related to the wars fought, some of which were won, and others lost. Some of these wars must have been planned with traditional strategies. In this regard, names such as *Tàklà*, *Àvàtìdòmè* and *Àsòhómè* yielded important etiological information about the Àsòglì. Similarly, there may have been experiences of tragedy, memories of which are marked by a place name such as *Kívè* (death forest).

It was also found that some of the names pointed to the importance of religion to the Àsòglì. Obviously, religion in this case must be understood in terms of Àsòglì-specific forms of beliefs. Names such as *Àgbàsíáfé*, *Àxóló*, *Núwòé* fall within the category of names that recall Àsòglì religious beliefs. Just to recall the narrative regarding *Àgbàsíáfé*, for instance, it was found that the name was derived from a divinity called *Àgbàsíá*. Therefore, the underlying structure of the name is *Àgbàsíá àfé* (place/home of *Àgbàsíá*). Such names underscore Àsòglì beliefs that some locations and landforms can be abodes of divinities as shown in the term *Àmègãvé* (*Àmègã*'s forest). This name comes from a spirit or god who is thought to reside in the forest. Similarly, *Núwòé*, the waterbody so named, is also believed to be a god. About 57% of place names from the data collected were associated with waterbodies referencing names of gods believed to inhabit the waterbodies.

It was also found that some place names and landscape terms carry Àsòglì cultural and moral values. The discussion on *gběmè* (vegetation area), for instance, pointed to how the term reveals moral and cultural values of the Àsòglì. The discussion in chapter five, subsection 5.2 concluded that when *gběmè* (vegetation area) is conceptualised in distinction to *à fémè* (home), it often assumed metaphorical meanings relating to morality. In short, we can talk of a moral dimension in the understanding of *gběmè* (vegetation area) as a landscape term shown in the example, *tsí gbè* (be unconventional, lack character) as against *tsí dè àfè* being (conventional or well-bred) (see chapter 5 pp. 145-146).

The foci of the different chapters of the study leading to these findings and conclusions were mostly dedicated to answering the research questions. In general, it was a rewarding study opening up more areas of research interest to me (see recommendations). Above all the study pointed out the multiple layers open to the discipline of linguistics to contribute in different ways to the socialisation of people into Àsòglì culture and language.

7.6 Recommendations

The findings of this research lead to some recommendations, which are outlined in this section. First, it is recommended that policy makers collaborate with traditional authorities and other custodians of indigenous knowledge in designing policies that can benefit a system of environmental management for national development. Such a system will integrate

grassroots knowledge based on years of traditional practice and experience with scientific knowledge.

The second recommendation is that Àsòglì indigenous environmental knowledge as shown in their perspectives on *àvè* (forest), *dzògbè* (savannah) and *tsì* (water) should be integrated into the curriculum for teaching the Èvè language, physical geography, environmental science and culture in schools. In doing so, attention should be given to the explanations and perceptions of environmental knowledge as an accumulation of traditional practices and experiences. This emphasis on indigenous knowledge as accumulation of experience gathered over time has been found in other studies to contribute towards more sustainability-oriented knowledge than the purely scientific knowledge, which tends to be more exploitative (Senanayake, 2006; Kirikoshi, 2019).

Closely related to the second recommendation is the contribution that can be made to the remodelling of the teaching of Èvè at institutions of higher learning from an interdisciplinary perspective. It is recommended that the teaching of Èvè as a language be modeled to highlight embedded knowledge from disciplines such as geography, history, cultural studies and even science.

The fourth recommendation is that Àsòglì traditional leaders become proactive about the need to sustain and enhance their indigenous environmental knowledge by harnessing human and material resources at their disposal to promote systematic ways of handing on such knowledge. One of the ways by which this goal can be achieved is through active community involvement in formal education in their territory. Doing so will

prevent the risk of indigenous environmental knowledge being lost in the face of dominant scientific models.

Additionally, Àsògli language can be used as one of the important resources for producing, authenticating knowledge in local history, especially history embedded in and suggested by place names and landscape terms. More research is recommended in this regard.

Another recommendation is in connection with how to include indigenous knowledge relating to finding one's way around the immediate and distant environment in contemporary technological systems such as Google Maps and geographic information systems (GIS). More research is needed in this area, since by ignoring indigenous knowledge about the environment contained in place names and landscape terms, scientific and technological systems tend to eliminate social and cultural implications of geographic information systems. Research towards the inclusion of meanings from traditional settings about the environment can enrich scientific and technological systems of geography.

Finally, this research has tried to work out more clearly specific Àsògli cultural contributions towards a full understanding of cross-cultural processes in place naming and landscape categorisation, but it is recommended that further research be conducted to explore the comparative perspectives of these specific Àsògli linguistic practices.

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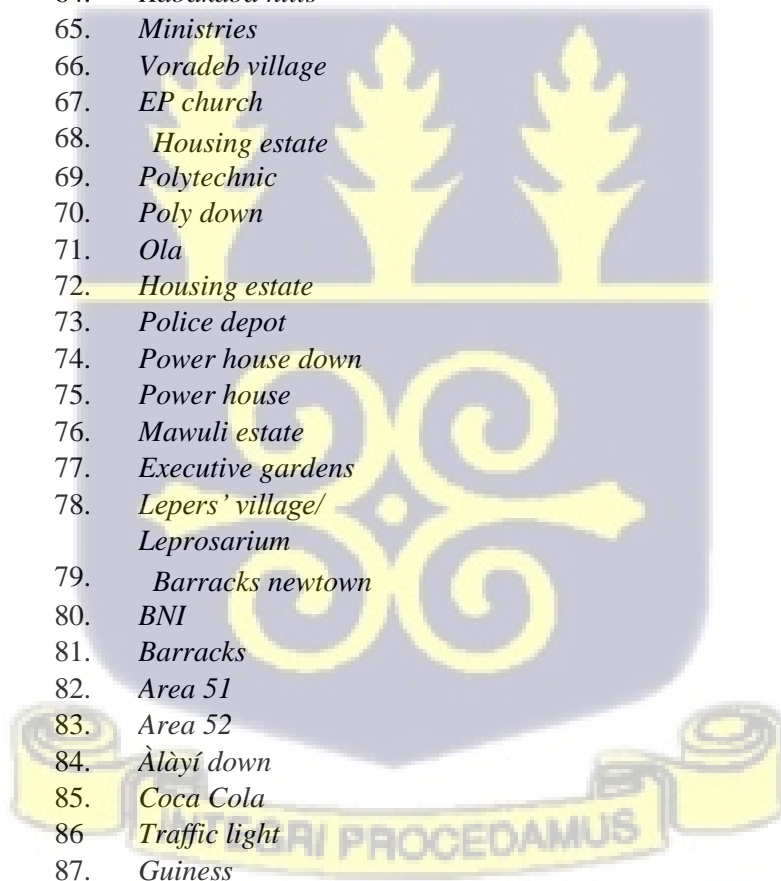
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

List of Place Name collected from *Hõ* Traditional Area

	Settlements	Water Features	Forest Cover	Raised ground (mountain)
1.	<i>Dòmè</i>	<i>Hõsità</i>	<i>Kpálávè (fish)</i>	<i>Gàlèhkiútó</i>
2.	<i>Àxǔé</i>	<i>àlálè</i>	<i>Klàtsàvèkǔé</i>	<i>Tóviádzí</i>
3.	<i>Hèvé</i>	<i>Wǔtǔé</i>	<i>Kúvèkpótà</i>	<i>Tóviènú</i>
4.	<i>Bànkòé</i>	<i>lóbòlí</i>	<i>Kpélě</i>	
5.	<i>Hlihà</i>	<i>àgbènúqòmè</i>	<i>Dùdòkpò</i>	
6.	<i>Àgòtòmè</i>	<i>Àmànúvé</i>		
7.	<i>Dònǎkǔdzí</i>	<i>Gàlèhkiúime</i>		
8.	<i>Hèvé fédò</i>	<i>Àxǔlǔ</i>		
9.	<i>Kpévélě</i>	<i>Xáqòmè</i>		
10.	<i>Hò fédò</i>	<i>Núwǔé</i>		
11.	<i>Gàlèhkiúime</i>	<i>Tsigblě</i>		
12.	<i>Tòsìmè</i>	<i>Tsiye</i>		
13.	<i>Zion</i>	<i>Uùqáké</i>		
14.	<i>Àvátíqòmè</i>	<i>Dzàgě</i>		
15.	<i>Àsǔhǔfómè</i>	<i>Màngǔqòmè</i>		
16.	<i>Lútà/axǔluta,</i>	<i>Gògòkpǔé</i>		
17.	<i>Gòdò fé/Gòdòkpǔé</i>	<i>Tsàsíné</i>		
18.	<i>qǔfǔlènyàmè</i>	<i>Klebisi</i>		
19.	<i>Dà Àbrà</i>			
20.	<i>Zóngò</i>			
21.	<i>Dèmè</i>			
22.	<i>Dzògòkǔfé</i>			
23.	<i>Hèvé fédò</i>			
24.	<i>Kòmèdzrálě</i>			
25.	<i>àgbàsíáfé</i>			
26.	<i>Fìávé</i>			
27.	<i>Tóviènú</i>			
28.	<i>Tóviádzí</i>			
29.	<i>Àkǔtsyǔ</i>			
30.	<i>Hèvéí</i>			
31.	<i>Àhàqǔqǔé</i>			
32.	<i>Vènvèkǔé</i>			
33.	<i>Dǔvé</i>			
34.	<i>Yǔkpóté</i>			
35.	<i>Gbàdé</i>			
36.	<i>Wǔtǔé</i>			
37.	<i>Àmànúvé</i>			
38.	<i>Klàtsàvèkǔé</i>			
39.	<i>Kúvèkpótà</i>			
40.	<i>Tsiyékpótà</i>			
41.	<i>dùgbàdzà</i>			
42.	<i>Hõsità</i>			
43.	<i>Hò Kpódzì</i>			
44.	<i>Àsǔlíémè</i>			

45. *Àlàyí*
46. *Àlàyí down*
47. *Àgbàsíafé*
48. *Múviefé*
49. *Hònúviefé*
50. *Àqábrákódzì*
51. *Àkpíkópó*
52. *Dùdókópó*
53. *Dòdònú*
54. *Dzògòkó fé*
55. *Kàblèkófé*
56. *Dàglàmà*
57. *Vag Hall*
58. *Chances Hotel*
59. *Tarus*
60. *Residency*
61. *SSNIT Flats*
62. *SSNIT*
63. *GWCL*
64. *Kàbàkábá hills*
65. *Ministries*
66. *Voradeb village*
67. *EP church*
68. *Housing estate*
69. *Polytechnic*
70. *Poly down*
71. *Ola*
72. *Housing estate*
73. *Police depot*
74. *Power house down*
75. *Power house*
76. *Mawuli estate*
77. *Executive gardens*
78. *Lepers' village/
Leprosarium*
79. *Barracks newtown*
80. *BNI*
81. *Barracks*
82. *Area 51*
83. *Area 52*
84. *Àlàyí down*
85. *Coca Cola*
86. *Traffic light*
87. *Guinness*
88. *Trafaga Hospital*
89. *Nurses training*
90. *Medical Village*
91. *Workers' Estate*
92. *Titrinu*
93. *Àmégāshì fé*



