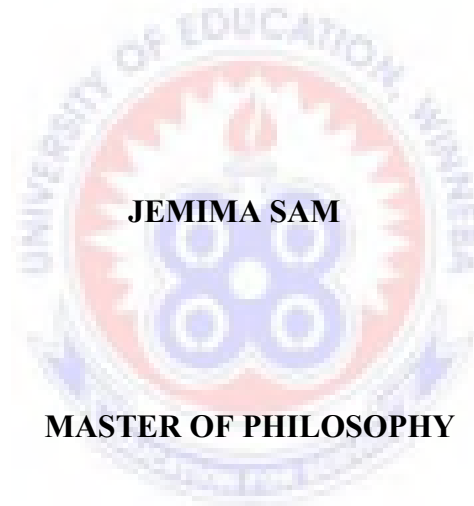


**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA**

**LEXICAL VARIATIONS IN THE EWE LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN HO**

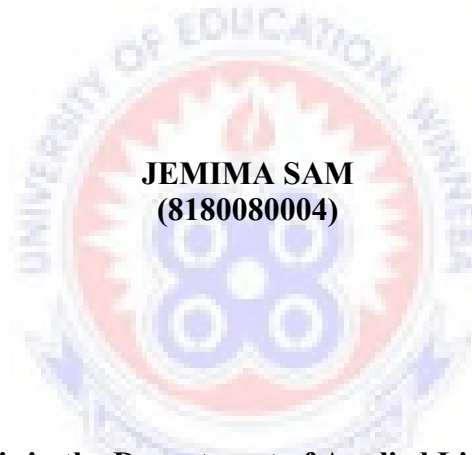


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**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA**

**LEXICAL VARIATIONS IN THE EWE LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN HO**



**JEMIMA SAM  
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**A Thesis in the Department of Applied Linguistics,  
Faculty of Foreign Languages Education and Communication,  
submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment**

**of the requirements for the award of the degree of  
Master of Philosophy  
(Applied Linguistics)  
in the University of Education, Winneba**

**February, 2021**

## DECLARATION

### STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I, Jemima Sam declare that this dissertation with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have been duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted either in part or whole, for any degree elsewhere.

**SIGNATURE:** .....

**DATE** : .....



### SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

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

**NAME OF SUPERVISOR:** .....

**SIGNATURE:** .....

**DATE** : .....

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my children Senam, Selikem and Sedudzi who had to endure my absence during this trying period. I love you.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincerest gratitude goes to God Almighty for His mercies and protection that he so lavishly bestowed upon me, making me get this far. May His name be praised.

I am most humbled to have had the opportunity to work under the guidance and supervision of Professor Evershed Amuzu. He did not only provide constructive criticisms and feedback on drafts but also mentored and provided professional guidance throughout the writing process. I am grateful to Dr. Fofu Lomotey, Dr. Kwaku Ofori, Dr. Asante and Dr. Rebecca Akpanglo for their guidance throughout the study process. May God bless them abundantly.

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To my family and friends, I say may your prayers never go unanswered for always looking out for me throughout my period of study. Your prayers pulled me through. Akpe na mi.

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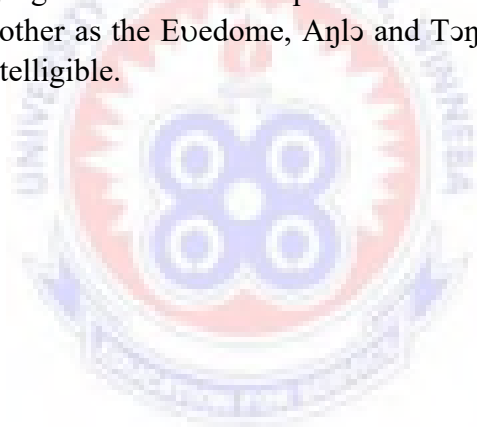
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## ABSTRACT

The study looks at the lexical variations that were noticed in the Ewe language that is spoken in the Ho community. It sets out to investigate the variants that were noticed in the speech of the indigenes as well as that of the immigrants from around the capital of Volta Region, Ho. To analyse the data, Labov's Variationist theory of 1996, as well as Giles' speech accommodation theory of 1973, were brought to bear. Data was collected from indigenous settlements and settlers who found themselves in the region of the study. The qualitative research approach as well as purposive sampling techniques were used. The data were obtained by the use of observation and interviews as well as the analysis of recorded radio programmes. Investigations revealed that there is a significant degree of regional and social variations in the Ewe spoken in Ho which has significantly resulted in the use of diverse linguistic features in everyday language. These variations manifested as lexical, phonological, and grammatical differences existing among all the dialects which seem to be in contact within the speech community. Among the three dialects, some lexicons are common to all three dialects, some are common to only two of the three dialects while others are distinct from each other. Interestingly, the study confirms that the dialectal backgrounds of language users within the speech community do not affect the issue of understanding each other as the Evedome, Aɲlo and Tɔɲu dialects can be considered as being mutually intelligible.



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Introduction

This study examines lexical variation in the Ewe which is spoken in Ho. The main focus is to identify the dialectal variants of various lexical variables in the language of the residents of Ho (both indigenes and immigrants from other parts of the region who are resident in this speech community) and to explain their uses. The chapter also provides an introduction to the study- the phenomenon of lexical variation as a sociolinguistic concept and its impact on language use in the Ho speech community. Section 1.1 provides a background to the study, section 1.2 presents the problem statement, sections 1.3 and 1.4 discuss the research objectives and questions of the study respectively, section 1.5 examines the significance of the study, section 1.6 presents the organisational structure of the entire thesis and section 1.7 summarizes the chapter.

#### 1.1 Background to Study

Language variation and its relationship with social context have become one of the major trending highlights in sociolinguistics. However, there cannot be language variation if there is no language or society within which to use it. Sapir (1949:8) indicates that

“language is purely human and non instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols. These symbols are, in the first instance, auditory and they are produced by the so-called “organs of speech”. Speech is not a simple activity that is carried on by one or more organs biologically adapted to the purpose. It is an extremely complex and ever-shifting network of adjustments... in the brain, in

the nervous system, and in the articulating and auditory organs...  
tending towards the desired end of communication”

Linguists study variations of language and social traits to develop a fuller understanding of the nature of language and its role in society. Over the years, language variation has been recognised as a very vibrant research area in Sociolinguistics that studies how language differs considerably when analysed, putting into consideration social variables such as ethnicity, social status, gender, level of education and age. Chambers (2004, p.28) reiterates that the “major social factors which affect human behaviour and speech are class, sex, and age. They decide the rules in society. Men, women and children frequently speak in a different way in society.” His claim shows that indeed, the study of language difference is impossible without its association to these social variables. Considering gender as a social variable, it is shown that language use in men varies considerably from language use in women.

Again, this fact is emphasised by Labov (1991, p.243) as he maintains that “in a careful speech, women use fewer stigmatised forms than men and are more sensitive than men to the prestige pattern”.

When Labov developed the concept of Sociolinguistic variables, he defined language variation as a set of alternative ways of saying the same thing (Labov, 1972). Therefore, an individual’s speech is usually characterised by a particular variety of speech that identifies him or her as a member of a particular speech community (Hudson, 1980, p.184).

In another vein, Korsah (2012, p.14) maintains that the “heterogeneity among and within speech communities is explicable under the notion of ‘variation.’”

These above assertions lend credence to the notion that language variation is a common phenomenon that has been given a lot of attention in the field of sociolinguistics over the years. Although there are several similarities in the languages of the world, very distinct features have also been identified among them. These differences exist on different levels spanning language family, orthography, sound system, tone system, among others. Interestingly, variation in languages is not only limited to languages which belong to distinct language families. A particular language may use different lexical labels to refer to the same item or ideas depending on the speaker's geographical location/ boundary, social variables or even paralinguistic factors like education, social class, etc.

Language variation can be categorized as regional, historical or social depending on a number of factors. For this study, we will focus primarily on how the regional and social variations in the Ewe spoken among residents of Ho bring about lexical variations in the language. For instance, in Ewe, *krante* and *eyi* refer to 'cutlass,' while *Krante* is normally used by the Evedome speakers who are located at the central part of the Volta Region, *eyi* is used by the Anlo speaker at the southern part of the region. This indicates that in Ewe, different words refer to the same lexical item which is evident in the existence of lexical variation in the language.

Change is one basic yet important characteristic of language. Languages are subject to change over time and this change usually brings about various types of variations in a language-phonological, lexical, morphological and syntactic variation. Contact with other languages or dialects tends to be the number one culprit of language change. Thus, we can say that language contact leads to language change which in turn brings about the phenomenon of lexical variation in languages and dialects. This is the current state of the Ewe spoken in Ho, as the language seems

to display some degree of variation in the speech of members of the community. The lexical and phonological variation identified in the speech of members of the speech community is mainly realised in the Evedome, Tɔŋu and Aŋlɔ dialects of Ewe. This contact situation is as a result of the convergence of Ewe speaking people from diverse dialectal backgrounds and communities at the urban centre- Ho for varied reasons like employment, business, education and many others. Typically, during communication, there is the tendency for a speaker of Aŋlɔ to try and accommodate an Evedome speaker in order to ensure higher levels of intelligibility. Once accommodation happens over a period of time, naturally, speakers of one dialect become comfortable using some dialect-specific terms which inadvertently lead to using lexical alternations in their discourse.

This study investigates lexical variation in the discourse of the native Ewe speakers in Ho. It will also explore whether social factors as sex, age, gender, social class, etc and rural-urban migration influence a speaker's choice of language at any given time within the speech community.

### **1.1.1 The Ewe Language**

The people of Ho who are also referred to as the Asoglis, just like the other Ewe groups speak Ewe. Ewe is a Kwa language under the Niger-Congo language family. It is mainly spoken in Benin and part of Nigeria. Other Ghanaian languages which belong to the Kwa family include Akan, Dangme and Ga. This accounts for similarities in some vocabularies, sounds and meanings among these languages. The name "E3e" used to refer to all dialects spoken by family near the coast between the Volta River in Ghana and Badagry in Nigeria. Dialects of Ewe are spoken in both coastal and inland areas of Togo such as Kp111, Dangbe, Vli, Agu, Nɔtsie, Waci, Kpesi, Adangbe and Be. In the case of Ghana, Ewe is the most dominant language

spoken in the Coastal and inland parts of the Volta Region with about three million speakers. It is spoken in Aɲɔ, Avenɔ, Vɪ, Tɔɲu, Avedakpa, Awudome, Peki, Ho, Aɲ5ɔɛ, Kpando, Fodome, Gbi, Danyi (Duthie, 1996).

Ewe serves as both formal and informal means of communication for its speakers. It is used effectively in domains such as education, media productions, social engagements, etc. It also serves as a second language for speakers of Ghana Togo Mount (GTM) languages which are also spoken in the Volta Region.

The native Ewes use the language in education and all social, cultural and commercial activities. Ewe is also used in broadcasting and serves as a Lingua Franca to Ghana Togo mountain languages (GTM languages) like Lelemi, Siya, Siwu, etc. in the Volta Region.

The three main dialects of Ewe being discussed in this study are Evedome, Tɔɲu and Aɲɔ. Aɲɔ and Tɔɲu are spoken in the southern part of Volta region, with the Aɲɔ spoken along the coast, and Tɔɲu, along and around river Volta. The central part of the Region where Ho is located as well as some parts of the northern Volta, speak the Evedome dialect (Amekpordi, 2012).

### **1.1.2 Ethnographic Background of the People of Ho**

Ho is not only the capital of Volta region but also one of the four main traditional set-ups of the Asogli State. The others are Akoefe, Kpenoe and Takla. However, the paramountcy is at Ho. The Ho people, like most Ewe speaking people trace their origin from a place called Abyssinia which is now Ethiopia (Brown, 2008, p. 19). They migrated with other Ewes from Abyssinia to Oyo in Yoruba land, Western Nigeria. From Oyo, they went to Ketu in Dahomey (now Benin) before Notse in present day Republic of Togo, in about the 12<sup>th</sup> century. At Notsie the Ewes

were ruled by a tyrant, King Agorkorli whose sadistic rule is reported in the historical records of all Ewes (Brown, 2008).