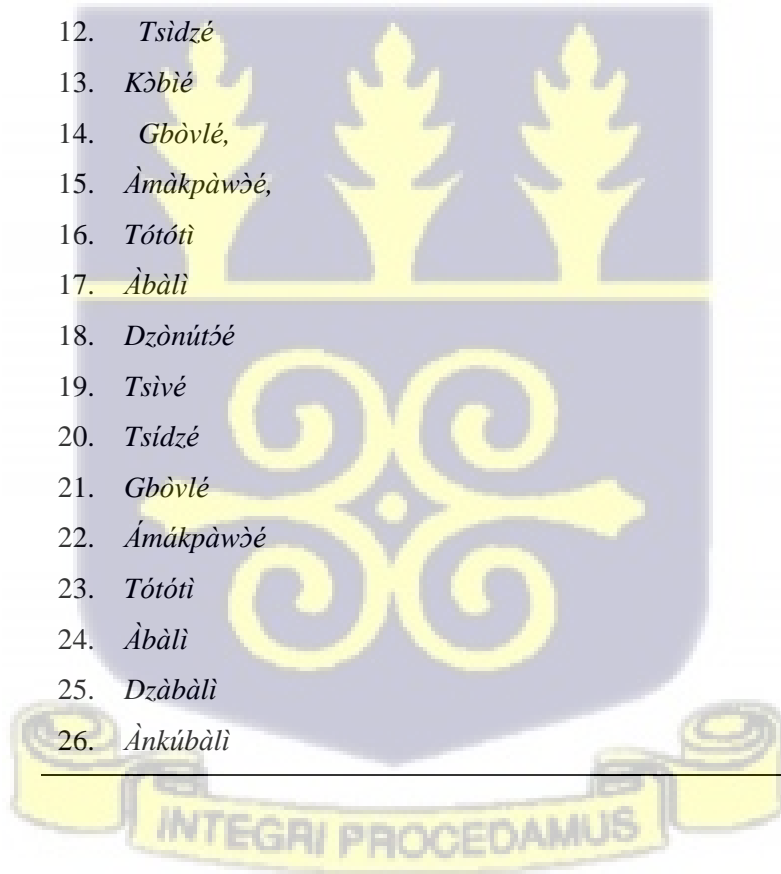
94. *Tásímè*
 95. *Dàglàwú*
 96. *Àtikúmè*
 97. *R.T. C*
 98. *C.K Road*
 99. *K.K House*
-



APPENDIX B

List of place names from *Àkófé* Traditional Area

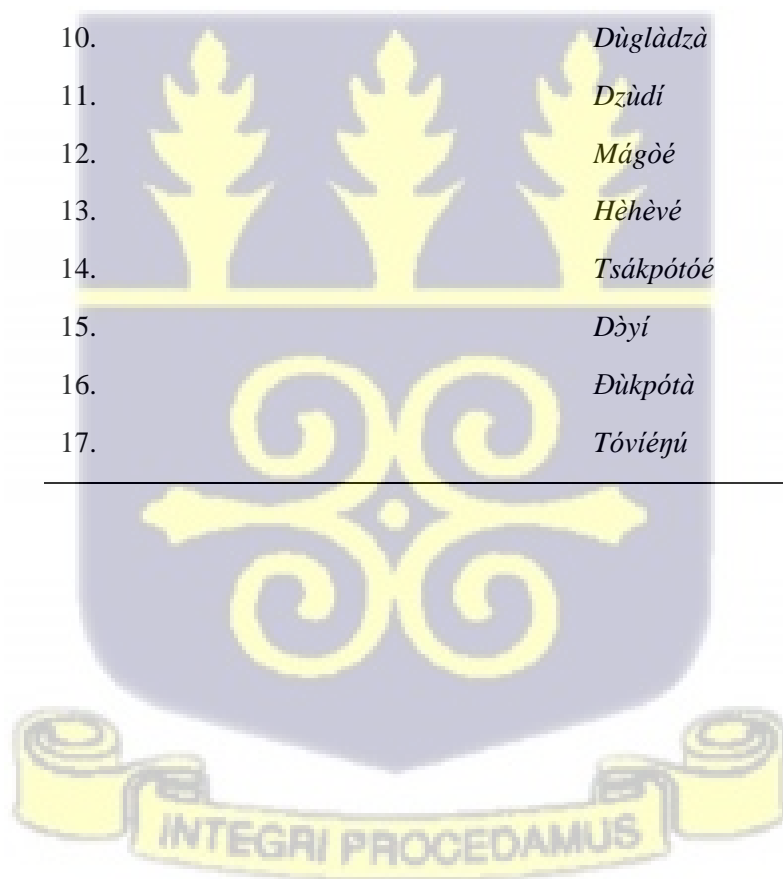
Settlement Place Name	Water features	Forest Cover	Raised Ground (mountain)
1. <i>Àkófé</i>	<i>Dzònútóé</i>	<i>Dzònútóé</i>	
2. <i>Àvènyí</i>	<i>Tsìvé</i>	<i>Tsìvé</i>	
3. <i>Tókó</i>	<i>Tsìdzé</i>	<i>Tsìdzé</i>	
4. <i>Àtsāí</i>	<i>Kòbié</i>	<i>Gbònlé</i>	
5. <i>Gàdzà</i>	<i>Gbònlé,</i>	<i>Ámàkpàwòé</i>	
6. <i>Kómèdzràlè</i>	<i>Ámàkpàwòé,</i>	<i>Tótótì</i>	
7. <i>Àblómè</i>	<i>Tótótì</i>	<i>Àbàlì</i>	
8. <i>Bèthàsà tátó</i>	<i>Àbàlì</i>	<i>Dzàbàlì</i>	
9. <i>New Jerusalem</i>		<i>Ànkúbàlì</i>	
10. <i>Dzònútóé</i>			
11. <i>Tsìvé</i>			
12. <i>Tsìdzé</i>			
13. <i>Kòbié</i>			
14. <i>Gbònlé,</i>			
15. <i>Ámàkpàwòé,</i>			
16. <i>Tótótì</i>			
17. <i>Àbàlì</i>			
18. <i>Dzònútóé</i>			
19. <i>Tsìvé</i>			
20. <i>Tsìdzé</i>			
21. <i>Gbònlé</i>			
22. <i>Ámàkpàwòé</i>			
23. <i>Tótótì</i>			
24. <i>Àbàlì</i>			
25. <i>Dzàbàlì</i>			
26. <i>Ànkúbàlì</i>			



Appendix C

List of Place Names from *Tàklà* Traditional Area

	Settlements	Water features	Forest Cover	Raised Ground
1.	<i>Gbàxómè</i>	<i>Kálàkpá</i>	<i>Uùdàké</i>	
2.	<i>Àgòdàké</i>	<i>xòvì</i>	<i>Kívé</i>	
3.	<i>Kégbòmè</i>	<i>Wátsè</i>	<i>Àhàvè</i>	
4.	<i>Dzèvósé</i>	<i>Wàyà</i>	<i>Dzògbètí</i>	
5.	<i>Tókó</i>		<i>Klùmà</i>	
6.	<i>Àgbòkófé</i>		<i>Dèdèti</i>	
7.	<i>Dòmè</i>		<i>kpòkpòfúfú</i>	
8.	<i>Wàyànù</i>		<i>Àvā</i>	
9.			<i>Uùgló</i>	
10.			<i>Dùglàdzà</i>	
11.			<i>Dzùdí</i>	
12.			<i>Mágòé</i>	
13.			<i>Hèhèvé</i>	
14.			<i>Tsákpótóé</i>	
15.			<i>Dòyí</i>	
16.			<i>Èùkpótà</i>	
17.			<i>Tóviéñú</i>	



Appendix D

List of Place Names from *Kpéghé* Traditional Area

	Settlements	Water features	Forest Cover	Raised Ground
1.	<i>Àdèsíéńkú</i>	<i>Àvààdzí</i>	<i>Tóńú</i>	<i>Kpéghètó</i>
2.	<i>Àgàdzí</i>	<i>Xáqómè</i>	<i>Àvàníkpe</i>	
3.	<i>Àsíálē</i>		<i>Dèvé</i>	
4.	<i>Dèglèvètsú</i>		<i>Bàmè</i>	
5.	<i>Gbòxómè</i>		<i>Dànyívōé</i>	
6.	<i>Àmèyìbòkó fé</i>		<i>Wàyà</i>	
7.	<i>Hèlútsèkò. fé</i>		<i>Lùmè</i>	
8.	<i>Gbògāmè</i>			
9.	<i>Àtsóqì</i>			