The Asoglis naturally detested the rule of King Agorkorli and, under the leadership of Torgbe Kakla and his people broke away from the larger Ewe group to settle at Komedzrale, near what is now Ho. At Komedzrale, the Asoglis engaged in subsistence farming and hunting.

Oral history has it that Togbe Kakla had three sons and a daughter. These were Akoe, Letsu, Asor and Esa. As Komedzrale lands gradually lost their fertility, and could no longer support any meaningful economic activity and the growing population, the Asoglis migrated further. The descendants of Akoe and Letsu founded Akoefe and Kpenoe, and later, Takla. The descendants of Asor settled at the present day of Ho after a brief sojourn at Hofedo. The only daughter of Togbe Kakla, Esa, migrated and settled at present day Saviefe, which is north of Ho.

The Asogli state council, the traditional ruling council, comprises the Agbogbomefia, Togbe Afede the XIV, who is the president, the paramount chiefs of Akoefe, Kpenoe and Takla, and the four divisional chiefs of Ho.

### **1.1.3 The Ho municipality**

Ho is the regional capital of the Volta Region. It lies between latitude 6° 20'7N and 6° 55'N and longitudes 0° 12'7E and 0° 53'E (Gadagoe, 2009). According to Gadagoe, the Asogli state is the largest single geographical unit in the municipal assembly. Ho doubles as the seat of paramountcy of the Asogli State and the seat of governance at the regional level as far as Ghana is concerned. This makes Ho the largest urban centre in the Volta Region.

Ho is the largest urban centre in both the Municipality and the region. According to the 2010 national population and housing census, Ho has a population



of 177, 281 representing 8.4 % of the total population of the region. The major occupation is farming, a significant number are also engaged in sales and trade (27%) while about 16% are engaged as professionals, managers and technicians (Ghana statistical service, October 2014).

Per the unique sociolinguistic nature of most municipalities, Ho has a lot of its working class population from diverse geographical locations across the region hence its distinct characteristics of regional variation of Ewe.

Hitherto, Ho dwellers used Ewe (i.e. all other dialects being represented), English and Akan since part of the then Volta Region had Akan speaking communities. However, as a result of the upsurge of economic growth and development Ho and the influx of educational institutions such as the public and private universities, other adjunct tertiary institutions, and numerous health facilities, other Ghanaian languages such as Akan, and Ga are beginning to gain remarkable grounds in the linguistic landscape of Ho. It is worth mentioning that the use of English in both intra and interpersonal communication within the Ho speech community has also increased significantly. The current linguistic situation in Ho demands an investigation to ascertain the status of the host Evedome dialect.

The Ho traditional area is made up of five major divisions, namely, Bankoe, Heve, Ahoe, Dome, and Hlika; Bankoe being the seat of paramountcy. History has it that Bankoe which is the seat of paramountcy used to be a muddy area and therefore earned it the name Bankyɔkɔ meaning muddy block referring to the then muddy nature of the present day Bankoe. Over the years the name Banyɔkɔ metamorphosed into what we know now as Bankoe.

Dome is another traditional settlement in Ho. Historically, it is believed that the people of the present day Dome migrated from somewhere to Ho. As they

arrived, the people of Asogli (Ho) were not too sure about them; they therefore, decided to give them a place of settlement right in the middle of the town so that they can be keenly monitored. 'Centre' translates as Dome in Ewe, hence that settlement was labelled as Dome. The other traditional settlements which are Hliha, Have, and Ahoé all have histories pertaining to their names. Apart from these traditional settlements, other settlements sprung up in Ho in later years. Some of these later settlements include Aᅇłokɔdzi 'Hill of the people of Aᅇło', Kablekɔdzi 'Hill of the people of Kabeyie', Toviadzi 'On top of the small hill', Anagokɔdzi 'Hill of the Nigerians' Oral history has it that depending on the group of people who occupied a particular location, names were given to each of these settlements as a means of identification. 'Aᅇłokɔdzi' is the settlement of migrants from southern part of the region while 'Anakokɔdzi' refers to the settlement for Nigerians migrants, especially the Yorubas and Igbos. The settlement known as 'Kablekɔdzi' is inhabited by migrants from the northern part of Togo whereas 'Toviadzi' is somewhat a mixed settlement located at the heart of the town. This picture, therefore, demonstrates how culturally and linguistically diverse the Ho speech community is.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Preliminary investigations have shown the presence of a variety of dialects of Ewe in Ho. This contact situation has led to the incidence of variations in the Ewe spoken within the Ho speech community. The variation is manifested at the lexical, phonological and grammatical levels and has subsequently resulted in the use of diverse linguistic features in the discourse among native speakers of the dialects which are in contact within the speech community.

Speakers of Ewe in this speech community use lexicons across different dialects of Ewe in their speech events. For instance, one or two words which are known to belong to the Aɲɔ dialect can be identified in the speech of a native Evedome speaker's speech and vice versa. This can gradually lead to dialect or language shift. Literature has shown a number of works that have been done on language variation, language change, language shift language maintenance and language development (Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1974; Eckert, 1997; Dzameshie, 2001). However, no work has been done on the situation of lexical variation in the Ho speech community.

This thesis, therefore, seeks to explore this linguistic phenomenon by looking at the lexical variations in the discourse of Ewe speakers in the Ho speech community. It will also establish the extent of variation and the potential cause(s) of the language change.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

As mentioned earlier, this study examines lexical variation in the Ho speech community. This primary purpose would only be achieved if the following objectives are pursued to the latter. The study, therefore, seeks to:

1. identify the lexical variations in the everyday discourse of native speakers of Ewe in the Ho speech community. This will help to explore the nature of variation that exists within the community, taken Evedome, Tɔɲu and Aɲɔ into consideration.
2. investigate, in actual inter-dialectal conversations, the extent to which speakers of the different dialect understand the varied lexicons present in Ho.

3. examine the linguistic state of the host dialect, i.e. Evedome. Is the presence of other dialects causing a shift or maintenance in the lexicon of the local Evedome / Ho dialect?

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

The study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What are the lexical variations used among native speakers of the Ewe language in Ho. i.e. Evedome, Tɔŋu and Aŋlɔ.
2. To what extent do speakers of the three dialectal groups i.e. Evedome, Tɔŋu and Aŋlɔ) understand the varied lexicons used in inter-dialectal discourses?
3. What is the level of shift or maintenance in the lexicon of the indigenous Ewedome speaker in Ho?

#### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

The presence of lexical and phonological variants in a language is evidence of the existence of regional and social dialects of a particular language. A study of this nature helps to establish the diversity that exists in the use of Ewe in Ho. It will also create awareness about the phenomenon of a gradual language change and development as a result of the contact situation within the speech community. More significantly, the study will serve as one of the many studies conducted on dialects of Ewe as well as serve as a source of reference for other researchers on language variation studies. The findings will also contribute to the existing literature on language variation and change, dialectology and sociolinguistics as a whole.

## **1.6 Organization of the Thesis**

This thesis is in six chapters. Chapter one gives a general account of the thesis. It comprises an introduction, background to study, the statement of the problem, the objectives, research questions, significance to the study and the organisation of the thesis.

Chapter two reviews related works on lexical variations and presents the theoretical frameworks within which the study is situated.

Chapter three presents the methodology used in collecting data. In this chapter, the researcher discusses the research design, population and sampling and the instruments used in the data collection process.

Chapter four examines variation in variables across the Evedome, Tɔ̃ɔ and Aɔ̃ɔ dialects of Ewe which are the focus of this study.

Chapter five explores practical instances of lexical variation in the discourse of members of the Ho speech community and the reasons for the use of lexical variants by native speakers of Evedome, Tɔ̃ɔ and Aɔ̃ɔ

Chapter six concludes the study. It provides a summary of chapters one to five. It also discusses the findings and offers suggestions for future research.

## **1.7 Chapter Summary**

This chapter provided a general introduction to lexical variation within the Ho speech community focusing on the three most dominant dialects in the community- the Evedome, Aɔ̃ɔ and Tɔ̃ɔ dialects.

The chapter presented a background to the concept of variation, the Ewe language and its speakers, especially speakers within the Asogli state and the Ho municipality which defines the speech community within which the study is situated.

The chapter further stated the problem statement, research objectives and questions as well as the significance of the study. It ended with a comprehensive organization of the entire thesis.



## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.0 Introduction

The attention that has been given to the interplay of language and society by sociolinguists and anthropologists over the years cannot be over-emphasised. There have been various perceptions about the issue of language contact, language shift, language maintenance, and change identified in the literature. Over the years, a number of studies have been conducted on language variation and change.

This chapter is in two major parts. The first part defines some linguistic notions that are crucial to the understanding of this study. It also reviews relevant literature on the concept of lexical variation in Ewe while the second part discusses the Labovian and the speech accommodation theoretical frameworks which underpin the study. The discussion will provide reasons for the choice of the framework and it contributes to the analysis of the data.

#### 2.1 Literature Review

In this section, scholarly works sourced from books, journals, articles, conference papers, theses and other sources which are relevant to lexical variation will be reviewed. Language and dialect are not overtly separable; they share a lot of similarities on different levels of the spectrum (Chambers & Trudgills 1998). In examining lexical variation in the Ewe spoken within the Ho speech community, we would not limit our literature review to only literature pertaining directly to dialects. Since it is salient for us to understand the major terminologies that are crucial to this discussion and the overall understanding of this thesis, it is essential to explain how some technical terms and concepts are perceived by some scholars before delving into the review of books, journals, papers, etc.

### 2.1.1 Language and Dialect

Crystal & David (1997, p.400) define language as “the systematic, conventional use of sounds, signs, or written symbols in a human society for communication and self-expression.” They believe that individuals interact with each other and engage themselves in various kinds of verbal exchanges creating systems for communication which are not based only on the rules of language as a formal system but also on their knowledge of the social context on the one hand, of the individual whom they are addressing, and of the topic on the other hand.

Chomsky (1965) identifies that, in formal linguistics, language has always been seen as an abstract to be studied without reference to social and cultural concerns of any kind.

He suggests that

“Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by grammatically irrelevant conditions such as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance (Chomsky, 1965, p.3).”

So, according to Chomsky (1965, p.4), language is to be studied as a system in the form of individual competence (the speaker-hearer’s knowledge of his language) rather than of individual performance (the actual use of language in concrete situations).

Another school of thought that is championed by Dell Hymes holds that communicative competence is also an important function of language. According to him, linguistic competence which is hinged on Chomsky’s 1965 study does not make adequate considerations for variation in language. These necessitated linguists



like Dell Hymes who are more aligned to the actual usage of language communicative competence which came out with the theory. The theory demands that the speaker knows how to use language in each specific communicative event. Hymes (1971) posits the existence of actual linguistic variety in speech.

There have been a lot of complexities associated with agreeing on a definition for dialects. In an attempt to define dialect, Chambers & Trudgills (1998) first define language and draw a deduction from the definition of language to arrive at what dialects are. According to them, “language is a collection of mutually intelligible dialects.” By implication, they suggest that it is in place to consider dialects as the subparts of a particular language. This being said, dialects of a particular language present speakers with different lexical variants for reference to a particular lexical item. Dialects usually develop based on geographical location, social status or one’s style of speaking. Dialects are therefore classified as regional/communal, social or idiolect.

Dialect is a variety of a particular language spoken by a group of people. A dialect is defined in terms of a specific linguistic item such as phonetics, morphology, semantics, and grammar adopted by a social group of people (Wardhaugh, 1986). Hudson (1980) asserted that variety of language refers to different manifestations of a language, he likens dialect to ‘music’, here, he explains that music is a general phenomenon while the different genres of music such as hiplife, reggae, and pop could be linked with variety. A dialect is a regional variety of a language. This means that Ewe as a language has several varieties spoken in the various dialectal set-up. Some of these varieties which present as dialect include Evedome, Aɲlɔ and Tɔɲu, these are dialects spoken in the different sections of the Volta Region.