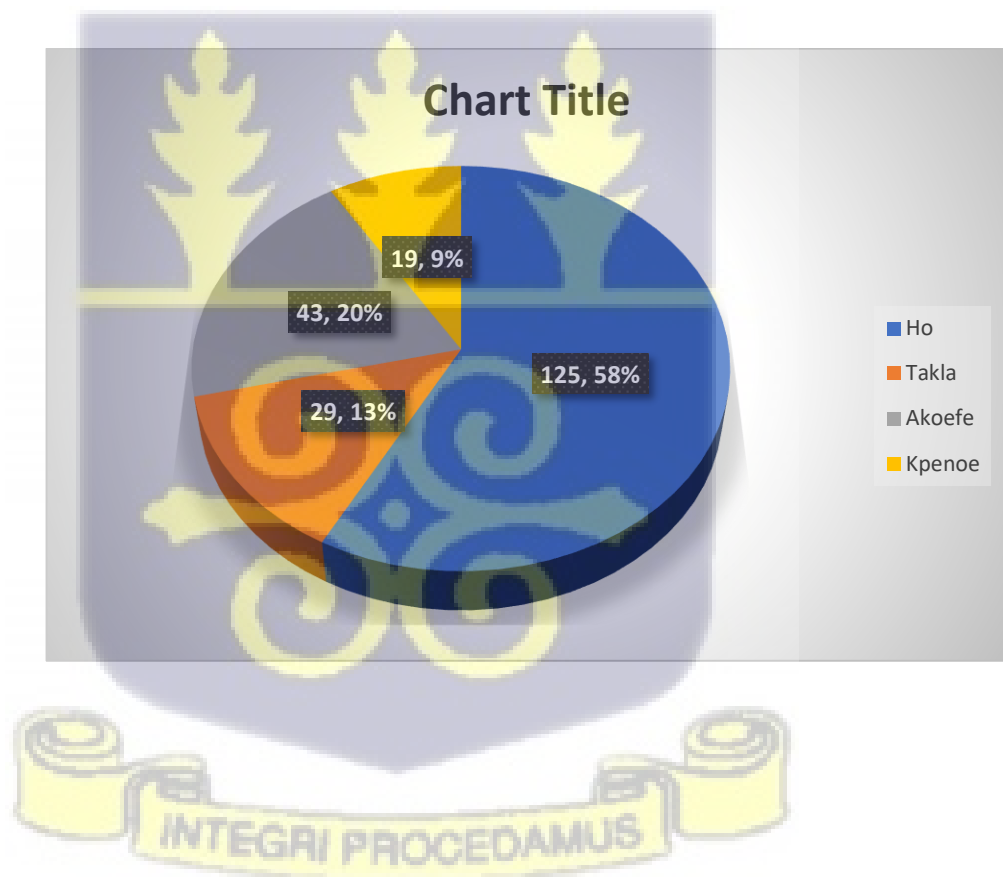


Appendix E,1

Place Names, Categories and Percentages

Traditional Area	Traditional Place Names	English	Waterbodies	Vegetation area	Raised ground	Total
<i>Hõ</i>	52	36	18	16	3	125 (58%)
<i>Tàklà</i>	8		4	17	0	29(13%)
<i>Àkóéfé</i>	20	5	8	9	1	43 (20%)
<i>Kpéhòé</i>	9		2	7	1	19 (9%)
Total	72	38	31	51	6	216 (100%)

E,2: Representation of Number of Place names on Pie Chart



Appendix F

Sample of Semantics of Àsògli Place Names by Referent

Landform	Physical Feature	Historical Event	Ritual Grounds	Borrowed	Obscure	Settlement
<i>Tóniènu</i>	<i>Kpényígbá</i>	<i>Àvátídòmè</i>	<i>Àsòhífómè</i>	<i>Zóngò</i>	<i>àkpíkpo</i>	<i>Àgbàsiáfé</i>
<i>Tóniádzi</i>	<i>Xáqòmè</i>	<i>Èáfòlènyàmè</i>	<i>Àsòlíémè</i>	<i>Area 51</i>	<i>Dúdókpo</i>	<i>Múviefé</i>
<i>Gàlènkúitó</i>	<i>Àgòtòmè</i>	<i>Yévé</i>	<i>Vèndvèkóé</i>	<i>Bàràs</i>	<i>Gbàdè</i>	<i>Hòmúviefé</i>
<i>Kpéjèetó</i>	<i>Klàtsàvèkóé</i>	<i>Àblòmè</i>	<i>Hòfédò</i>	<i>Tráfágà</i>	<i>Àmànúvé</i>	<i>Dzògòkó fé</i>
<i>Tónú</i>	<i>Àvànìkpé</i>	<i>Xòvì</i>			<i>Dànyínḽe</i>	
	<i>Bàmè</i>				<i>Àvààdzì</i>	
	<i>Dèvé</i>					
	<i>Àgòtòmè</i>					
	<i>Lũmè</i>					



Appendix G

Number of Interviews, Research Participants and Dates. (p.

Traditional area	Suburb No. INT and G.INT	Name and Position of Interviewees	Date
<i>Hõ</i>	<i>Dòmè</i> : 3 INT	Kòsí (Youth leader) Olukpa (Elder) Otumfour (Elder)	December 2, 2017 December 4, 2017 December 3, 2017
	<i>Hèvè</i> : 1 G.INT	Ben (Elder) Tógbé Kòmlá (Youth leader) Fõ Harry (Elder) Tógbé Kòdzó (Chief)	January 10, 2018
	2 INT	Dàáví Connie (Queen mother) Dàáví Adzó (Elder) Fo Kòkú (Elder)	September 5, 2019 September 6, 2019
		Fõ Francis (citizen) Fõ Sammy (citizen)	
	<i>Hlìhà</i> : 1 INT	Fõ Kòfí (Elder)	October 5, 2017
	<i>Àxǔé</i> : 1 INT (phone)	Dàáví Àfíyò (Youth leader)	February 16, 2018
	<i>Bànkóé</i> : 1 INT	Fò Kúdzò (Elder)	16 th July, 2018,
<i>Àkóféfé</i>	<i>Àvènyúí</i> : 1 G.INT	Tógbé Kòmlá (Elder) Tógbé Àmlá (Elder). Tógbéǵà Kòdzó (Chief)	November 11, 2017
	2 INT (phone)	Tógbé À fé (Elder) Tógbé Àtsā (citizen)	August 20, 2019 August 20, 2019
<i>Tàklà</i>	<i>Gbòǵāmè</i> : 1 INT	Tógbé Àklàmà (Elder)	8 th November 2017
<i>Kpéǵǵé</i>	2 INT	Tógbé Àtí (Clan head) Tógbéǵà Kòfí	February 17, 2018 October 15, 2019
	<i>Àkóféfé and Hõ</i>	1 G.INT À féto Cephass (Elder) À féno Blèwu (Warlord) Fõ Àmèsú (Citizen) Fõ Francis (Elder)	July 16, 2018
Total	13 INT 3 G.INT	Research Participant = 27	

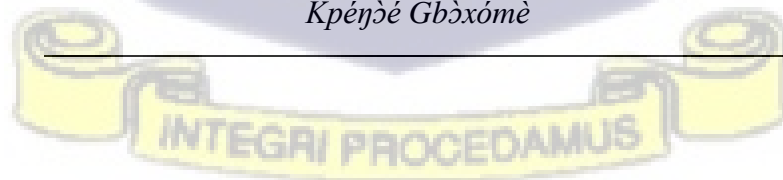
Key: *INT* = Interview; *G.INT* = Group Interview

Appendix H

Categories of Place Names

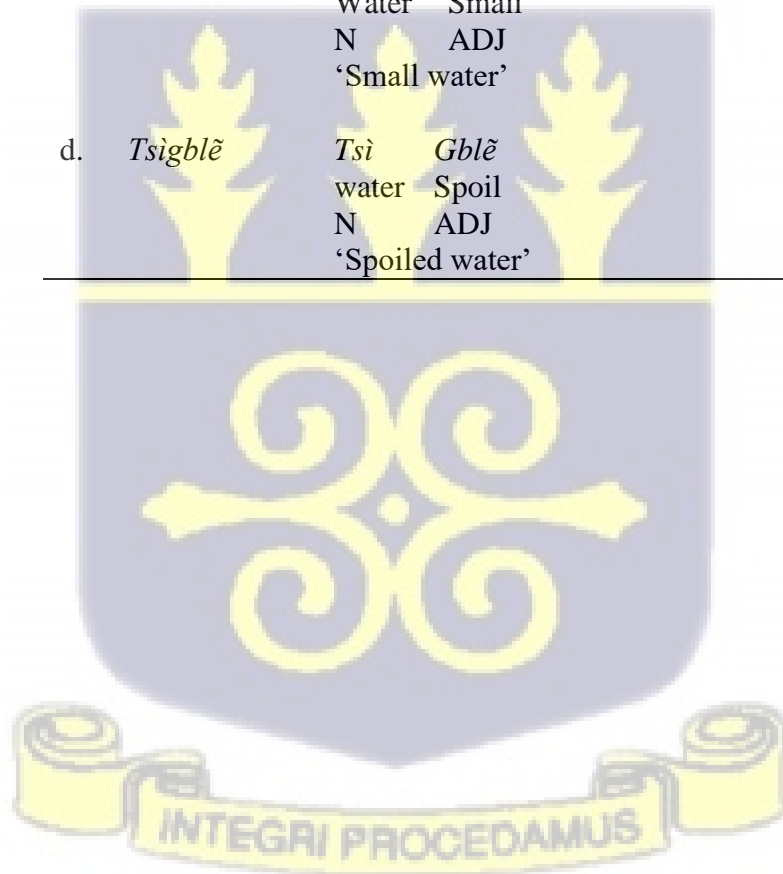
a. Binominal Place Names (p..

Traditional Area	Binominal Place Name
<i>Hõ</i>	<i>Hõ B̀̀nkóé</i>
	<i>Hõ Dòmè</i>
	<i>Hõ Hèné</i>
	<i>Hõ Hlìhà</i>
	<i>Hõ Àxóé</i>
<i>Àkóéfé</i>	<i>ÀkóéféGàdzà</i>
	<i>ÀkóéféÀtsā́tí</i>
	<i>ÀkóéféÀvènyí</i>
<i>Tàklà</i>	<i>ÀkóéféTókó</i>
	<i>Tàklà Dòmè</i>
	<i>Tàklà Kégbòmè</i>
	<i>Tàklà Dzèndé</i>
<i>Kpènyè</i>	<i>Tàklà Tókó</i>
	<i>Kpènyè Àtsódì</i>
	<i>Kpènyè Àdèsíènkú</i>
	<i>Kpènyè Àgàdzí</i>
	<i>Kpènyè Àsíálè</i>
	<i>Kpènyè Dèglèvètsú</i>
	<i>Kpènyè Gbòxómè</i>



b. Nominal + Adjective Compounds (P....

	Place Name	Gloss	
a	<i>Dùgbàdzà</i>	<i>Dù</i> Town N	<i>Gbàdzà</i> Broad ADJ 'Broad town'
b.	<i>Tsiyě</i>	<i>Tsi</i> Water N	<i>yě</i> white' ADJ 'White water'
c.	<i>Tsidzě</i>	<i>Tsi</i> Water N	<i>Dzě</i> Red ADJ 'Red water'
d	<i>Tsidzé</i>	<i>Tsi</i> Water N	<i>Dzé</i> Small ADJ 'Small water'
d.	<i>Tsigblě</i>	<i>Tsi</i> water N	<i>Gblě</i> Spoil ADJ 'Spoiled water'



c. Table 6.6: Nominal + Landscape Term Compounds (p...

Place Name	Gloss
a <i>Fìàvé</i>	<i>Fìà</i> (à)vè Chief Forest 'Chief's forest'
b <i>Dòvé</i>	<i>Dò</i> (à)vè Hunger Forest 'Hunger forest'
c <i>Kúvé</i>	<i>Kú</i> (à)vè Death Forest 'Forest of death'
d <i>Àhàvé</i>	<i>Àhà</i> (à)vè Drink Forest 'Drink forest'
e <i>Yévé</i>	<i>yé</i> (à)vè White Forest clay 'White clay forest'
f. <i>Klàtsàvék</i> <i>óé</i>	<i>Klàtsà</i> (à)vèkóé Antelope Small forest 'Antelope forest'
g <i>Dàvé</i>	<i>Dà</i> (à)vè Snake Forest 'Snake forest'
h <i>Àmànúvé</i>	<i>Àmànú</i> (à)vè ??? Forest 'Àmànú's forest'



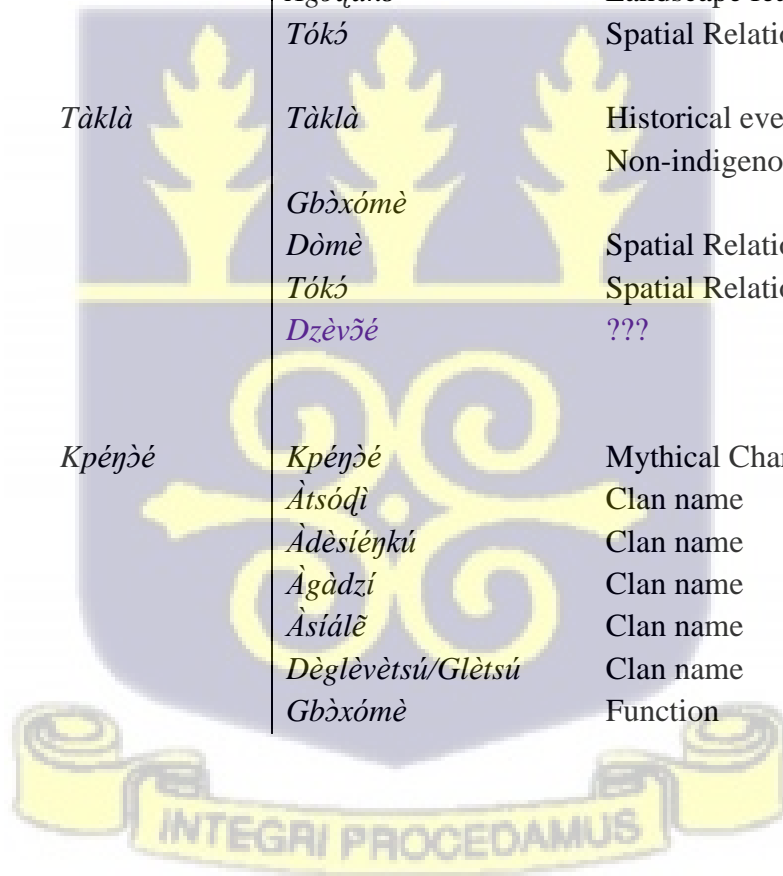
d. Table 6.9: Landscape Term + Postposition (p....

Place name	Gloss
a <i>Tóηú</i>	<i>Tó</i> <i>ηú</i> Mountai n LT PostP 'Along the mountain'
b <i>Àvèηúí</i>	<i>Àvè</i> <i>ηúí</i> Forest LT PostP 'Along the forest'
d <i>Xáqòmè</i>	<i>Xá</i> <i>qòmè</i> broom under N PostP 'under the broom'
e <i>Àqàqòmè</i>	<i>Àqà</i> <i>qòmè</i> Saccharum LT PostP 'Under the Saccharum plant'
<i>Kòkòtìqòm</i> <i>è</i>	<i>Kòkò</i> <i>(à)tí</i> <i>qòmè</i> cocoa tree under LT PostP 'Under the cocoa tree'
h <i>Bàmè</i>	<i>Bà</i> <i>mè</i> Mud containing region/inside LT PostP 'In the mud'



e. Àsògli Traditional Areas and their Major Towns (p....

Traditional Area	Towns	Semantic Content
<i>Hõ</i>	<i>Hõ</i>	Traditional economic activity
	<i>Dòmè</i>	Spatial relation term
	<i>Hèvé (Hègbé)</i>	Traditional function
	<i>Àxǔé</i>	Ethnonym
	<i>Bàṅkòé</i>	Landscape feature
	<i>Hlìhà</i>	Landscape feature
<i>Àkóéfé</i>	<i>Àkóéfé</i>	Personal name
	<i>Gàdzà</i>	???
	<i>Àtsā́tí</i>	Landscape feature/god
	<i>Àvèṅúí</i>	Landform term
	<i>Kégbòmè</i>	Landscape feature
	<i>Àgòḍàké</i>	Landscape feature
	<i>Tókó</i>	Spatial Relation
<i>Tàklà</i>	<i>Tàklà</i>	Historical event + Myth + Non-indigenous
	<i>Gbòxómè</i>	
	<i>Dòmè</i>	Spatial Relation
	<i>Tókó</i>	Spatial Relation
	<i>Dzèṅḍé</i>	???
<i>Kpéṅḍé</i>	<i>Kpéṅḍé</i>	Mythical Character
	<i>Àtsòḍi</i>	Clan name
	<i>Àdèsíéṅkú</i>	Clan name
	<i>Àgàdzí</i>	Clan name
	<i>Àsíálē</i>	Clan name
	<i>Dèglèvètsú/Glètsú</i>	Clan name
	<i>Gbòxómè</i>	Function



Appendix I: Sample Transcript

Interviewer: Author

Interviewee: Fõ Kõfi (Elder)

Traditional position: Elder at Hliha, a suburb of Hõ

Date:

Venue: His residence Ho Polytechnic

Settlement History

Interviewee: Eee Xe Hoõwε va nɔ Hofedo tso le fi mi woma le fi ketɔwo xe wole fifie. Eee, gake ɲutinya la fia be ame dεwoe va gbã, xe nye EHO, yɔwεε nye Ehoõwε. Eye wotso le Hofedo xe va fi ke tɔwε xe wole fifie. Hliha, ye ma yi menye gbɔta nɔ dɔkui si o. Enye ekɔ dε nɔ Bankoe. Gake wova le gbɔ sɔ vii dε. Yaa!. Hlihatɔwε wonye adamewε, wofe ɲkume sɛ. Eee! Aabe (*ale be*) ye siaa yi ko ekɔdada, nu sesɛ wawa mawε tɔgbi va wɔe be ekɔ (clan) susuewo va kpɔ be ooo wole fu dε ne yewε. Eye ewa abe woawo ɲtɔwo tse wokpɔe dzesi be yewole fu dε. Ale be wovu tso le fi ke Bankoe le fifie, va tɔɔ dzi, le hlihaa dzi. Ale be hlihaa nɔ fi mi afe ameewo va tso afe dε efi mie. Ta wona ɲkɔ wofe dume be Hliha.

Eeee gbɔta bubuɔ nye Heve. Yɔwo tse tso Hofedoɔ fe va yi dε fi ke wole fifie.

Interviewer: Ta wotso Hofedo straight

Interviewee: Ee! Hliha ya la wo kple Bankoetɔwo betee gbɔta dεka wonye. Gake wonye kɔ dε le Bankoe xe dεε fu na kɔ susuewo. Ta wova kpɔ be yewo ɲtɔ tse yewo le fu dε. ya wovu le fi mi va tso afe dε etɔɔ dzi.

Eeeee Axɔe la yɔwoe nye ame dε yiwo ke nye Eveawo gake mimenya nenyε be wozɔ kple Hoõwo le dodo tso glime me o. Wodo le glime mimenya be wozɔ kpɛli Ho tɔwo kpɔ o. Gake xe Hotɔwo va settle dε fi vɔ la, wo va, eye wogblɔ be yewo tso YEVIEFE le Togo.

Èse du dε ɲkɔ ..

Interviewer: Ee

Interviewee: Eya ta wofɔɔ ɲkɔ dɔ na wo be Yevi axɔwo.

Interviewer: Yevi Axɔwo ..

Interviewee: Axɔ, Yevi Axɔɔwo. Ale be le yɔwo megbe la, Domeawo wova.

Interviewer: Mede kuku mabia, efiã be Axɔetɔwo metso Hofedo va o

Wee: Wome tso Hofedo va o

Wer: Ya eleke wowa afe va kpɔ anyigbe le eHoɔwo gbɔ?

Wee: Xe wova de, woke de ametsitsi de nu. Eweawo la fia deka no wo si tsã. EYae nye Agɔkɔli la, hafi wosi le egbo. Ta ame kimi tɔwo xe si, kɔ ke tɔwo si la edewo tse woanye etefia dewo na Agɔkɔli. Ta xe wobe ne yewo si la wosi kple wofe nu mawo tɔgbi. Eye group ke xe wo lead la, wo lead wo kple wofe fiawo. Leadership ke xe no wo si le fi mi tsã wodzo kpɔli. Ta ke wova do nɔfe yiyawo tse la leadership role ee miewe ya wozɔ yi kpɔli, ya wole yiyi. Ame dewo xe bu le mɔɔ dzi. Xe nye kple wo midze mɔ mile yiyi dede va te nɔnye mebe magbo de me vii de. Ke mebe oo Kemi yi, nɔnɔyiyi vii de lo, enu ke madze mɔ kpɔ wɔ do..... Ale be ko enuɔ va zu fe gedee fe nya. Ta nye kple wɔ miafe gbe kura atrɔ/atɔɔ vii de. Ale be nu mawoe wɔe. Ta xe Yeviefetɔwo xe woɔfo fi la, **woametsitsi** ametsitsie be oo ne wono yewo dome. Wofia asi tefee ya wole.

Eeee Dome. Yɔwoe nye Ho fe last group xe va. Eye woawo fe zɔzɔme mefia be wotso Dɔtsie kple EUe dukɔ susuewo o. OKAY. Ta eee Mimate nu anya eleke wowa afe va do Ho o. kema woawo nɔto ko anya. Gake tso ye ma yi xe wova tsi Ho la eya ko miawo mianya. Eye wo nɔto wogblɔe be eee adelã de tso Heve eyae yi de adegbe, ya wɔla kpɔ ameawo. Ya wɔkplɔ wo kɔ ve na ametsitsi, ametsitsi ma xe no Hotɔwo dzi du ye ma yi la, etso Bankoe. Ale wokplɔe kɔ ve na ametsitsia. Eye Hliha as usual, eyawe be woava de fu ne yewo ta ne yewo tso wo, gake Bankoetɔwo be ao, ne wono anyi ne wono yewo dome. Enyae ma, **[Domee la?]** nono anyi ne wono mia dome ezu.... Eye eee ta le miafe nuwanawo mea Dome as a ... regard...na Have abe wo tɔwo ene. ... That respect woganee va se de fifie

Wer: Mede kuku mabia, eee

Wee: See, anyo be dee nɔno question biam <<AO>> ne menye sigbe o, ne menye sigbe o de mava anɔ swaying. Ayi fi ayi fi ayi fi

Wer: Eyae nye nyuietɔ. Ne mehiã information de paa mabia. Abe le go ke me xe èle gblɔgblɔ be Domeewo.. mígbɔe fã be menye Hoɔwo wonye le o. MMhmm Mebu be wobe Tɔgbe Howusu fi mi wɔtso va yi xe du eHoɔwo dzi. Tɔgbe Howusu, alo meble amea? That is what I read.