Haugen (1966) maintains that the distinction between ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ can be made in two separate ways which are ‘size’ and ‘prestige’. On the one hand, a language is bigger than a dialect. This means that a language is superordinate whereas dialect is subordinate, more or less, it is a language that gives birth to dialect. A language contains more linguistic items than a dialect. An example can be given: if we take Arabic as a language, we might consider all the varieties spoken in the Arab World as dialects of the Arabic language or if we consider Classical Arabic in the Algerian speech community as a language, it is sure that all language varieties that are spoken in different parts of the country are called dialects of this language. On the other hand, language is more prestigious than a dialect. A dialect is usually described as a substandard, low status, often rustic form of a language, lacking in prestige. Dialects are often considered as being some kind of erroneous deviation from the norm-an aberration of the ‘proper’ or standard norm of language (Chambers & Trudgill, 1998, p.5).

As a result, most people in England consider Standard English as a language because it is written and used by the Royal family whereas all the unwritten varieties are called dialects.

Given that the Ho speech community has been identified as one that is not completely linguistically homogenous due to the presence of people from different dialectal background in the community, and the fact that the speech community uses Ewe in different social contexts, it is worth examining the linguistic situation of this speech community to reveal the variety in the discourse of Ewe speakers in the speech community.

As mentioned earlier, although dialects of the same language may generally be mutually intelligible, they still exhibit significant differences in their lexical,

phonological, morphological as well as syntactic features. With the help of appropriate data, this study is aimed at particularly exploring the variation that exists in the discourse within Ewe speakers in Ho.

#### **2.1.1.1 The Standard Language/Variety**

Holmes (2001, p.76) describes the standard variety of a language. He points out that the standard variety is generally written, and has undergone a degree of regularization and codification. That is, the standard variety has a written form and is recognised to be more correct and socially acceptable than the other varieties. According to Haugen cited in Hudson (1996, p.33), a typical standard language will have passed through the following processes:

- 1. Selection:** The variety is selected to be considered as a standard language. Arriving at an acceptable choice has great social and political importance since the variety will ultimately gain prestige among people.
- 2. Codification:** The variety is written in dictionaries and grammar books so that its correct forms are learned and used by people.
- 3. Elaboration of Function:** The variety is used in many domains and functions associated with government and in writing such as law, education, etc.
- 4. Acceptance:** The selected variety should be accepted by people as the variety of the community and thus usually as the national language/variety to be used in formal domains of the country.

According to Holmes (2001, p.74), the “distinction between a vernacular language and a standard language is a useful place to start. [...] The term vernacular is used in a number of ways. It generally refers to a language which has not been standardized and which does not have official status.” The vernacular language was

also defined in 1951 by a committee from the UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) as follows: A language which is the mother tongue of a group which is socially or politically dominated by another group speaking a different language. We do not consider the language of a minority in one country as vernacular if it is an official language in another country UNESCO (1968, p.689-690). By this definition, we would not be wrong to consider Ewe as a vernacular language.

### **2.1.2 Language Variation and Change**

As mentioned earlier, variation in language is quite a pervasive phenomenon which comes about when there is a shift, change or any other development in a language. The intrinsic relationship between language variation and dialects has been investigated at various levels in the literature. Thus, linguistic change is generally analyzed as a contact induced phenomenon (Thomason, 2010, p.31).

Language varies between speakers of different regions or socio-economic background. On the other hand, it can also vary within the same speaker when she/he moves from formal to informal situations.

Consequently, sociolinguistic research aims at finding out the social factors which affect language variation. The task of the sociolinguist is to investigate the influence of language and the society and vice versa (i.e. the impact of society on language).

In the 1960s, sociolinguists led by William Labov developed methods of studying language variation and their work has produced a revolution in the study of language. In one of the early descriptions, he divided language into two categories: variation according to the user and variation according to use (Halliday, McIntosh, and Strevens, 1964, p.87). Variation relates to the variety of speech a speaker

employs because of who he or she is in terms of gender, age, social class, ethnicity, education. It means that all these are part of the individual's identity. On the other hand, language variation according to use occurs in one's speech as they move from one situation or person to another. For instance, the language of a career woman at work will vary from her language choice to her wards at home. Even though her language will still reflect her age, gender, and social class (i.e. language variation according to the user), there will still be changes and adjustments to each language event which influences her choice of words and probably attitude (i.e. language variation according to use).

The study of how languages change over time has encouraged linguists, especially dialectologists, in mapping dialects on a regional basis. Regional variation occurs because people often speak differently in different places. Indeed, when we travel from one place to another we usually find a lot of language differences. Chambers and Trudgill (1998, p.5) say in this respect that, if we travel from one village in a particular direction, we notice linguistic differences which distinguish one village from another. Sometimes these differences will be larger, sometimes smaller, but they will be cumulative. The further we get from our starting point, the larger the difference will become. The point is that languages differ when speakers distance themselves from one another depending on time and place and the result is the creation of different dialects. This implies that any variation found within a language happens because of the two factors, time and distance. In order to study regional variation, dialect geographers have attempted to reproduce their findings on maps called Dialect Atlases by drawing lines called isoglosses and trying to show the geographical boundaries of the distribution of a particular linguistic feature. The further the distance is; the less mutual intelligibility occurs.

According to Hudson (1996, p.38), the dialect geographer may draw a line between the area where one item was found and areas where others were found, showing a boundary for each area called an isogloss. It is consequently very difficult to specify boundaries between dialects since those boundaries often coincide with either geographical factors such as mountains, rivers, or political ones.

Lexical differences play a significant role in the study of regional variation, as explained by Bloomfield (1933). For him, innovations or new words spread among speakers of a language. The tendency of people adopting new concepts leads to the rise of variation in speech and thus, the differentiation between dialects. He argues that the reason for this intense local differentiation is evidently to be sought in the principle of density. Every speaker is constantly adapting his speech habits to suit those of his interlocutors; he gives up forms he has been using, adopts new ones, and perhaps, changes the frequency of speech forms without abandoning any ones or accepting any old ones that are new to him (Bloomfield, 1933, p.328).

We must remember that our speech is not only affected by the place we live in, that is, it can also be affected by social factors like age, gender, race, social status, education, etc. Therefore, studying the geographic origin alone represents a serious weakness in studying language variation.

Variation in language, as a sociolinguistic phenomenon, maybe a characteristic of the geographical and the social background of the speaker. In the 18th century, dialectologists considered language variation as a result of the geographical origin of the speaker. It was only in the 1960s that sociolinguists started to investigate and concentrate on the social factors and their impact on language variation. Dialectal differences are not only geographical, social factors also contribute to speech variation between groups of people living in one

geographical area. This is the reason for which sociolinguists agreed that the dialectologists' point of view was too restricted and that geographical location was not enough to account for linguistic variation. They believe that language is subject to constant change because of the mobility of the speakers of different dialects which causes modifications or substitutions of linguistic features. Members of the speech community speak differently from each other, and their language obviously reflects their educational status, occupation, social class, age and gender. So, social factors also contribute to speech variation between groups of people living in the same geographical area.

Purba (2016) also remarks that all languages change over time and vary according to place and social setting. The lexical variation in speaking is influenced by some factors, such as age, level of education and also, linguistic competence. Purba identifies two main concepts into which Lexical variation in speaking can be categorized. They are formal and informal. The relations between concepts and the words which conventionally refer to those concepts are arbitrary and so either can vary or change fairly free though time and across.

According to Wardhaugh (1972, p. 192 as cited in Purba, 2016), different words may through time evolve to be associated with different concepts. Honorific forms are also the marker of lexical variation. Particles are also markers in lexical variation. Older speakers tend to communicate with politeness, and when these speakers speak impolitely, it is assumed that they are fewer components toward language and culture. Purba also identifies style as a form of lexical variation. If the situation is formal, the language that is used will be informal as well.

### **2.1.5 Speech Community**

A speech community refers to a group of people who share a language and patterns of language use. Members of a speech community also share varied communication practices – specific events and acts thus tend to interact regularly with each other for various reasons and on different levels.

According to Poplack (1993, p. 252), “the structure of communication in the speech community is seen by variationists as realised through recurrent choices by speakers of the various interactional and grammatical level. The choice mechanism entails that given linguistic ‘functions’ may be realised in different ‘forms’”.

The discussion here suggests that Ho is a speech community as the residents share a common language, Ewe. Residents of Ho also follow a common pattern of language use which indicates a shared attitude towards Ewe.

### **2.1.6 The Social Variables**

The study of variations is an interesting field of study for sociolinguists. To study how a language varies, social factors such as age sex, occupation, status, culture/ ethnicity, and occupation must come to play (Wardhaugh, 1972). These variables are discussed below.

#### **2.1.6.1 Age as a Sociolinguistic Variable**

Language is supposed to learn and it appears that language learning takes place in stages. The way and manner a young child speaks vary from an adult, these changes occur from infancy to old age. It must be emphasised that young people speak differently from old people. These dynamisms are apparent in the communication patterns of young people who involve a lot of jargons and registers in their daily conversations. The communication patterns continue to evolve amongst



old people to young people, parents to children, children to parents, and people of equal status. Age as a social phenomenon to language variation can be studied with respect to society, linguistics, and psychology (Wardhaugh, 1972). Agyekum (2010) postulated that the young are fond of using a lot of politeness markers in their daily transactions between themselves and the adult whereas the adults use direct speech when addressing young ones in the Akan language. According to Kertzer and Keith (1984, p.8), age can be influenced by three principles. These are:

1. Ageing can be understood only in dynamic terms. The ageing process cannot be separated from the social, cultural, and historical changes that surround it. People do not grow up and old in laboratories. Therefore, we must learn how different age cohorts and how society itself is changed by these differences.
2. Ageing can be understood only from the perspective of its socioculturally patterned variability, both within a society and across societies.
3. Ageing can be understood only within the framework of the total life course. People do not begin to age at any specific point in life. Rather, ageing occurs from birth (or earlier) up until death. And within the total society, people of all ages are interdependent.

#### **2.1.6.2 Sex as a Sociolinguistic Variable**

Sex is defined as the “biological or anatomical differences between men and women while gender concerns the psychological, social, and cultural differences between males and females” (Giddens, 1989, p.158). Sex and gender was used interchangeably some time ago but very recently the use of gender is mostly preferred to sex. This has been established by Wardhaugh (2006, p.315) who puts it that “sex is to a very large extent biologically determined whereas gender is a social construct involving the whole gamut of genetic, psychological, social, and cultural

differences between males and females.” To this effect, sex is used in biological studies whereas gender is the psychological, social, and cultural differences between men and women. Cameron (1998, p.280) further stated that “men and women are members of cultures in which a large amount of discourse about gender is constantly circulating. They do not only learn, and then mechanically reproduce, ways of speaking broader set of gendered meanings that attach in rather complex ways to different ways of speaking, and they produce their own behaviour in the light of these meanings.” This means that gender is the more appropriate and acceptable term used to describe the sociolinguistic term rather than sex, although, both are found in the literature.

Milroy and Milroy (1997) point out that the issue of sex is taken into consideration during the data collection stage and that if all speakers were selected from one particular sex, then there is no need to do a comparative study between gender and variations in a language in a given community. Bergvall (1999) on the other hand argues that other forces such as social values, cultural values, and the media must also be attended to when dealing with gender and variations. Variations among men and women can be attested by their phonological patterns. In some English speaking communities, it is more frequent to find men use the alveolar /n/ than their female counterparts of the same social status when pronouncing words that have *ing* in their ending. Such words may include teasing, beating, eating, and walking. Given the same context, the women were found to use a high velar plosive instead. Here, some researchers recognise one of the variants as more standard or prestigious, basically on the basis that one is spoken more frequently in formal speeches than the other.

Sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropologists, and numerous speech pathologists across the globe find it extremely hard to differentiate between the speech of native speakers of American English by mere listening to their speech especially when they want to identify the sexuality of such individuals. These researchers for the past thirty years have conducted studies to identify what specifically causes listeners to mistakenly take the speech of a particular sex for the other (Jacobs, 1996; Kulick, 2000).

### **2.1.6.3. Language Change**

The language a particular speech community speaks is subject to change over time. This phenomenon of variation is imposed on the phonological, morphological, semantic, syntactic, or other features of the language. In this case, new words are formed, varied means of pronunciation starts emerging, as well as their semantics. Again, some words of the old language are borrowed into the new one, the youth starts swaying away from the old language thereby adopting their register, more so, the grammar of both languages change. A linguistic change may also arise when new linguistic elements spoken by a few speakers of a speech community are then adopted by other members of that same community which later seen as a norm amongst those people (Jennifer, 1993; Nettle, 1999; Thomason, 2010).

It is the norm that any language must experience change over time, any language that does not conform to this norm does not exist. This is because no language can ever be at a standstill without any change in its grammar or its pronunciation (Aitchison, 2001). To this effect, a number of theorists stated that;

“Language moves downtime in a current of its own making. Nothing is perfectly static. Every word, every grammatical element, every locution, every sound and accent is a slowly changing configuration

moulded by the invisible and impersonal drift that is the life of language” (Sapir, 1921, p.150).

“Time changes all things: there is no reason why language should escape this universal law. Language, then, like everything else, gradually transforms itself over the centuries. Nothing is surprising in this. In a world where humans grow old, tadpoles change into frogs, and milk turns into cheese, it would be strange if language alone remained unaltered (Aitchison, 2001, p.81).”

“Indeed changes seem to be inherent in the nature of language: there is no such thing as a perfectly stable human language (Milroy, 1992, p.3).”

Language changes from time to time, although, the progress of change may be slow. Because of its slowness, a generation that is evolving finds it difficult to notice the new linguistic forms and the rules governing the new or emerging language. Language change has been widely studied by sociolinguistics for several years especially by considering the background of the speech communities. It must be noted that variation is required for a change in a particular language (Romaine, 2000). There are a lot of misconceptions about language change one of which is that change begins from speakers of high status to speakers of low status. Language change demands that people who are prominent and instrumental move the wheel for the less privileged in the society to follow (Nettle, 1999). Labov (2001) postulates that language changes not from the highest social class but rather, from the upper working-class or lower-middle class. This class of speakers as having a less social impact.

## 2.1.7 Aspects of language change

### 2.1.7.1 Phonological change

Language change cannot be studied without paying attention to its phonetics and phonology, this makes sound change very important with respect to language change. Sound is one of the pivots of language because it is the sound system that signals every speaker the correct pronunciation of words and their structure. It must be emphasised sound change encompasses phonetics and phonology. Phonological change occurs when a sound that is present in a word is deleted or changed for another in the course of its pronunciation, when this occurs, there is the presence change, that is, speakers may pronounce different words and hearers may hear different sounds. A classic example is the /t/ in English, this sound is silent in words like castle /kæsl/, fasten /fæsn/, listen /lɪsn/ or bristle /brɪsl/ (Trask, 1996). Sound change can be discussed under assimilation, dissimilation, deletion, insertion, monophthongization, diphthongization, metatheses, raising and lowering, backing and fronting.

Labov (1994, 2001) observed how sound change resulted from social processes, he resorted to an example from 'Martha's Vineyard. In this study, he found out that change from a small population started emerging and others were easily associated with themselves socially and culturally at a later time. Concerning English spoken, there are vast differences between the two sets of English. To some extent Middle English and Modern English had some similarities, one good example is the pronunciation of the word house /hu:s/ in the old English which was at the same time pronounced as /hu:s/ in modern English. Here, the old English which pronounced house as /hu:s/ had continued its pronunciation from /hu:s/ to /hu:s/ in the modern English. One would expect some slight changes in the two pronunciation

of words since almost a century had passed between the two sets of English but there was no change in the pronunciation of the two words. It was again observed that words which had diphthong /aʊ/ were all pronounced as /u:/, such words *included house, out, mouse, south* and several others (Fromkin et al, 2003).

#### 2.1.7.2 Morphological change

Morphology mainly deals with words and their structure, morphological change occurs through affixation (Haja & Shamimah, 2008). Grammatical categories can change their form, for example, a preposition such as *up* can change to *ups* which is a noun. Affixes such as *un-*, *anti-*, *dis-*, *-ness*, *-ment*, *-ist* may or may not change grammatical categories. Those affixes that change grammatical categories are called derivational affixes whereas those that maintain grammatical categories are called inflectional affixes. Again, there is a type of morphological change which is called morphologization, this kind of change turns independent words into bound morphemes. (Trask, 1996). A classic example is the modern English *-ly* which was derived from the old English noun *lic* ‘body’. This word compounded with other nouns to indicate ‘resemblance’, for example, *manlic* ‘man-like’, is now realized as ‘manly’. *-lic* which was a free morpheme in old English has eventually been reduced to a suffix in modern English, *-ly*. Recently, in the American English words such as *going to* or *want to* has been reduced phonetically by ‘gonna’ or ‘wanna’. Most people opt for either ‘gonna’ or ‘wanna’ because they think it is easily pronounceable and does not exert a lot of effort when one wants to use it.

Another morphological change is the second person singular pronouns in old English and middle English, *thou* /ðu:/ which was later pronounced as /aʊ/. *Thee* was also pronounced as /ðe:/ and later pronounced as /ði:/. These two words currently are found in only religious discourse, hardly will one find it in ordinary conversations.

	Singular	Plural	
Nom.	thou	ye	
Acc./Dat.	Thee	you	→ sole surviving form in mainstream varieties

### 2.1.7.3 Syntactic Change

Chris (2009) claims that syntactic change may happen due to either external or natural factors. Some of these external factors may include (interface pressures with morphology, dialect interference and language contact). When different word orders expected to express the same idea co-occur with other words together, syntactic variation is said to have happened. Because syntactic change may occur in a language, its word order may also change because of its ability to come in contact with another language. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) argue that Germanic and Slavic languages have SVO order, because of that Western Finnic and Hungarian languages adopted the SVO order in those languages thereby shifting from theirs was SOV to SVO.

### 2.1.7.4 Lexical Change

Fromkin et al. (1993) postulate that lexical items could change its form with time as new lexicons are added onto a language. Some word-formation processes cater for lexical change in a language, one typical example is acronyms such as 'HIV'- 'Human Immune Virus', 'WHO- World Health Organization'. Clipping as a word formation process also causes lexical change in a language, for example, 'prof' for 'professor', and 'doc' for 'doctor'; portmanteau morphs are also present in the change of a language, for example, 'motel' from 'motor' and 'hotel'; eponyms, for example, *sandwich* which originated from a British royal who at all times ate food between two slices of bread, he was the fourth Earl of Sandwich. Lexical change

such as semantic change, addition of new words, obsolescence, and change in lexical category also account for change in a language.

#### **2.1.7.5 Semantic Change**

As lexical items in a language change, so does the meanings of a language change. Concerning the classification and terminology of meaning change, Borkowska and Kleparski (2007) classified semantic change into widening of meaning, narrowing of meaning, and transfer of meaning. Semantic change can also be caused by ultimate changes, that is, changes caused by linguistic reasons, changes caused by historical reasons, and changes caused by social stratification (Meillet, 1974). Ullman (1957) also employed a more comprehensive approach to semantic change that fused the logico-rhetorical, generic, casual, empirical and functional approaches in a broad manner. He further stated that semantic change may be divided into two types- changes due to ‘linguistic conservatism’ and changes due to ‘linguistic innovation’. Amongst all Lehmann’s (1992) classification is considered the most current, he postulates that semantic change occurs due to reduction in context, expansion in context, and alteration in context.

#### **2.1.7.6 Addition of New Words**

Formation of words is emerging day in and day out as the necessity of the speaker’s rises. As the days go by, when new scientific and technological progress advances, industries and factories develop and several experiences chip in our environments, there is the need for news words to emerge. For instance, words such as *polythene*, *mobile phones*, *Wi-Fi*, *computer* and many others didn’t exist in the initial days. The notion of globalization has also created an unrelenting need in a language for getting new words or lexicons. By embracing new terms, we all get-up-



and-go for language revolution. English is just like the languages that have now served as a good donor language to most of the languages of the world. There are several ways of forming new words in a language. They include acronym, borrowing, compounding, clipping, blending, affixation, epenthesis and many others. Acronym for example includes words like 'Aids' from 'Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome', clipping words like 'doc.' For 'document' and 'fan' for 'fanatic', blended form 'motel' from 'motor and hotel' etc. However, they are all new forms of old meanings concepts. New words in a language can come from either one of the two sources: internal (by utilizing the indigenous resources that the language already has, i.e. coinage) and external (by utilizing the sources from another language i.e. borrowing). Borrowing occurs when a language has a semantic 'gap' in its lexicon i.e. there is no current word in the language with the same meaning as the loan; eventually, there comes the need to borrow a term to express the necessary concept (Haugen, 1953; Trask, 1996). A language borrower might have borrowed a foreign word only to use it for an occasion, while the listener found it useful and repeat it for the same; this repetition of the foreign word becomes familiar in the recipient language and thus integrated into the language. For instance, a Ghanaian speaker may prefer to borrow the English modem because we do not have enough lexicons to cater for that word. Another important intention for borrowing is Prestige. Sociolinguistic reasons for borrowing include using foreign terms for rewordings or, as is generally the case of building a sense of speaker identity (Hill & Hill, 1986, p. 118-120; Katamba, 1994, p.194-195; Trask, 1996, p. 39). In the case of bilingual speakers, words may also be borrowed if the speaker salvages the words of second faster than the native language words (Haugen, 1953, p.375). On many occasions, a language cannot just cope with the demands of new

age as well as all things people need to describe, so people often alternative to word coinage. Formation of new words helps a language to curlicue in a world full of new advancements. There is the rationale for word coinage, the need to refer to ideas that are newly devised into a speech community is the foremost motive for word coinage. Coinage can be discussed under certain factors such as gender neutralism, new names, stylistic and linguistic purism. The best way to coin a new word is to describe an object, a concept or a phenomenon. Coined words cannot be completely new in form; they have to conform to the phonological rules of the language, being made up of phonemes of the language ordered in ways consistent with old words. (Hudson, 2000, p. 246). Based on what Hudson (2000) posited, it can be deduced that words are coined based on the rules of the speaker's first language. This ensures the conformity of the language rules.

#### **2.1.7.7 Obsolescence**

So far as it is allowed to add words to a language, the use of some other words can be discontinued because they are old-fashioned or dispreferred. For example, the pronouns of Middle English thou, thee, thy, are highly restricted in their usage currently in modern English. Some words were mostly used but as time passes by, have been distinct and been replaced. The recent Bible writers no longer use them except those that have been in the system already. A word like 'intercourse' in the sense of having "an exchange of ideas, feelings etc. which make people or groups understand each other better" (Longman, 2003, p.848) has been overtaken by 'discourse' because of its other meaning concerning sexual activity (Haja, 2008). Switching to loanwords excessively instead of native equivalent words may cause many native terms of a language to be discarded from usage and

consequently, they may become partially or fully obsolete. It is so because of individual differences. Some people find it difficult to adapt to new intrusions.

### **2.1.8 Change in Lexical Category**

Since human beings are bound to changing level and class, words also undergo such change and level. For example, the use of the English preposition ‘up’ as noun ‘ups’. Here, the word ‘ups’ has changed its lexical level from preposition to noun. A modern example is the word ‘Xerox’ (noun) which is a newly coined term for referring to a new device. However, the need of the speakers for the equipment and frequent use of the word has brought it a good currency that this word is even found to be used as a verb. For example, one may find a context such as– ‘Did you ail the papers?’

### **2.1.9 Some Empirical Studies in Africa**

There have been a number of works done in the area of variation, some of which are realized in the African continent. This section of the research work reviews literature on variation in Ghana, Mali, and South Africa to be precise.