Wee: That idea **Ho-Wusu** mee me...have linkage le Eho fiaɖuɖu me o, elabe Howusu ewɔ abe eɖi Blugbe. Ho-Wusu. Èse eme nam ɖaa?

Wer: Nyemese efe Blugbe nyenye gɔme o, abe Owusu hawoa?

Wee: eeheee Owusu ŋkɔ <<ee>>ee enye ye ma yi xe wowa AshantiUa <<ee>> Ye ma yi xe eya Ebluɔwo refer to Tɔgbe Howusu abe eHofia. .. Abe Klugãwo lee ko mibe miɖɔ Klugãa ɖe ko mibe Game Klugã <<ee>> Game Klugã.

Wer: So, eHo fe Owusu

Wee: Ho wusu.... Gake efianyawo hehe va ta la efi mi meɖie kura o, ta wo maintain..i be Howusu ne yewo relate..ii to chieftaincy much. Ale be, ee okay ade yewo dzi ... ta wo maintain..ii eye womefoɔ nu tse le eɖu o. eHoɔwo mefoɔ nu tse le eɖu o. Ta efifie, le Asɔgli fe chieftaincy protocol order me la, yɔwoe nye next to Tɔgbe Afede. Gake ne afi ɖe me mekɔ na we oa

Wer: Mimewa Heve haɖe o

Wee: Heve, wonye part of proper eHo la o. Ta tso Hofedo ke la, ne wotso fi mi va fi ke xe wole fifie.

Wer: Wofe ŋkɔ la egɔme ɖe? Heve

Wee: Heve, Le nyatefe me nyemenya o ɖe maa find out. <<oo okay>> eye Bankoe, eya tse ɖe maa find out nyeme find out o. ehee!!! menya be ado tso kalẽ me. Eye menye kalẽ tse ekimii o. Awu ame, amewuwu nu mawo tɔgbi menye kalẽ ye o

Wer: Kalẽ ye ɖe? Le gbede me menye kalẽ ye oa? Banyakoe ohoo..

Wee: aoo. Meva, mewa nu ke, mevayie, ya ewɔde èbe, ya meva yie, ko ya èkɔ nde xlã ɖam, ya medze anyi, eya èva tso tanye. Enye nyemesusui be kalẽwawae kimie o. ke boɔ nàana manya nemeva ɖo fimie, àna maato, abe egbe ɖee míle ekpo ɖa gbe. Kimi nanye krante xe ŋɔ wagbe mile gbe la kimi èkɔ krantee na nyetse. Xee aɖa abe tɔwò kie, ne onye tu la, èkɔ tu nan ye tse, you see, ne antrɔ, tso antrɔ nan ye tse. Kimi midze egɔme. Ne è...overpower...m la, kimi èwa kalẽ. Eya nyemenya o

Main Stay

Wer: Meɖe kuku eHoɔwo ɖe edo ka wala koɔ wonye?

Wee: Agbledelawo

Wer: Agblemenuku ...

Wee: Agbeli, ete, bladzo, menkeni,

Wer: Ke asitsatsa mele wo gbɔ le o ekpɔa? Mede ku Etɔsisi gobi de to eHonyigba dzia? Wolee

Landforms: Rivers

Wee: Etɔsisi... nu deke melee miaɔ be tɔsisi afe o. Gake nane ede lee woyɔ be **Kalakpa** gake tse de Kalakpa meto mia gbɔ le tututu o. Mmm, Kalakpa .eee **Gogokpoe** tse de yɔwo menye etsi gã deke wonye o. Eye fifie kura gotawo (gutters), etsi le afi dewo ye siaa yi ya. Abe **Gogokpoe nenye ne etso Roman catholic church ee <<Bankoeto alo Dometo?>>** Bankoe! Xe edo Barclays Bank, xe ezɔ yie de nuoflfe, edo RC Church, egazɔ yie ko ado culvert de dzi. Etsi de tsa to fimiewo va yi. Gogokpoee kimi

Wer: nkɔɔ de?

Wee: Gogokpoe! Eya tsa kaka va la do YMCA. Enya YMCA de? Ne etso Philip Akpo Memorial School e xe yie de Bankoe.

Wer: Eke xe to fiafe fe nkumea?

Wee: Ao Philip Akpoe Memorial School, ne ezɔ yi ngogbe vii de ko akpo culvert de, Culvert gã de <<mekpɔe daa>>Gogokpoee ma tsa kaka to fimi va yi. Xe menye nu deke le, Etsã la, wo refer to it abe ato alo river.. fifie ne egayɔ nu ma be river

Wer: Nu ka ta meganye river o?

Wee: Ooo Gotametsi ko ame siaa ame le ekpɔi fifie de? Ehee!!! Gotametsi.

Wer: Mabia, ta efia be ee gutter xe wode ena ta meganye river o doa?

Wee: Wome de gutter nii o. Eya nto o passage ee ko ye

Wer: Gake wode mo de nu, alo? Nu ke kpɔ melea wode mo de nu

Wee: Wome de mo de nu o. doko wova bridge ii

Wer: Eee am I picturing the same place?

Wee: Eee Middle school kimi, Philip Akpo, xe le sɔlieme gbɔ le xe ezo yina de Bankoe culvert de le fimi

Wer: Mekpɔe daa, fifie ya Mekpɔe clearly daa

Wee: eee

Wer: Nu ke ta mele biabia ye nye be de, nu ke ta wonye stream alo river stream actually not a river stream va yii, medi be mabia be wozãne<<etsã!>>Stream ema ema hawo tsã eya eHoowo kpɔ ta wova settle labena wokpɔe be tsi nono ye mi..

ede tse to palace oo eexa <<ee> eya tse dze egome tso afie de, Woyoe be **Axob**. ekimiwo ya eHoowo kpɔ be wonye tsi tsatsa xe mekuo o.

Ya deka tse le Kpodzi madzi le fi. Eee in fact ne eto kpo dzi madzi manya o va se de esi me ete de mo to le .. afe anya be tsitsatsa de to fimi. Ee? Le manui? Okay! enya Dome Primary school a? <<Dome primary school>>Investment bank xoxoto <<NIB xoxoto>> ee menya fimi. Ne etso hliha roundabout do Investment Bank xoxoo xe dze mo yie xe yie de Kpodzi lefo, adze le primary school ma xe le left hand side. Ne edze le primary school ee nu va betee <<fimi Gadzankufeme lea?>> Gadzanku feme le! <<ee>> Stream de lee to afee godo le fimi ee. Miyoe be Agblenu dome <<Agblenu dome ooo>>

Wer: Ne woyie agbleme fimi wotona do klona agblenuwoa alo?

Wee: Aaaa mmm.. mitsi kplii ta mimebia tse be enu ka ta wona nkoo sigbe oo eee. Okay dewo galee ya. Eee le miafe devi me mila kuee, minoe kura tse, gake eye de eno neat. Around it tse no neat gake fifie afewo va fo xla yi fifie ne ekpoe asusu be gotametsi ye. Eye ame nene tse

Wer: Ta nu ke mebe mgblo enye be efia be modernity tro nane tso etsie nu

Wee: Yes, modernity de, e destroy etsie alo human activities.

Wer: Zi gedde, last time meva meva de photo tsie gedde gake menye Ho per se o. Meyi Takla Akoefenutome va de photo etoowo kple. Abe le xe ele egblo one striking thing ye nye be etsie de siaa de klole mede la ele abe gotametsi <<ee>> plastic sachet water nu ke yowo son koe le eme.

Eee Human activities wo Eee amewo lo adudoo tso afe me yie de bofo, ne wo do fimie ame deke melee o ko wokoe fo de eehee plastic, mebe navo egbe o. Ta elee. Ne tsi dza, ekpo wo betee de nu yi taa wogble tsi waterbodies wo betee tse.

Agblenu dome la strike mm fine afe.<<Nu ke ta fe woyoe be agblenu domea?>> eee because already la agblenu nye nane fe nkoo, dome, place <<yaa!>> gake Okay. Maa find out tso Togbe gbo be de eleke ye ha,

[interruption from interviewee: Ete nu kpɔ Togbe Anikpi a?]

Wer: Kalakpa. Mede ku ese nkoo gomea? Nu ka ta woyoe sigbe? Aoo!! Gogokpoe ya de?

Wee: Meyɔ Gogokpoe fifie<<egɔme dɛdɛ>> aoo ee

Wer: Gake tɔsisi woame etɔwo betee ya etsã wotsɔ dɔa nu for domestic purposes

Wee: Eyaa nye tsi, eyɔwoe encourage amee wo settle dɛ fie.

Wer: Ta metsɔe be tɔsisi nye one of the factors wo consider na afe settlena

Wee: Yeah!! Tɔsisi

Wer: Ya le eto gome ya dɛ? Eto, mountain, hill, eya gome dɛ? eya tse nyena factor ke ta wo..

Wee: Okay! Ee ame siaa ame diee security, ta nenyɛ be èle to tame la, ne ame dɛ gbɔɔ be naa attack wo la, ee your defense is easier. <Yes!>. elabena ne ekpe vii dɛ ekɔ da tse ogbɔɔ xe gather momentum la ame siaa ame ke xe wɔalɔ le anyigbe lefo la, maaganu be yea, ne efo tse ne ete ɲu fɔ tse manu be ne yeaga lia .. Ta eto tse nye one of the factors ya determine a living place

Wer: Could it be a possible reason why the hlihatɔwo va yi fimia?

Wee: Oh No: where we are is only a highland <<ee>> for them, dɛko woawo ɲtɔ koe be ne yewo tasi dzrewawa fũũ akpã. Gake, eee possible ehee settlement reasons/factor ee woo xe help na settlements ee dɛka one of the major ones e woe nye water, ale be eee the peaceful nature of the place, farming land, the soil. <Soil fertility>. Yaa!

Wer: Ke medɛ kuku ave dɛ? Ave dɛwo lee, vevietɔ wona ɲkɔ ave dɛwo le Ho area mea?