#### **Yankson (2018)**

Yankson (2018) looks at the effect of language contact on the varieties of Akan migrants in Accra. She asserts that the lexical variables differentiate urban Akan from rural Akan. Yankson (2018) establishes that the variety of Akan spoken by Akan migrants in Accra is different from what is spoken in the original, rural Akan speaking areas of the language. Having conducted a detailed linguistic investigation of the Akan variety spoken by second generation Akan migrants in

Accra, the findings of Yankson (2018) reveals that the variants used by second generation migrants were quite different from those used by the participants in the rural communities for the selected lexical variables. The variants used for the lexical variables reflected the influence of contact with different variables of Akan. The linguistic processes used by the second migrants relate to the linguistic processes documented for new dialect formation or koineisation. This process includes mixing variants from different varieties of a language to create inter-dialect forms and levelling out variants that are regionally or demographically restricted. In addition, the variants that the second-generation migrants used are characterized by extreme variability (both intra-individual and inter-individual variability) and levelling. Yankson (2018) refers to these as characteristics of stage II of the new dialect formation process, meaning the lexical level of the Akan variety spoken by the second-generation migrants is undergoing the process of new dialect formation.

Furthermore, she states that due to the ethnic and linguistic diversity of Accra, there are additional variants in this variety which are the result of contact with other languages in the ethnically and linguistically dense diverse environment of Accra.

The research considers only a small group of the residents of Accra, who form a cross-section of the second-generation female Akan migrants who are ethnically Asante and Kwawu.

Yankson (2018) provides relevant background to this study for various reasons. Apart from it being set in Accra which is geographically close to Ho, Yankson (2018) reports language contact due to migration as the main cause of variation in the Akan spoken in Accra and discusses a central theme of language variation. This assertion is directly linked to what this study is hypothesizing as the

foremost paralinguistic cause of the phenomenon of lexical variation in the Ewe spoken in Ho. What this study has in common with Yankson (2018) is that, just like Yankson (2018), this study hypothesizes language contact as a linguistic cause and migration as the foremost paralinguistic cause of lexical variation in the Ewe spoken in Ho. Again, it is also worth mentioning that Akan and Ewe belong to the Kwa language group thus share a lot of similarities.

### **Essegbey (2009)**

Essegbey (2009) examines the ethnolinguistic vitality of Ga. Following Giles et al. (1997), he uses status, demography and institutional support as variables for his study. Essegbey posits that urbanization as a threat to the indigenous language of the people of Accra; the capital city of Ghana, a view shared by other Ga scholars. He states migration as the primary cause of the influx of many other local languages such as Akan and Ewe to the detriment of Ga. The situation became alarming when secondary school students who hitherto had an interest in learning the language were no longer interested. This called for a demonstration themed “Do not kill our language.” in defence of protecting Ga in 2005. The people of Accra felt Akan, being more the business language was fast becoming the dominant language of the capital city.

Essegbey (2009) collect data by interviewing people from diverse ethnic backgrounds. According to him, ethnolinguistic vitality variables determine whether a language becomes moribund or otherwise. The chapter argues that interference from other languages of higher status can be responsible for the maintenance, shift and subsequent extinction of a language. Urbanization has also been identified to bring languages in contact which causes higher vitality levels.

Although the geographical boundary of Accra has increased significantly over the years, its language boundaries have compressed due to migration as the migrant population is made up of non-Ga speakers.

Again, the paper argues that for a language to have high vitality rates, it must boast of a huge number of speakers. In the case of Accra, it has been revealed that the speakers of Akan outnumber the Ga speakers making Ga a minority language in an original Ga community.

It has also been shown that the domains in which Ga is used in Accra are restricted to cultural practices like marriages, naming ceremonies and funeral. Akan on the other hand has more or less been adopted as the business language of Accra with good representation on billboards, media houses, among others. This is done to meet the language needs of the larger immigrant population of Accra which comprises both Akan speaking and speakers of other local languages including Ewe. It seems the Gas have been accommodating the foreigners on their land thereby endangering their language. This situation bears evidence of the low language vitality rate in present-day Accra.

Although Essegbey (2009) investigates a contact situation between languages rather than dialects, this chapter still lends credence to our study which examines lexical variation as an outcome of contact between dialects of Ewe spoken in the Ho speech community.

### **Botha (2011)**

In her work, *Dimensions in Variationist Sociolinguistic Investigation of Language Variation in Macau*, Botha (2011) examines variation in initial and final segments, as well as sentence particles in Cantonese in Macau Special

Administrative Region. She indicates that external linguistic constraint categories play a role in the realization of how and when initial, final segments and sentence-final particles are used in Macau Cantonese. According to her, pragmatic functions in the systematic use of linguistic variables require explanations that draw from variationist sociolinguistic research that has an ethnographic and interpretive basis. Botha illustrates that social information is conveyed through the use of certain linguistic variables in Macau Cantonese. She uses the distributionist study method to show how social variables lead to linguistic variation. Botha (2011) mentions the variables of gender and social class as the biggest contributing factors that cause language variation in Macau Cantonese.

Botha's assertion about Macau Cantonese provides a better understanding and working knowledge of the phenomenon of lexical variation in Ewe within the Ho speech community. The research method and theoretical framework adopted for the study has been informed by her study as the two studies share similar objectives.

### **Canut (2009)**

Canut (2009) also discusses the reification of ethnicity and culture in Bamako. Having touched on linguistic homogenisation in Bamako, he identifies that speakers from Sagbari, Bendugu, and Kita areas use variation in their repertoire according to their communicative circumstances, including place and contact. They constantly play on the possibilities of the continuum according to their degree of knowledge and familiarity with it.

Thus, based on a large number of socio-symbolic parameters such as the role of the village, kinship, desire for modernity, profession, type of interlocutor, and so on, practices vary for each speaker depending on where he/she is, the person to

whom he/she is speaking, the topic, and what social and cultural aspects he/she wishes to reveal of himself/herself at that moment, resulting in an identification effect that is multiple and variable.

According to Canut (2009), speakers can move from one form to another, or mix the different characteristics of each. This wavering on the continuum is the result of both conscious and unconscious effects because it is often impossible for speakers to explain linguistically why they use a certain sound or word. If they can occasionally associate another individual with a geographical affiliation, (the person who speaks Bamakokan, Kitakan, and Sagbarikan) they are not always able to know it.

Since this study investigates the reasons behind the use of varied lexicons in the discourse of members of the Ho speech community, following Canut's use of socio-symbolic parameters to verify a speaker's choice of dialect as a guide will help in exposing each speaker's choice of a lexical item.

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

This section discusses the theoretical frameworks within which the study is situated. Since the study's core focus is to examine lexical variation, the variationist sociolinguistic theory of language change which was propounded by William Labov in (1966) was adopted. Gile's (1972) speech accommodation theory was also used as a complementary framework to analyse the data for the study. Both the Labovian theory of language variation and the speech accommodation theory are used to examine the linguistic structure of the Ewe which is being spoken in Ho in recent time in order to establish the existing phenomenon of lexical variation across the Evedome, Anlo and Tɔŋu dialects.



### **2.2.1 The Variationist Sociolinguistic Theory (Labov 1966 & 1972)**

The Variationist Sociolinguistic theory, propounded by Labov in (1966) is a framework on language change and variation. The Labovian theory (1966 and 1972) employs a systematic approach to language analysis by explaining the relationship between social variables and linguistic variables in order to determine the presence and extent of variations in a language.

Many of the concepts and theoretical frameworks in the study of variation originated from the work of Labov (1966). However, the first study of variation can be traced to the writing of John Fischer (1958) where he demonstrated that language variation in a group of children was influenced by social factors such as gender (sex) and social status. The Labovian sociolinguistics thus presents a quantitative approach to sociolinguistics. This method seeks to investigate the reasons why people choose certain linguistic variants at certain times. These sociolinguistic variables allow the researcher to obtain objective and quantitative comparisons between linguistic variables.

Labov (1966) illustrates the use of this theory in a study with the assumption that variations can exist in the use of language by a particular group of people based on both external (social) and/ or internal (personal) variables are underscored. The Labovian theory is particularly essential for quantitative approaches in the study of language change and variation since it provides researchers with the opportunity to quantify social variables. That notwithstanding it can also be used for stratification purposes in qualitative research as is the case with this study.

The Variationist Sociolinguistic theory states that “data should be collected from native speakers of a language, however, in the selection of speakers, social

variables such as age, sex and social class should be considered so as to give a clear representation of the data collected” (Deklu, 2014, p.31).

In a review, Hudson (2006, p.146) identifies a five phased application for the Labovian theory. According to him, the investigator must do the following activities from the beginning of the process of data collection to the end:

1. select the speakers and the linguistic variables.
2. collect texts: finding people who are willing to be interviewed and recorded.
3. identify and categorize the linguistic variables and their variants in the texts.
4. process the figures.
5. interpret the results.

Following, Hudson (2006), participants in this study were selected based on social variables including age, gender. These participants were selected from the traditional suburbs of Ho where the use of the three dialect Evedome, Aɲɔ and Tɔɲu are predominant, the host dialect being the Evedome dialect. A detailed discussion of this is provided in Chapter three.

Again, the Labovian approach also allows for a simple method of apportioning score to texts and a method of indicating the similarities and differences between the uses of linguistic variables in the speakers’ speech.

According to Hudson (2001: as cited in Deklu, 2014), “a score is derived for each variable in each section of data collected.” This makes it possible to compare texts with respect to a variable at a time. He also maintains that scoring can also be done based on groups that are found in the study in order to reduce the burden of large scores that may occur from a large set of variables to be studied.

The approach also stipulates that the location of a speaker, referred to as *place* and the *race* of a person can influence the variables which are used. This is confirmed by Trudgill (1975/1983) as he observes that “the location of a person influences the use of a linguistic variable.” Labov and his associates make the factor of *race* relevant in the study of New York, working on the distinctive features of the speech of black adolescents (Labov, 1972b, p. 7).

In terms of degree, the of belongingness of a person to a group, Deklu (2014) reports that the degree to which an individual belongs to a group can also influence the pervasiveness of linguistic variables in this study. He says that according to Milroy (1980: as cited in Hudson 2001), people with extremely closed networks are more likely to display a pervasive use of the linguistic variable than those that are in looser relationships. Also, different sections of a community recognize different ranges of linguistic variable that serve as a means of identification of that section.

In addressing the issue of sex and prestige pattern, Hudson (2001) obtains that certain factors must be taken into consideration. For instance, in some countries, men have the upper hand in receiving formal education over women. If the country is diglossic,<sup>1</sup> then men will be exposed to more prestige and standard form than their female counterparts. He also claims that the variable under study must be genuinely stratified. In selecting speakers for comparative analysis, both sexes must be well represented in terms of the level of education, age, etc. For instance, when a female with a university education is interviewed for a comparative study, the male

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<sup>1</sup> A diglossic community is a community that uses two languages or two varieties of a language for different purposes at the same with one being high and the other low (Fishman, 1967).

counterpart must also have the same level of education at the same time. This makes way for a genuine comparison to be made.

The final one is that the style of speech employed by anyone is dependent on the situation in which that speech is made. As Labov (1994, p.157 as cited in Deklu 2014) rightly puts it, the speech of a person changes depending on the degree of attention to speech forms used.” Therefore, in a formal situation, a person pays more attention to speech forms than in a casual conversation. A typical Labovian interview must consist of sections that cater to each of these situations of speech. Therefore, my interview questions were designed such that they cater to the differences that exist in speech styles.

Labov’s (1966) classic work, *the social stratification of English in New York City*, has influenced the linguistic study of change of variation remarkably. The basic elicitation technique for Labov was sociolinguistic interviews in which the investigator asked the respondent a series of questions. With the help of this study, Labov developed the concept of sociolinguistic variable which is basically “a set of alternative ways of saying the same thing.”

Furthermore, findings from the classical Labov (1961), *Maratha Vineyard* and the *New York City departmental store* studies demonstrated that systematic differences are generally found in linguistic variables.

This study seeks to explore the systematic differences in the use of certain linguistic variables to refer to the same lexical item among the speakers of Evedome, Aɲɔ and Tɔɲu dialects of the Ewe language in Ho hence the use of the Labovian theory in analysing its data. For example, *kòdzòè* (Aɲɔ dialect), *kòdzòé* (Tɔɲu dialect) and *àgblénú* (Evedome dialect) are all referents of ‘hoe’. Equally, these

differences in the use of these linguistic variables in Ho are what this study is logically going to describe.

### **2.2.3 Speech Accommodation Theory / SAT (Giles, 1973)**

Accommodation is one of the fundamental reasons for the incident of lexical variation natural discourses. This technique is usually triggered by language contact situations. Accommodation is said to happen when a speaker consciously or unconsciously modifies or simplifies his or her language during a discourse to meet the linguistic needs of the other participant(s) within that discourse event.

According to Meyerhoff (2006, p.72), accommodation is “the process by which speakers attune or adapt their linguistic behaviour in light of their interlocutors’ behaviour and their attitudes towards their interlocutors (may be a conscious or unconscious process).

Sociolinguists have studied the phenomenon of speech/ communication accommodation over the years. The speech accommodation theory was therefore propounded as a framework that is used to account for the adjustment interlocutors make to create, maintain or decrease both social and linguistic distance in our day to day interpersonal and intrapersonal interactions. This theory involves the strategies speakers use to establish, contest or maintain relationships during speech acts (Giles, 1973; Giles, Taylor, Gallios & Giles, 1998; Meyerhoff, 2006; Giles; Willemyns, Gallios & Anderson, 2007). Primarily, the accommodation theory employs the attunement strategy which either leans towards *convergence* or *divergence*. As the term implies, when convergence is used as an accommodation strategy, the speaker alters his or her choice language to share similarities with that of his or her addressee. Generally, this is what pertains to the Ho speech community. It is a

regular occurrence to hear a native Evedome speakers use native Aɲlɔ lexical variants when engaged in a verbal task with an Aɲlɔ speaker, usually to ensure comprehension. This occurrence depicts one of the key goals of the speech accommodation theory which seeks to understand the shifts in the speech styles of people from different.

It is presupposed that some social factors like marriage cause people to employ accommodation to facilitate better communication about partners. With the upsurge of inter-community marriages, this situation has become very common within the Ho speech community where spouses belong to different dialectal backgrounds. It is for this reason among others that the Speech Accommodation theory is applied to the data analysed in chapter five where a human face to put to the actual incident of lexical variation and probably phonological variation through the analysis of intra and inter dialectal discourses of native speakers of Evedome Aɲlɔ and Tɔŋu within the Ho speech community.

### **2.3 Chapter Summary**

This chapter was written in two main sections. The first section defines some important linguistic notions like language and dialect, standard dialect, language variation, speech community, etc. The later part of the first section also reviews related literature (Yankson, 2018; Essegbey, 2009; Botha, 2011; Canut, 2009). The second section discusses the Variationist Theory (Labov, 1966) which explained the concept of lexical variation as investigated in this study. Additionally, this study adopted and discussed the Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles, 1973) to illustrate why native speakers of Ewe in the Ho speech community tend to vary lexicons in speech events.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 Introduction

Research in the area of language variation needs to utilize appropriate empirical evidence (i.e. data) in order to meet the requirements of worthy scientific research. This study, therefore, relies on data drawn mainly from interviews, focus group discussions, elicitation and observation. This chapter examines the methodology employed in the research. It discusses the research design, population and sampling, sampling technique, the instruments used in data collection, and the procedure used for data analysis.

#### 3.1 Research Approach

In this study, the qualitative research approach is employed. According to Reinard (1994), a qualitative approach to research mainly deals with the relationship between humans and society in a communicative event. It describes the actions of people, places, and things in non-numerical terms. To explain the phenomenon of lexical variation which exists in the Ho speech community, comprehensive verbal descriptions (responses and explanations) and observations were used.

When using the qualitative approach, the interactions of the selected participants are described as actions (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2000). However, to achieve the best results with the use of a qualitative approach, these actions (i.e. interviews and focus group discussions) must take place within a natural setting where the researcher engages in face-to-face interactions with participants possibly over a long period of time.

### 3.2 Population and Sampling

Population is the aggregate or totality of all subjects, objects or members that conform to a set of specifications (Polit & Hungler, 1999). In this research, the population for the study is mainly from the five suburbs- Bankoe, Heve, Ahoe, Dome, and Hliha.

As stated earlier, due to the diverse background and cultures of each group of settlers who reside in Ho because of white-collar jobs, trades and other forms of businesses, Ho seems to have become a melting pot where different dialects of Ewe are spoken by these immigrants. These suburbs were selected for this study because most immigrants reside in these communities where they freely relate to other members from other dialectal backgrounds. When people of diverse different dialectal background co-exist in the same community, it creates a linguistic situation which may eventually lead to outcomes such as lexical variation. This peculiar linguistic situation that exists in these traditional suburbs of Ho has therefore provided the researcher with suitable unrefined data needed for this study.

According to Brink (1993), a sample is a subset of a population selected to participate in the study, it is a fraction of the whole, selected to participate in the research project. This study sampled a total of sixty (60) participants made up of thirty (30) males and thirty (30) females which include children (aged between 9 and 17 years old), youth (aged between 15 and 39 years old), and the elderly (aged from 40 years and above) were selected from the research areas. The participants were selected within these gender and age groupings to ensure data diversity as well as to show how social variables such as age and gender influence a speaker's choice of words in discourse. From the participants sampled, 30 were used for elicitation,



while the other 30 were either interviewed or formed part of the focus group discussions. Some participants, however, played overlapping roles.

### **3.3 Sampling Technique**

The researcher employed the purposive sampling technique. This type of technique involves selecting participants who are native speakers of the Evedome, Aŋɔ and Tɔŋu dialects from the research sites. This sampling procedure was adopted because the majority of the people who make up the Ho speech community are public servants, private business owners, traders and farmers. As a result of the wide range of the career paths of these residents, it was difficult to undertake random sampling.

Again, since it is crucial to examine the incidence of lexical variation across social variables like age and gender, the use of the purposive sampling technique helped in choosing only members of the speech community who qualify to be in this category as participants in this study. Sampled participants were old and young native speakers of Evedome, Aŋɔ and Tɔŋu between the ages of 18 and 80 years constituting adults and the ages of 6 and 17 years constituting children. Furthermore, the purposive sampling technique seemed to be convenient, cost effective and less time consuming.

### **3.4 Data Collection Instruments**

The instruments used in collecting data for a sociolinguistic study is crucial to the success of the research. Generally, since sociolinguistic studies aim at investigating language use in specific domains, investigators must utilise empirical data collected from a natural setting to achieve their set research objectives.

The instruments used to elicit data for the study are interviews, focus group discussion and participant observation. Dialect consultants were occasionally consulted for confirmation about some lexical variants elicited and used in the various focus group discussions. As a speaker of Ewe, I also relied on my native speaker intuition whenever it was necessary to do so.

### **3.4.1 Interviews**

Interviews are considered as one of the best qualitative data collection methods to be used if one wants to gain insight into the intentions, feelings, purposes and comprehensions of an interviewee. The interview can also represent insights into how individual interviewees interpret themselves and how they interpret the phenomenon under study (Adhabi & Anozie, 2017).

Researchers use interviews for a variety of purposes. Since interviews are primary data collection tools which are used to engage participants on one on one basis, they can be used to collect information from individuals about their own practices, beliefs, opinions, behaviours, expertise, and experiences. Interviews are defined by the structure that guides the process of information collection which is generally a continuum. Imbedded in this continuum is the idea of how much “control” the interviewer will have over the interaction. In other words, interviews are typically categorised according to how much control the interviewer displays in the process. This continuum is from “unstructured” to highly “structured and gives the three types of interviews- unstructured, semi-structured and structured- the more control the interviewer applies, the more structured the interview is.

Semi-structured interviews seem to be one of the useful techniques for qualitative data collection as they are generally suitable for investigating existing trends or situations. The flexibility that comes with the use of this instrument is an

added advantage (Dicicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2000). The use of semi-structured interviews was employed to collect some of the data used for this study. The choice of semi-structured interviews was to afford participants the needed freedom to express their views more naturally. In addition to that, the use of semi-structured interviews provided the researcher more time to prepare for questions for the interview which helped to produce reliable, quality, and comparable qualitative data on the lexical variations available in the Ewe spoken in Ho. In other words, the main purpose of using semi-structured interviews was to obtain accurate information about how natives vary their use of vocabulary to referent a particular lexical item. Semi-structured interviews helped to ease the tension in participants and create a natural speech environment and event for them to express themselves. For instance, typically, the interviews commenced with the demographic information of each participant after which they are reminded about the ‘activity’ and why they are participating in it.

Going by the rudiments of semi-structured interviews, the interview commenced with me asking both open-ended and closed questions on everyday topics ‘cleanliness, selling foodstuffs at the market, etc. These topics were chosen because they are general yet they provide the avenue for participants to freely express their thoughts. Each interview session lasted between 10 to 15 minutes per participant.

It is however important to reiterate that although the researcher is a native speaker of Ewe (whose dominant dialect sways more to Anlo more than any other dialect of Ewe), she tried not to overly rely on her native speaker’s intuition so as to avoid any form for bias. It must however be stated that the Anlo dialect was the

metalinguage used in eliciting data for this study. Conversations with participants were recorded for transcription and subsequent analysis.

### **3.4.2 Focus Group Discussions**

A focus group discussion is a form of an interview which is conducted on a group of people with similar backgrounds and experiences on specific topics or issues. Thomas et al, (1995) maintain that a focus group discussion is a qualitative technique that uses in-depth group interviews to gather information from a specific sampled population.

As a highly ranked result-oriented method used in qualitative research, this study employed the use of focus group discussion to purposefully collect data from a cross-section of Ewe speakers within the Ho speech community. In employing this technique, the participants were engaged to discuss some selected topics that exposed their perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, opinions or ideas about these topics through a moderator interaction (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995; Hayward, Simpson, & Wood, 2004; 1998; Kitzinger, 1994; Morgan, 1996).

In a focus group discussion, participants are free to talk with other group members; unlike other research methods, it encourages discussions with other participants. Generally, a focus group comprises between 4 and 12 members which are led by a moderator (interviewer) who facilitates discussions by posing freely structured questions on a chosen topic of interest to participants. I chose to use this instrument as it is quite a time-effective and provides a lot of information in a relatively short time.

In this study, a total of seven groups were used. Each group was made up of not less than 3 participants and the focus group leader or moderator. The groups

were categorized according to the dialectal backgrounds of the participants, their gender and age. For instance, there were groups consisting of only Aɲlɔ speakers, only Tɔɲu speakers, males speakers of a particular dialect, female speakers of a particular dialect and a combination of both male and female speakers of the dialects being investigated, among other groupings. Although most focus group discussions consider social class/status when choosing participants for social group discussion, this study did not use social class as a criterion for selecting participant as preliminary investigations did not establish any significant difference in the use of lexical alternations among Ewe speakers of different social stratum. The categorization was to test for instances of lexical variations in the use of their respective dialects. Another reason was to investigate whether gender and age also contribute to lexical choices among native speakers of Evedome, Aɲlɔ and Tɔɲu within the Ho speech community. Pertinent but common topics like ‘marriage’, food cropping, cleanliness, mat weaving, charcoal preparation and a host of others were discussed. Participants were informed a day or two before the event. Data collected from the focus group discussions can be found in appendix 2; however, they are analysed in chapter five.

### **3.4.3 Elicitation**

Elicitation is a form of research method in which verbal, visual or written stimuli is used to encourage participants to talk about their experiences. Described as the study of experience and consciousness by Spiegelberg (19975), elicitation usually stimulates participants to express their ideas on topics that are difficult to discuss in formal interviews.