Wee: eHo la menye forest area wɔnye as such oo gake tefe Dewo abe agbasiafe. Agbasiafe la etsã enye avɛ. Gake human activity va wɔe meganye avɛ o. ee Agbasiafe etrɔfe wɔnye. Eye nu yi na be avee lee la eyae nye trɔ la fe nɔfe. Eee see

Mía tɔgbewo wa nanewo yiwo ke fifilaa mikpɔe be nuɔ xe wowa menyo o, especially the coming of Christianity. They came and condemned all those things. Gake ne èkpɔ nu yi ta xe wowa nuɔ la àkpɔ be wome wɔe kple susu vɔ dɛke ɲu o,.. be wɔakpe dɛ woawo ɲtɔ fe life ɲu

Wer: Precisely my research e

Wee: Ta nenyɛ be ame..tɔwo betee wokpɔ be avɛ nyuie dɛ le fi. Avɛ tsie owaa? Ekpee dɛ tso dzadza ɲu. Enaa be lãwo tse kpɔɔ bedɔfe. Xeviwo tse the same thing. Kema ne xe avɛ k exe le fi ye siaa yi dɛ

manyo oa? Gake ye ma yi de menye nu siaa nu woagblo ađe eme na dukoo wo oo. Ta nenye be etrasi la. Nu yi gblo na wo mele eke. Ne ẹle question biam.. kpɔ fimii lefo megaɔ ta yie ɔa..

Wer: Eya di mele. Eya ta nyemele question e wo bia wò o. Eya tututu. Answers yawo di mele e ke but I am not supposed to induce it.

Ale be, nye be s

Tape 2

Wee: Ale be ne trasi ma, tronu, EUeawo la fia deka ko no wo si (*ko ye no wo si*). Eyae nye Agokoli. Gake trɔ viviiwo ya lee keɲ. Dodo le glime la, fiaa deka metso ko be miva midzo o. Edie spiritual fortification ta la enya **be oo** .. ke mi xe mele fiaa du la ewò ẹnye spiritual head ee. Ta ne miawa nane la, ewò àyi ala bia mawuwò se be, “efi xe mido fifie de enyooa?” Ne mawu be ao fimi menyo o ke migaho. Te ne be wova do tefe de, wobe oo efi nyakpɔ lo, ko dzogbenyuieto tse ko etronu tse be oo, “Mawu be fie nyo” kimi [interruption]. Ale be ne xe eee etronu xe tse be oo etro lo de dzi xe wotsi fimie de, yowo ntu tse wono nku le de nanewo nu. Akpɔ be avɛ lee, avɛe, elawo atsi; elawo ano me yewoawu; atiwo ano me yewoatso ako tu xo; eee fimie tse ana fafa eee kple agble tse anya de. Ezo nyemenya mee tsii (*gblo*) na wo ye ma yi me o be avɛ tse naa be tsi te nu dzaa o. Ta, ekeewo betee (esiawo katã) **aka multiplay** ??... kimi ele woawa afe avɛe wɔno anyi ɔaa? Ta ele be neodi nanewo (ne woadi nanewo) awo ta etsɔ mawuwòde xe ekɔ de asi .. kemi ekɔ deka ko lada de evɛe me. Kimi ɛna togbe nya alebe wɔna dukoo betee anya be aah togbe de dze avɛe me fifie ta womewaa ke le avɛe me o, womewaa eke tse o, eke tse womewaa o. Kimi wodo se. Kpɔdeɲu me woatsi na wò be xe nebe yeatu xo, xe ebe yeatso ati le avɛe me la, ne etsɔ deka le fi ele be naɔde afɔ blatɔ (*bla etɔ, 30*) fe naɔgatso deka. Tsie ta? Mɔtso atiewo le fi vɔ ko de ee efi maganya avɛ o. Ne etsɔ deka le fi, etsɔ deka le efimi. Abe (*ale be*) you are preserving the forest. Okay!! Alo nkeke dewo la womede afe deke o. Womedaa tu le avɛe me o nkeke kelewe, eke, eke. Ko ne ɛkpɔe la wò ntu tse akpɔe be oo it is useless going to hunt in that forest. Ale be tsie wotsi anyi.... Le kpɔdeɲu me, etsi dewo kura wova do to avɛe xa. Eee.. afe alɔdzee tse avɛ la matsɔ o.

Okay, abe (*ale be*) nu vovovoo wo ano anyi ke xe depend de ameawo fe hiãhiãwo nu. Ne wokpɔ nuwo sigbe kimi wodze avɛewo preserve ii, etsiewo to mɔ yiewo (*siawo*) togbi nu. Ta ye ma yi mawo polisi melee o xe alé wò o, polisi efi ne ole ko wò yii gbe, ta trick .. wokɔ wɔ... **that is about settlement.**

Wer: My mind is still with Agbasiafe in particular. A-gba-sia-fe, egome de? Ne wobe wosia agba egome de? Efi be de wosiaa agba le tefee ne metsɔ word ee

Wee: Eee gake ɔe nyemese eme o. mava ble wɛ. kimi nyi tse ɔe mabia. Etse nye ke xe, okay, mafind out eya tse. Nu ke xe mebe maafind out nà note wo. <<mele wo betee note da d'anyi>>

Eye èkpɔa, ko mía Ueawo eee Aɔlɔatɔwo tse Eueawo wonye. Gake yɔwɛ melee me o. Ne élé ŋku ɔe Eueawɛ, EUedukɔɔ ŋui, wofe trɔ ɔeke menye ee etrɔ yi ke, etrɔ yi ke deal..na with the sea oo. Eye womenye trɔ xe deal..na with fishing oo. <<ee>>. Wofe culture me deal..na kple fishing.. things connected with the sea oo, aoo!! Wo kple wofe trɔwɛ deal..na kple **anyigba, ati**, eee ni ke tɔgbiwo xe wowɔa. Eee ale be mía gbɔ le efi ko àyi ke ne xe èbia nu tso trɔ ŋu ne wogblɔe, ne wogblɔe kakaaka ee nu dudu nane ko anɔ/anye trɔfe sesesè ɔe. Abe Klefe **[interruption: Phone call for interviewer]** <<Sorry medekuku sorry lo>> ye ma yi xe nye hawo menɔ Klefe some sixty years ago. Ave ɔe le Klefe woyɔɔ be Amegãve. Oooo Nya ko tsi na wɛ mele ya, mànɔe o. Mele Asɔgli me o <<mm menya>>woyɔe be Amegãve. Those days ne èyi avɛe me twelve o'clock kura tse la, àsusu be ee five thirty six <<twelve midday?>>Twelve midday! Kura tse àsusu be five thirty six in the evening elabena the sun rays are not touching the ground. Eye abable, akɔdu wole fimie. Ne èyii evɛe me, ababli àte ŋu aɔe eke sinu àkɔ dzoe, akɔdu, ne ame ɔe va yie ye kpɔ ɔe onyakpɔ nii obe “ao! Ame ɔe anɔ afi ɔe ɔa adi be yeadu akɔdu. atsoe, akɔ ada ɔai, akɔ nu abu dzi ne amee, eye ne wò èva yie xe èkpɔ ekimi èkɔ dzoe tse, ne èbɔbɔ nɔ fimi xele eɔu tse ame ɔe kpɔe tse maabia nya ɔeke wò o. ne èbubɔnɔ fimie le du tse womabia nya ɔeke wò o. Ke vɔvɔ ke xe le enuɔ ŋu enye be ɔe ne wo ŋkɔ èzɔ xe ati ɔe ŋe ele ke xe wòà echoe awɔe be àvɔ asi ado le avɛe me. Nu ɔe kplɔe ɔo. ke dzaa. Nu ɔeke mekpɔ [coughing]

Ta fifilaa xe Yevunya kple agbalɛnyanya kple Mawunya ke xe woko vɛ na mí ta ame ɔeke megabuɔ nuɔ mie ŋku o. Yi avɛe me nàkpɔe ɔa, ezu dzogbe vɔ. Klefetɔwo fe park, axaadzi le fimii etsã ave ezu dzogbe vɔ. the last time anɔ abe two years ago xe mede lakpɔe menɔ very sorry be the place has reduced to such a state. Babli gãgã mawo tɔgbi woadi ne èkpɔe anyakpɔ na wɛ. ko gake fifie la

Ta ole eyɔ be amegãve. Etrɔ la ya nye amegã la. Ta amegã le avɛe me ta wò kura, wò ɔeka kura màabe yeyie ɔe avɛe me o. Mâte ŋui o. Ta wo preserve..ii afe wova kɔ gbedoxɔ tu ɔe exa, wova wa park ɔe fimie. èkpɔa? Mawu yiya la xe le vava fe nu ziwo ekimi lo. Wofe xlã yi vɔ fetee

Agbasiafe tse sigbe wowɔe. Agbasia le fie ya wotsɔ.. va, sɛ ko gbedoxɔ va va, ko wona nu ziiwo dukɔɔ be oo ne wotsii na tɔgbe be ne wonɔ exa. Fifie, fifie ya kura tse nyemeka ɔe dzi be wofe koloe

mie (earthenware) tse gale fimie o. ewɔabe wofe nu ɔke kura tse megale fimie o. Gake ɔkeko wowɔe kɔ preserve na wofe

Wer: Ne mese nya ki gblɔe ele, gbã ebe mía EUedometɔwoe míafe trɔwo alo gbɔgbɔ kewɛ dzi míxɔ se la zi geɔe womekuna ɔe atsiafu ŋu o. Well in any case tse atsiafuɔ tse mele míawo gbɔ o. Ta nu ke, wobe nu k exe nuka nuka nya ye woɔɔ, adelã nya ya wòɔɔ.

Wee: Ame ke ŋɔli nya ya owuɔ. Nu ke tɔwo xe le mía gbɔ, xe le ɔke kple míafe agbenɔɔ eya me ya míafe culture do tso. Ta womenya nu ɔke tso atsiafu ŋu o ta atsiafu fe ŋɔke mele.. abe le yɔwe tse womenya naneke tso agbledede ŋu o ta nu ma tɔgbi mele wo gbɔ o. ŋku vu fe yevuɔ yiewo fe vava fe yɔwo tse le nu ke gble de. Shallet ee kple nuɔ miewɛ.

Wer: Ta tso ekimi dzi la, nenye be mese wòfe nya gɔme, ne trɔ yawo, Evedometɔ yawo be yewo bia nane la, zi geɔe anye nuɔɔ kpli tɔ mawo.

Wee: ehee

Wer: Ke ee le nuɔɔ gomee, nuɔɔ ɔtɔii ɔe lee wozãna? Alo woate ŋu azã nuɔɔ ɔe siaa ɔe ke wokɔna na etrɔwe.

Wee: Le Evedome la ee trɔfowo wo use..na ewɔ kpeli. Wo use..na ami kple nuɔɔ susuewe ke ɔke womakɔ akpa yie fimi oo. ye siss yi la ehiã elã. Ne etrɔwò le akpa ɔu ke ewɔ abe trɔɔ menye trɔ gbagbe ye o. either egbɔ, alẽ, these two things, eee Koklo.

Wer: Okay!!

Ho Kpodzi

Wer: Afe madzo, àte ŋu anam Ho Kpodzitowo fe history ɔe?

Wee: Kpodzi ɔke wòle abe highland.

Èkpɔ lo xe mía Hlihatowo mía hliaha dzi le fi, Dometowo neono mía dome le fi, Axɔetowo ole Axɔe le fi, Hevetowo le fi maɔaa, ne èkpɔ kpodzi efie yɔ mile be kpodzi, ne èkpɔ kpodzi la àkpɔ be kpo dzi ye. Ele kɔkɔfe viiɔe wu tefe kimiwe betee. Xe yevuwo va la I want this to be a separate tape.

Tape 3

Wee: Yevuwo mawunya wotsɔ ve gbã afe asitsatsa dze eyome. Mawunyatsɔvela akpa gãtɔ xe va wodi be ne yewo nɔ kɔkɔfe viiɔe. Tsie ta? Etsi maɔe fu, erosion maɔe fu ne yewo fũ o. Xe fimie nye fufuife ta ɔe susu anɔe be ne womekpɔ nyuiɔe o emui ɔe maɔe fu fũ o. Abe le ke xe wòaxa ɔe gɔta viviwo me le down ee le fie o.

Ta efimi ɔko wo describe efimi. Ta xe Mawunyadɔgbedeawo va xeve tso afe ɔe efimie la wofe dɔwalawo fete tse xe ne woawo ɲɔwo megalee o tse wofe dɔwalawo tse fimie ko wo dzee .. ya ta ne ɛyi kpodzi fifi la ee sɔfowo, chatechist..wo ee sukununɔla tɔwo yɔwo koe le fimi. Ame Lay people..wo ya yɔwo metso afe ɔe kpodzi o. Ta kpodzi menye ɲkɔ tɔxe ɔeke wɔnye o. It is the same as.. du ɔe siaa ɔe me tse kpodzi lee ɔe

Wer: Ta mebe mabia be ekpoɔ dzi ɔe suku ta wokɔ ɲkɔɔ ne alo sɔlie me. Kple susu be fifie ne ame ɔe be meyi ɔe kpoɔ dzii anye suku alo sɔlime kpo dzi

Wee: Enuɔ evey lee gake tsegbie (*eka?*) va gbã? sɔlimee va gbã afe sukuɔ kplɔe ɔo. Ta kpodzi, wokɔ sɔlimee kɔ yie kpo dzi. Ta EP kpodzi.

Wer: Eee etsã EP fifie RC kpodzi tse lee

Wee: Eye RC kpodzi ya kura tse ɔe, Eee ekpo kimi dzi ole le Bankoe, ekpo tukui ɔe koe ta eva wɔ abe fimie ye mawunyadɔgbedeawo xe nya va va settle..na ɔa le du ɔe siaa ɔe me ke Kpodzi koe. Kpo dzi koe. Afi siaa fi

Wer: Ta mebe mabia, ta generally ne xe eee eee eee mawunyadɔgbedeawo va zi geɔe wodina tefe ɔe ke xe kɔ enye kpo dzi woanɔ sin ye fimi lefo wodina be yewonɔ.

Wee: Wodie be ne yewo nɔ highland <<okay>>

Wer: I am wondering whether there is a metaphorical meaning. Like they have risen above sin.

Wee: ao! ao! ao!

Wer: What about a kind of isolation from the people?

Wee: ooo ee enuɔ ye nye be ne xe ɛyi ɔe du ɔe me abe amedzro xe lale amiewo fe titian ee vɔvc anɔ mewɔ. Eye xe amiewo tse wole warlike, mɛse wofe nuwɔna ɔeke gɔme o, wofe titian manya nɔ na wɔo. Ya ta ne nye be means le asiwɔ xe àte ɲu awa nɔfe ne ɔokoewɔ la àdi be nawɔe ɔe tefe isolated place ɔe ee. Meka ɔe edzi be susu mawo ta koe woawo nu ...

Wer: Efia be in the past fimi lefo was quite isolated from the main community

Wee: ee. Oo those days around this time ewɔ ɔeka malɔ be yeayi kpodzi o ɔe. Tso le investement bank, old investment bank <<ee>>màalo o, fima atsyɔ, elabena ave viiɔe le fimie kple kpodzi la dome àdo to avee me afe ayi.

Eee Etsɔ minɔ tefe ɔe ɔɔ mibe asɔlieme <<good!>> ee

Asɔlieme

Wer: Asɔlieme, Heve yea? Menye Heve ye oa?

Wee: ao

Wer: Soweto fimi menye Heve ye oa?

Wee: ee Heve ye. See?? Asɔlieme ɔe eHɔwe, tso ye ma yi xe eHɔwe dze xe nye ame ɔekawo,.

xe ava ɔo abisinia, ye azɔ mɔ tso Abyninia, kakaka ava nɔ tefe ɔewo kakaaka afe vaɔo.

ɔɔtsie hawoe, wodo tso gbɔ vovovo me. Ta ɔe Hotɔwo tse la wodoɔ gbe vovovoɔwo. togbɔ be wole Uegbe do le tse la wogbloɔ nya ɔewo eye fifie womegalee o. eee ale be asɔlia enye tefe ɔe xe nu maɔinuwo, nu kluiklui ɔewo togbi wole zã. Eee ganu, tinapagoewo milogoewo enuɔ miewo togbi. Eze gbagbawo xe wole. Ale be ɔeko wo describe efimie <<mm>>, wo describe efimie elabena ne èyi la àkpɔ numaɔinu ke togbiwo le fimie zã. Ale be eye fimie lefo ɔe xe ..togbiwo sɔgbɔ ɔa la efimie ya wonɔ ametsiaUawo sã ɔa. Eye Heve Axɔetɔwe wonɔ wofe ametsiaUawe dewe ɔi ɔe fimi. Eye ne wobe neodɔi ametsiaUawe la wofɔɔ o nuwo fetee kɔ yie nii elabena wonɔɔ be ne wokɔ ɔe da ɔanyi ɔe ametsiaUa ava nɔ eyome ti. akpɔ dziku ava nɔ ame ɔewo ... wokɔɔ onuwe betee kɔ lafoɔ ɔe eyɔɔ dzi.... ta sêe ko la nuɔmie wova la lofo ɔanyi ko xeviwe kple koklowo ɔewo yie ava kake ɔanyi ko ne èɔo fimie la <<its a mess>> wo describe..na be kpɔ *leke efi le nabe asɔlieme* ko le ke fie le woyɔ be Asɔlieme. Alebe really, e..have relation towards ame kiwe migbloɔ be womeku ku nyuie o, accidental death, wofe ɔiɔi kple wofe ku wawa

Wer: Ta woɔina wo ɔe fimi tse menye ɔeko woahiwe wo o woɔi wo ɔe fimii tse.

Wee: Woɔi ame dewe ɔe fimi

Wer: Mm okay!! Ta le edziedzi wowana kɔnu ɔewo le fimia?

Wee: Ee. wowɔa kɔnuwo le fimie koɔi abe ne ee womele amie ɔi ɔe fimie gbe o, wole eko yi gbe ɔe tefe bubu ɔei gbe alaɔi. Ne woɔii vɔ gbe ke gbe wogbloɔ ɔe efe nuwo betee kɔ yi ne gbe efimi wova assemble..na wuɔwo betee le <<okay!>> ale be gbedodoɔa kple etɔ kimiwe, woɔaa nu ketɔwe ɔugbe amee le, woɔe ekimiewo betee le fimie. Kimi kɔnuwala kɔnuwala mawo xe megaɔu lãdetsi kpɔ o aa

egbemi ya yowo tse wogale nu gbagbe de du gbe ano good light soup. Ale be neowa va la care deke melee wo take..na ne fimi o, ya woloo nuowo le fimi, ado amewo ta abe hodie dze wo dzi alae de eme kakaaka ako yi de fimie ye wodje ame da. sigbe togbi wonoo ewayi le mia gbo. Wo tasi. eHo yaw o tasi fifie.

Wer: Medo nku dzi be xe meno devime sigbe mitona fimi afe yina agbasiafe afe ayi solime. Enye nyemenya tsã o. gbe deka gbe mi yie ya ame de tsii nam be magato fimi o magato fimi o. Hlihakpe dewo le fimi <<ee>> ta makpe nu. I still remember. I was very young at the time. I was somewhere 11 years. Nyemese emekpo kaka afe later mevase be wobe ametsiaUawo wono didi de fimi

Wee: Vovododo ame ko ye

Wer: Ke fo Sefadzi. Ke eto, galenkuito, ate nu atu efe xo nama?

Wee: Eto ke ya ele afe eHotowo tse wova de

Wer: Afe wova tso nkoo ne. Afe woava tso galenkuito nko la ne de nko bubu de no si a?

Wee: eee, to kele de. wono to de yo be Euetogbeka. Ale be EUetogbeka fe afi de de miafo nu kple eHoxanola yiewo betee afe wova tso Dzamayevuowo (German) xe du wo dzi le efie fe nko nii elabena eno too dzi eya ... menye galenkuie nye onko oo, neo describe..ii. wotsa megbenko ne ya wozu nko na too

Tape 4

Wee: Efimie fe dodo woe be nko do nu. Kpodeju me Atsãsi kimi xe yo wole Togbe Howusu fe area ye. Atsãti ga de le efimi. Eya ta ko wole efimie do be atsãtie atsãtie te.

Wer: Atsã si. Mede kuku ebe tefe nko nze atsãsi? Nu ke ta xe mele obia enye be de Togbe Howusu la at least ne mese eme la eblu nu ke de le eme. Atsãsi itself is eblu nu ke de le eme. Atsãti gome. Atsãsi nto le blugbe me. Atsã+asi eblugbe ye. Ehee. I am only trying to confirm ..

Wee: Eee Togbe Howuwu, eee Dome, metsii na wo be yowo tse de wova. Togbo be mia fetee de mia tse de <<yowo tse wova>>ame dewo no fi afe eye Hevetowo yowoe fo we kplawe ve. Ale be womenye ame ketowo xe zo tso notsie afe va fi o, eye xe wova la womese Uegbe o <<Okay!>> eye ame nene tse ye va? Womesogbo o. Gake xe wova la wova de srã le tso Hliha, Bankoe, ale be ta yowo la, Eve, nu ka, eblu wodo blu. Kimi fifie towo deviwo ganoo dekadeka ... nyemeka de dzi be blu no wo me. Ale be ne xe wono fimie de atsãti kimi no anyi. Atsãti kimi la axo a hundred and fifty (150 years) years

or more. Elabe enye hawo, atsãtie nye atsãti gã mekpɔ. Ya melee kakaaka over seventy years (70 years) now. Èkpɔe ɖaa? <<mmm>>ta it is far over a hundred and fifty years (150 years). Ta yɔwɛ ɲtɔ tse woate ɲu aɖɔ efimie le blugbe me. <<mm>> yike xe wòate ɲu ava zu ɲkɔ na tefee.