The commonest type of elicitation is picture elicitation where participants are shown pictures to identify and provide their personally preferred corresponding words or references. This study, however, followed Yankson (2018) and decided to apply variable elicitation where participants are asked to provide Ewe variants for English variables during the elicitation process. The English variables were chosen based on the probability of the variables to have more than one linguistic realization/output. Data from this elicitation revealed variation on the lexical, phonological and morphological levels which was analysed in chapter four.

This data was generally elicited from Ewe speaking residents of the five suburbs of Ho across age, gender and social class variables. This activity lasted over one month from November 15<sup>th</sup>, 2019 to December 3<sup>rd</sup> 2019. The data draws on the various dialectal variations (lexical, phonological, and morphological) that exist in the speech community and is analysed in chapter four of this study.

#### **3.4.4 Participant Observation**

Participant observation has been one other effective tool used in qualitative studies. This data collection tool acts as an auxiliary tool used in interviews and focus group discussions. This method generally complements the other qualitative methods such as interviews and focus group discussion. During the use of interviews and focus group discussions, participant observation corroborates or contradicts certain responses the participants provide. During the process, the researcher's main task is to watch, listen, and record what he or she observes key among them is participants' facial expressions. Data for the study was collected precisely in Ho.

In addition, the researcher together with her assistant visited places such as offices, hospitals, market squares, lorry stations, local food joints and churches

where Ewe is commonly spoken to observe the trend of language use and pick out instances of lexical variation among speakers.

### **3.5 Data Analysis**

The recorded interviews and recorded radio programmes were sorted and saved on the computer and on Google drive. The data was later transcribed, coded, and categorized into various themes according to the lexical variations that were revealed. Data is analysed qualitatively for each of the themes discussed. The analysis involved establishing the frequency at which the participants used a particular lexical label to refer to an item and the social variables which influenced these choices. To be able to do this, help was sourced from three dialect consultants from the Evedome, Aŋlo and Tɔŋu dialectal backgrounds. For instance, in chapter four, the data on dialectal variations are presented in tables and subsequently analysed descriptively. However, in chapter five, instances of variation, especially, lexical, and the speech accommodation strategies (i.e. convergence and divergence) employed by participants in various focus group discussions were identified and discussed.

### **3.6 Ethical Considerations**

In this kind of research where human subjects are used, it is expected that all the necessary protocols must be observed. In order not to invade their privacy, participants were informed about the interview prior to the start of each interview session. Again, before the interviews, the researcher and her assistant informed the participants about the purpose, and procedures involved in each stage. The researcher also informed the interviewees that the information they were going to

provide was purely for academic purpose and assured them of their confidentiality. To ensure the confidentiality of participants, pseudonyms were used to label the data and all other information they provided were kept confidential. Besides, to avoid plagiarism, all secondary information that was used in the study has been duly acknowledged. The participants were made to understand that, should they at any point feel obliged to rescind their decisions to participate, they have the right to do so (Flick, 1989).

### **3.7 Chapter Summary**

This chapter presented the procedure by which the study was conducted. The qualitative research approach was employed. The chapter also discussed the research population, sample and sampling, the instruments used in gathering the data. Purposive sampling technique was employed with a sample size of sixty (60) participants. Data were obtained by the use of interview, focus group discussions, elicitation and participant observation. The data was then saved, transcribed, translated and categorised for use.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### DIALECTAL VARIATION ACROSS THE EVEDOME, AᅇLO AND TᅇᅇU DIALECTS IN THE HO SPEECH COMMUNITY

#### 4.0 Introduction

The chapter provides the distribution of variation (lexical, phonological and morphological) across the Evedome, Aᅇlo and Tᅇᅇu dialects in Ho. This chapter focuses primarily on the usage of a number of selected lexical variants among Ewe speakers in the Ho speech community. Following Yankson (2018), lexical items that are known to have more than one lexical realisation in Ewe were selected and tested on language users using a combination of the elicitation method and semi-structured interviews. We examine whether the usage of certain variants cut across the three dialects (i.e. Evedome, Aᅇlo and Tᅇᅇu dialects) that are being investigated in the study or not, whether speakers of these three dialects achieve mutual intelligibility in instances where lexicons are varied in natural discourses or not. This chapter has four main sections. Section (1) provides a general introduction to the chapter, section (2) provides details on the background information of the participants, section (3) examines variants in the Evedome, Aᅇlo and Tᅇᅇu dialects, section (4) summarises the chapter.

#### 4.1 Background Information on Participants

In all, sixty (60) participants made up of thirty (30) males and thirty (30) females were sampled for this study. Out of the total number of males, twenty (20) male participants were aged between twenty (20) and eighty (80) years and are coded as

Male Adults (MA) while ten (10) of them are aged between seven (7) and fourteen (14) years and are classified as Male Children (MC). The thirty (30) female participants on the hand are made up of twenty (20) participants aged between eighteen (18) and seven-five (75) years, classified as Adult Females (AF). The remaining ten (10) participants are aged between six (6) and twelve (12) years and are coded as Female Children (FC). Ten (10) male participants and ten (10) female participants work in various formal domains while ten (10) male and ten (10) female participants were also sampled from some informal domains. Table 1 shows the background information of participants and their respective percentages.

#### 4.2 Variants in Evedome, Aɲɔ and Tɔŋu Dialects

**Table 1: Variants in Evedome, Aɲɔ and Tɔŋu Dialects**

Categories	Frequency	Percentages
Males	30	50%
Females	30	50%
Adult Males (AM)	20	66.6%
Adult Females (AF)	20	66.6%
Male Children (MC)	10	33.4%
Female Children (FC)	10	33.4%
Males in the Formal Domain (MFD)	10	50%
Males in the Informal Domain (MID)	10	50%
Females in the Formal Domain (FFD)	10	50%
Females in the Informal Domain (FID)	10	50%

As has been mentioned earlier, the variations in dialects span syntactic, morphological, phonological and lexical levels. This section therefore discusses the

lexical variants identified among Ewe speakers within the Ho speech community. The about 100 variables which generated the set of corresponding dialectal variants discussed in this section were selected from every vocabulary used in discoursed across genders, age groups and status.

#### 4.2.1 Variants common to all three dialects

The referents discussed in this section were found to have the same lexical variants in Evedome, Aɲlɔ and Tɔɲu. This indicates a certain level of mutual intelligibility and confirms the contact phenomenon suggested by the researcher in the preceding chapters. Consider the examples in Table 2.

**Table 2: Variants common to all three dialects**

No.	Evedome (Variable)	Aɲlɔ (Variant)	Tɔɲu (Variant)	Gloss
	<u>Clothing</u>			
1.	Awu	Awu	Awu	Clothing
	<u>Food items</u>			
2.	(E)tsi	(E)tsi	(E)tsi	Water
3.	Mɔli	Mɔlu	Mɔlù	Rice
	<u>Parts of the body</u>			
4.	Alɔ	Alɔ (go)	Alɔ	Cheek
	<u>Humanbeing</u>			
5.	Devi	Devi	Dèvi	Child
6.	Nyɔnu	Nyɔnu	Nyànu	Woman
7.	Dùtsu	Dùtsu	Dùtsu	Man
	<u>Fuel</u>			
8.	Aka	Aka	Àkâ	Charcoal
	<u>Insects</u>			
9.	Tagbatsu	Tagbatsutsu	Tsatsu	Housefly
10.	Emu (tuli)	Emu	Avage	Mosquito

11.	<u>Institution</u> Suku	Suku	Suku	school
12.	<u>Location</u> Dome(dome)/ titian	Domezã	Dome	Middle
13.	<u>Gravel/ Pebble</u> Kpèku	Kpekui	Kpèkui	Pebbles
14.	<u>Medicine(herbal)</u> Amatsi/ Atike	Atsike	Amatsi/ Átsikè	Medicine

From Table 2, examples (1, 2, 3, 6, 7 & 14) show that the Evedome, Aŋlɔ and Tɔŋu dialects use variants that overtly display the same morphological structure. The variants used for ‘clothing’, ‘water’, ‘building’, ‘charcoal’, ‘school’, and ‘man’ do not vary.

The Evedome variant for ‘rice’ *mɔli* in example (3) is analysed as the same lexical form as the difference exists in only one phonological segment /i/ -the high front unrounded vowel. The Aŋlɔ and the Tɔŋu variants *-mɔlu* have the same realisation except differences in tone patterns. Whereas the Aŋlɔ variant’s second syllable has a high tone, the second syllable of the Tɔŋu variant has a low tone.

Similarly, in example (6), the Tɔŋu variant for woman has /à/ in the first syllable while Evedome and Aŋlɔ have /ɔ/. Examples (9 & 12) also show that the underlying referent is expressed the same but for some variation in the syllable structure of all three variants. Example (9) shows the most common variants used in the Ho speech to refer to ‘housefly’ in Ewe as *tagbatsu*, *tagbatsutsu* and *tatsu* in Evedome, Aŋlɔ and Tɔŋu respectively. Again, the lexicons have different syllable structure the Evedome variants seems to be the underlying variant which goes through the partial reduplication to form the Aŋlɔ variant. The Tɔŋu variant displays a unique structure-it uses the first and last morphemes of the Evedome variant.

In example (12), the Evedome variant for ‘middle’ is usually expressed as *dome* by the older generation while the younger generation tends to reduplicate it as *domedome*. It must be mentioned that another known variant usually used by the typical adult male Evedome speaker is *titina*. This confirms an assertion in Eckert (1997, p,164) when she maintains that “[a]dults have regularly been shown to be more conservative in their use of variables than younger age groups.” Conversely, in the Aɲlɔ dialect, the bound morpheme *-za* is added to the root *dome* to form the lexical variant *domezza*. The Tɔɲu variant is the same as the variant used by the older generation in the Evedome dialect.

Among many things, primarily, lexical variants that are common to all three dialects promote frequent lexical alteration among members of a particular speech community. It also confirms mutual intelligibility between the dialects as has been shown by our data and observation. It was observed that most speakers freely alternate between the Aɲlɔ and the Evedome variants depending on which variant comes first to mind as well as attempting to accommodate the interlocutors involved in a particular speech event. For instance, if a native Evedome speaker is in communication with a native Aɲlɔ speaker, he or she would either use *tagbatsu* or *tagbatsutsu*. The native Aɲlɔ speaker within the Ho speech community will understand either lexicon.

#### **4.2.2 Variants common to two dialects**

The set of variables in this section have the same input and distribution of variants in two of the three dialects sampled (i.e. either Evedome and Aɲlɔ have the same variant, Evedome and Tɔɲu or Aɲlɔ and Tɔɲu have the same form variant for one

variable). We will discuss the structure of these variants, their frequency of use and the social variables that inform the use of a particular viable in a discourse.

**Table 3: Variants common to two dialects**

No.	Evedome (Variable)	Aḡlɔ (Variant)	Tɔḡu (Variant)	Gloss
<u>Parts of the Body</u>				
15.	Ali	Ali/ Alime	Gagawe	Waist
16.	Ve	Ekɔ	Ekɔ	Neck
17.	Yɔme/ Yɔnu	Aḡɔme	Aḡɔme	Lower abdomen
<u>Fruits/ Foodstuff</u>				
18.	Abable	Atɔtɔ	Atɔtɔ	Pineapple
19.	Agbeli	Agbeli	Akute	Cassava
20.	Nkransa/ Kakadro	Gometakui	Kakadro	Ginger
21.	Kpeli	Bli	Bli	Corn
22.	Sabala	Sabala	ablɔ/abrɔ	Onion
<u>Insects</u>				
23.	Anyidi /Aḡeḡe	Afi/ Afi ya Aḡiḡi	Geɛ ḡiḡi	Here Ant
24.	Adzayi	Ayiyi	Yiyi	Spider
<u>Food</u>				
26.	Koko	Katsa/ dzogbo	Koko	Porridge
<u>Clothing</u>				
27.	Eḡo/Etse	Avɔ	Avɔ	Cloth
28.	Duku	Taku	Taku/Duku	Headgear
<u>Location/ Time</u>				
29.	Efi	Afi/ Afi ya	Geɛ	Here
30.	Fimi	(A)fi ma	Ga ma	There
31.	Lewuie/fifie	Fifia	Fifia	Now
<u>Toiletries</u>				
32.	Adzalɛ	Adzale	Adi/Adzale	Soap
33.	Afɔdzi	Agbotsi	Agbotsi	Toilet
34.	Gbeklɔ	Akutsa	Akutsa	Sponge
<u>Household Items</u>				
35.	Afe	Ayiḡa	Afi/Ayiḡa	Comb
36.	Ahuhɔe	(A)huhui	Hwihwi	Mirror
<u>Weather</u>				
	Ḋɔ	Ḋɔkutsu	yetoto	Sunshine

37.	<u>Pets</u> Dade	Dadi	Todzovi	Cat
38.	<u>Questioning</u> Tsie Ao	Nu ka Ao	Nu ka Oho	What No
39. 40.	<u>Amphibian</u> Akpakpla	Akpɔkpɔ	Akotso	Frog

Table 3 presents lexical variants used as referents for the English variables sampled.