Gake Dome woakpa bubu ɖe galee. Yi ke ɲkɔ ɖeke mele eya si o. Eee. Ɖkɔ ɖeke mele eya si o

Wer: Abe leke xe Fo Sefadzi gblɔe nu mawo di mele emi. Le Domee me tefe galeea? Ne mebe axɔe ɖe abe le ègblɔe yi, amewo aɖɔ tefee abe nane ke adzɔ le fimi kimi yɔwo ɲtɔ gava na ɲkɔe. Nu mawo fomevi di mele.

Interjection: Gake fifie Dome afi ɖe lee woyɔ be Dome agbasiafe ɖe alo?

Wer: Ahaa. Ya tse nye ɖeka.

Domee lee afe agbasiafe alo?

Wee: Eee. Gake ɖe, èkpɔ xe duɔ le kpekpea? <<mmm>>eee eDome fe afi ɖe tse galee. Ee AUatidome.

(Avatidome hã dome wòlea?)

Wee: Dometɔwo ya mmm woka akɔ ɖe enu be yewo tɔe.

Fine ye nye aUatie ɖome ya fe?

Wee: Leke mele fimie ɖɔ gbe lewie? Coca Cola. Wova dzra Coca Cola le tefe ɖe ewa abe uncompleted storey building (old coca cola, menye crossroad..e ko ye wa?) Aoo menye efimie o. Wodzra ɖe (le nurses training mɔnu lefo) le nurses training mɔnu lefo. Efimie fe ɲkume viiɖe ahadzrafe area le fimie. Ati ɖe nɔ fimie gbedɛɛ. Anyiti ɖe nɔ fimie gbedɛɛ <<Anyiti?>> Anyiti ɖe nɔ fimie. Fimie nye AUatidome. Eye nu ke ta woyɔe be AUatidome ye be ɖe xe Ashantiewo xe ho aUa ɖe, woho aUa ɖe eHotɔwo. Míno nunu be xe Ashantiewo xe gbɔɔ ɖe Ho. Ashantiewo yɔwo tse wometso be yewo gbɔɔ Ho o. Ashantiewo ya wofe mind ye nye be ne yewo create empire ta wonɔ amewo dzi ɖuu nɔ yiyi. Ne woyi ke ɖe Brong Ahafo nutome le fimie, ta woɖo wovaɖo ame ɖewo ɖe fimie abe fiatfenɔla le efie ene. Ya ta míxɔ independence afe wo create Brong Ahafo Region ɖe. Tsã fimie fetee wonye Ashanti. Ale be ya wowa vɔ ya wogava trɔ ɖɔɖe east tse. Ya wole amewo dzi ɖu nɔ yiyi kakaaka. Ne xe woɖu dziwɛ wobe efine ame ɖewo gale? Le alebe wolé ee nu ka ame ke hawɛ, Adãtɔwɛ vɔ xe kplɔwɛ ɖe nu ya Adãtɔwɛ tse fia Mafiewɛ; Mafiewɛ tse fia Aɖakluɔwɛ; Ɖakluɔwɛ tse be ame ɖewo tse gale mifie. Alebe la wogbɔ. Xe wova ɖo la

missionaries..e..wo xe nɔ Kpodzi, Eweɛ menye Yevu missionaries..we o lo ameyibɔwe <<ameyibor missionaries>> xe nɔ nu ke, eye ee catechist Akudey ootɔgbe ye nɔ dzifoxɔ dzi ya wɔkpɔ amewo gbɔɔ ɖa. Ame kawoe ke? Amewo sɔ gbɔ zã. Gake ye ma yi amewo sɔ gbɔ zã ame nene kura wonye?.. Ya ko ɖe enuɔ menya kpɔ ni o hafi wole Ashantiewo fe ŋkɔ se <<mm>>. Ye ma yi tse la ame ɖewo tse ɖaklutɔ ɖewo tse si du do to afie ɖe be yewova na information eHotɔwe. Eye wobe nyɔnu ɖe tse nɔ agble se amewo fe, se amewo ŋkɔ, ta eya tse si du dzo le agblee. Ee catechist la, Akudey eyae nɔ dzifoxɔɔ dzi afe kpɔ amewo ɖaa be: “Menye Ashantitɔ kimi xe nu wonɔ menya yɔwɔe kimi oa? Ale be wɔsi du yi la report na Tɔgbe Howusu be ele nuɔ le dzɔdzɔ eke lo. Koa, ametsitsi ɖe xe le enu ke ke ɖa downee keke Bankoe ke **Ya respect na Tɔgbe Howusu....** Aaa ko wose amewo fe ŋkɔ tse ŋɔgbee xoxo ta wotɔ asi ame ɖe k exe gbɔɔ aUaa leadee gbe nenye be eva ɖo Ho. Ta ameka kpɔ gbe wole, eyae nye Domeɛwo <<mmm>>. Ale be xe Ashatiewo va ɖo xe wova ɖo Kpodzi ezã do, ta wodi be ne yewo ge ɖe eduɔ me wodo tso kpɔɔ dzi. Míafe sɔlimega ke xe mífoɔ le fimie wotsɔe. <<mm>>Ale be wodze agbagba be ne yewo ɖo gbɔɔ me gake the nearest town yae nye Hliha. Ale be fimi lefo xe ee nu ke, primary school ..ee le fe sɔsɔme le fimie ɖa tse Hlihatɔwo be womaɖo gbɔɔ me o, Ale be throughout the night la Hlihatɔwo put them on the check. Ale be woda tu throughout the night ale ne womete ŋu ɖo.. Instead be Bankoe neva kpe ɖe wo ŋu la womete ŋu va o <<woɖo gbe alo nu ka?>> Woɖo gbe. Wolia Galenjkuitɔ yie, eye Axɔetɔwo le wova le Asɔlieme le fii; eee Hevetɔwo va le Mawuli gate le fi; Dometɔwo la wole ee Agbasiafe sukuɔ fike xe wòle fifie egodo nɔnyewo fe afeme gbɔ. Xe minye kalɛtɔwe xe mile tuɔ se ɖa le primary school ee gbɔ le fimi nu ka ta mimayi o? ɖeketɔ me..move le wonɔfe. Kakaaka ɖe eɲu k eke wote kple.. ya the leader of the war xe nye Domeawɛ, ya woɖo ame ɖe we zɔ be ɖe oo fifie ɖe ne woɖe asi le eɲu. <<woɖo ame ɖe wo nɔvi Hlihawoa?>> Woɖo ame ɖe wo nɔvi Heve, Axɔe be ɖe ne wotrɔ va yewo gbɔ. Ashantiewo kpɔe be oo amewo si le efi lefo yi, ya yɔwo tse wote kple zɔzɔ ɖe wo dzi. Ale be ye ma yi xe eHoɔwo la ɖo efimie xe ɖo mile fifie be coca cola, xe woɖo fimi lefo. Ashantiewo ...Ale be tso fɔŋluime kakaaka va se ɖe ga ewo ya Bankoe wo meet Ashatiewo, da tu for a very long time, hafi eHoɔwo si dzo. <<eHoɔwo si`?>>Ale be Ashantiewo wodze mɔ lo Taviefe, Ziavi ɖe nu kakaaka yi ɖe ... du ɖewo le fimi kaka latso eee kaka gatɔ yie ɖe Amedɔfe lefe. Eyɔwo ya ne wobe ame ɖewo le .. ko woti ameɛwe yome. Menye ɖe wonya specific place o. Alebe ye ma yi ya la eHoɔwe ee Saviefe woɖo ta Saviefetɔwo, Taviefetɔwe ame miewe betee wosi va yi ɖe Amedzɔfe, ɖe etoɔ tame ta amewo fe

ylidodowε wœ be ... le Ashantiewo tse .. be ah! yœwoe kimi ɖaa. Ya unfortunately for them wola do to etoɔ fe gbegbœafe, fimi xe ame ɖeke mate ŋu ato xe ayi o. Ya ..kpœ be ɖe ekpe kimiwo xe le etoɔ dzi wote kple ekpeɛ tutu alebe wowu akpa gãtɔ. Ame ketɔwo xe susɔ wotrɔ dze agbagba kaka galaɖo amutɔsisie ŋu, cross dzo. Okay!!

Alebe atie te le fimi xe eHoɔwo betee wokpe wε le ɖe ya ati ɖe no fimi <<xe nye anyiti la>> xe nye anyiti la. Ta wova na ŋkɔ fimie be AUatidome, describing the place. <<but at the same time preserving memory/ an historical event>> yeah!

Gake èkpœa, xe wova le mɔɔ ɖe ya contractor be batsi na eHoɔwo be ne yewo ho atie. Hafi ɖe mele be ne woho ati kimi afe o. ɖeko woawɔ emɔ eɖe ato fi eɖe ato fi. Egẽ o afi ɖe time ɖe lee miva kpɔ etrɔfe le mɔme ŋtɔŋtɔ <<Cape Coast tse>> emɔ woakpa ke eɖe tse do to <<atie ame Dele malãe o>>

Gake enyaa, nu ke ta xe woalãe ɖa xe me suspect eye menya tse be eya ye nye truth..ee eyae nye be MèGAŋLɔE O LO!! MEGAɖI LE EFI TSE O::: Bankoe kple Dome wonɔ fianya he, nenyɛ be Dome woate ŋu akpɔ historical thing ɖe anɔ fiafia be yeede gbe le fi nu kele, nu kele, okay..., ya ta ne melee o ko evɔ. Ne è..describe..ii Uuu tse ne amee mekpœ physically o la abe ee maaxœ se in totality o. ta Bankoetɔwo tse lɔ be ne yew ova ho atie. Woava do gbe ɖa, wova do gbe ɖa. Gake ehoho menɔ easy o. ehoho... wotsɔ Caterpillar anɔ dɔ wa, awa dɔ kakaaka three days neotutu atie atie ɖeko woUuUu viiɖe ko egale kpa! <<who say man no dey?>> sigbe wonɔ dzi kakaaka afe wòva ho ie ɖe neode asi le wo ŋu

Ta Dome: Atsãsi, agbasiafe kple atidome

Axœla, nyemenya known place ɖeke sigbe o. Hliha tse, Heve tse, Bankoe tse, eya tse ɖe mabia.