There are three (3) categories of variant distribution from the table.

These are:

- a. variants that have the same form in Evedome and Aɲlɔ but are realized as a different lexeme in the Tɔɲu dialect.
- b. variants that have the same form in Aɲlɔ and Tɔɲu but is realized as a different lexeme in the Evedome dialect.
- c. variants that have the same form in Eɛdome and Tɔɲu but is realized as a different lexeme in the Aɲlɔ dialect.

#### **4.2.2.1 Variants that have the same form in Evedome and Aɲlɔ but is realized as a different lexeme in the Tɔɲu dialect.**

From table 3, examples (15, 19, 22, 29, 30, 32, 37, 38, 40, 41& 42) representing ‘waist’, ‘here’, ‘there’, ‘cassava’, ‘soap’, ‘no’, ‘cat’, ‘frog’, ‘mirror’, ‘sunshine’ and ‘onion’ respectively have the same inputs in Evedome and Aɲlɔ but have distinct morphological realisations in the Tɔɲu dialect. These lexicons are the typical native expressions used for these referents in the dialect. Our dialect consultant suggests that these variants are more restricted to speech events in rural

Tɔŋu settings rather than the urban areas. The data however reveals that some members of the Ho speech community who are native speakers of Tɔŋu occasionally use some of these variants unconsciously or among speakers who have the same dialectal background as them.

Again, it was also shown that native speakers of Evedome and Aŋlɔ do not understand some of these variants when Tɔŋu speakers in the speech community use them. These situations gave rise to the influx and frequency in use of original Evedome and Aŋlɔ lexicons in the Tɔŋu dialect. The younger generation Tɔŋu natives in the Ho speech community would rather use *ali* instead of *gagawe*, *efi/afi* instead of *gax*, *adzale* instead of *adi*, *agbeli* rather than *akute* while the reserve pertains to the older generation of native Tɔŋu speakers within the Ho speech environment.

#### **4.2.2.2 Variants that have the same form in Aŋlɔ and Tɔŋu but are realized as a different lexemes in the Evedome dialect.**

In this category, these following variants from table 3, examples (16, 17, 18, 21, 23, 24, 27, 34 & 39) - ‘pineapple’, ‘neck’, ‘corn’, ‘what’, ‘lower abdomen’, ‘ant’, ‘spider’, ‘sponge’ and ‘cloth’ have the same inputs in Aŋlɔ and Tɔŋu but a different one in Evedome. The Evedome variants here tend to be used more by the older generation especially, among males. Women have a propensity to adulterate their speech with expressions associated with the youth because of their duties and roles as mothers/ primary caregivers in a families and are thus considered to be closer to the younger generation compared to the males. Known as the custodians of culture, older males usually do not adapt easily to change in language or dialects; they stay loyal to their traditional languages and dialects.



Again, just like what has pertains in the first category of variants discussed, speakers who use these variants in the speech community usually use them among a sect of language users they are closely affiliated to, not every Ewe speaker within the speech community. For instance, the native Evedome speaker may replace *lawuie* with *fifie* ‘now’ as soon he realizes his interlocutors do not understand the more native lexicon- *lewuie*. It is imperative to note that *ve* which is sampled as the Evedome variant for ‘neck’ is a homonym in the dialect as it also refers to an ‘alligator’. This implies that in a discourse, the other words with which this lexicon collocates will help the listener interpret it correctly.

#### **4.2.2.3 Variants that have the same form in Evedome and Tɔŋu but are realized as different lexemes in the Aŋlo dialect.**

The examples in this category are ‘ginger’, ‘porridge’ and ‘comb’ in examples (20, 26 & 35) from table 3. The Evedome and Tɔŋu for ‘ginger’ is *kakadro*. Evedome however uses *nkransa* as an alternative variant. Aŋlo on the contrary uses *gometakui* as the variant for this variable. It is perceived as *gometaku* in the idiolect of some speakers. The /i/ in the compound *gome-taku-i* is functioning as a diminutive marker and does not change the central semantic structure of the morpheme.

Another variant common to Evedome and Tɔŋu is *koko*. It is observed that some other Kwa languages like Akan, Ga and Dangme also refer to ‘porridge’ as *koko*. This may be an indication that the variant may not be as native as the Aŋlo variant- *katsa/dzogbo*. In fact, *koko* is becoming more like a national variant for ‘porridge’. In the Ho speech community, only areas known to be typical Aŋlo locations use *katsa/dzogbo*, otherwise the rest of the Ewe speakers across both gender and age variables within the speech community use *koko*.

The last of the three variants in this category is *afɛ* and *afi* used in Evedome and Tɔŋu respectively as referent lexicons for ‘comb’. The variants *afɛ* and *afi* are analysed as the same variants since phonological variation does not cause change in form. In the Evedome variant *afɛ*, the final vowel /ɛ/ is lower vowel than the counterpart /i/ in *afi* which is produced with a relatively higher tongue position. The Aŋlɔ variant appears to be seemingly distinctive-*ayida*. It must be mentioned that within speech community, both *afɛ* and *ayida* are used interchangeably.

#### **4.2.3 Variants different for all three dialects**

In Table 4, it is shown that Evedome, Aŋlɔ and Tɔŋu have distinct lexemes for certain items and concepts in the Ho speech community. Although all these variants are used in the speech community, some of the variants are more commonly used in the everyday discourse of language users.

This section discusses a data set of variants which have different forms in all three dialects. The form and structure of these variants as well as their frequency of use across the social variables of gender and age in speech events among Ewe speakers within the speech community will be discussed.

**Table 4: Lexical variants different for all three dialects**

No.	Evedome (Variable)	Aɲɔ (Variant)	Tɔŋu (Variant)	Gloss
	<u>Vegetables/ food</u>			
42.	Atis.	Fetri	Atife	Okro
43.	Kukli	Atadi	Áblɛ	Pepper
44.	Kɔŋ	Dɔkuŋu	Kokoe	Kenkey
	<u>Body Parts</u>			
45.	Dɔɔgo/Kpetefe/gbi	Mefi	Gbi	Buttocks
46.	Akɔdodrome	Axatome	Anyixatome	Armpit
47.	Mitoeme/ minyefe	Mefime	Gbitome	Anus
	<u>Household items</u>			
48.	Koloe/Koli	Uegba	Agbayibo	Earthenware bowl
49.	Dzowɔ/ Dzokalifi	Dzofi/ Afi	Dzomafi	Woodashes
	<u>Insects</u>			
50.	Tuli	(E)mu	Avagɛ	Mosquito
	<u>Clothing</u>			
51.	Agbote/ Avenɛte	(A)vote/ Godi	Ágbitɛ	Shorts
	<u>Weather</u>			
52.	Ddo	Dɔkutsu	ɣetoto	Sunshine
	<u>Toiletries</u>			
53.	Tsiletse	Papaŋu	Tsilɛnù	Towel

In example (42), the Aɲɔ variant- *fetri* is the most frequently used variant among Ewe speakers in Ho. The Evedome, variant, *atis* is the second most preferred variant but its use is restricted to predominant Evedome suburbs like Bankoe, Ahoe, Heve, Dome, and Hliha. Even within these areas, it is seen to be used by adult speakers rather than young speakers. *Atife* which is the Tɔŋu variant is the least common of all three variants.

Example (45) shows the variants for the variable, ‘buttocks’ sampled from the three dialects under investigation. The Evedome dialect has three separate words for this referent. These are *ηlɔgo*, *kpetefe* and *gbi*. The Tɔɔu dialect also uses *gbi* for this variable. The Aɔlɔ dialect uses a different variant- *mefi*. All these variants are used interchangeable by speakers within the speech community. Observation however showed that adult males used *gbi* more frequently than the other variants.

The dialectal variants in example (46) which are used for the body part referent ‘armpit’ are *akodrome/ akododrome* in Evedome, *axatome* in Aɔlɔ and *anyixatome* in Tɔɔu. Again, the use of the Evedome and Aɔlɔ variants is more widespread compared to the Tɔɔu. These variants are freely used in all speech events regardless of age, gender and other social variables of the participants involved in the discourse. In fact, a high number of non-native Tɔɔu speakers are first time hearers of this variant, thus accounting for its rare usage in the speech community.

The variants, *Kukuli*, *atadi*, and *able* in example (43), Table 4 are referents for the variable ‘pepper’ in the Evedome, Aɔlɔ and Tɔɔu dialects respectively. Although the Tɔɔu variant here is less representative in the language of speakers of Ewe in Ho, it is well understood by most adult speakers of Ewe across age, gender and social status.

In example (48), all three variants of the variable ‘earthen ware grinder’ are lexically distinct. Interestingly, all of them are notably common in the everyday discourses of language users. A native Evedome speaker will refer to this item as *koloe* or *koli* in his or her indigenous setting, an Aɔlɔ speaker will call it *vegba* (originally Evegba) in a typical Aɔlɔ setting while Tɔɔu speaker will prefer to call it *agbayibo* in within a classic Tɔɔulocality. However, as signaled earlier, within the Ho speech community, native speakers of these dialects use any of the other variants

invariably depending on the participants involved in the speech event. It must be noted that irrespective of the listener or audience involved, there is equally a complete understanding of the choice of variant used for this variable.

The variants in example (49) display a fascinating similarity on the morphological level. The three dialects present variants which are compounds. The Ewedome has two alternate variants are *dzowɔ* and *dzokalifi*, the Aɲlɔ variant is *dzofi* or *afi*, and the Tɔɲu variant is *dzomafi*. Conventionally, a compound is formed when two or more free lexemes come together to form a new word which would belong to the same syntactic class as its bases or not. Dolphyne (1988, p.117) obtains that “compounds are formed of two or more stems”. She further indicates that each of the stems that form these compounds could be simple, derived or composite. By these definitions, our assertion about this set of variants is accurately supported. Let us now look at the bases of each of variant which qualifies it as a true compound.

- |      |          |   |  |
|------|----------|---|--|
| I.   | .Ewedome | <i>dzowɔ</i><br><i>dzo</i> + <i>(e)wɔ</i><br>fire + powder<br><br>'ashes'                   | <i>dzokalifi</i><br><i>dzo</i> + <i>aka</i> + <i>lifi</i><br>fire + charcoal + wɔ<br><br>'ashes' |
| II.  | Aɲlɔ     | <i>dzofi</i><br><i>dzo</i> + <i>afi</i><br>fire + ash<br><br>'ashes'                        |  |
| III. | Tɔɲu     | <i>dzomafi</i><br><i>dzo</i> + <i>me</i> + <i>afi</i><br>fire + inside + ash<br><br>'ashes' |  |

In the formation of the second variant for the Ewedome dialect and the Tɔɲu variant, there is vowel hiatus or vowel sequence. This phenomenon is common in Kwa languages; it is usually resolved by deletion and resyllabification. From the

example (I), since /o/ and /a/ are adjacent vowels in *dzo+aka+ lifi*, the /a/ was deleted to form the compound *dzokalifi*. A similar situation is seen in examples (II & III) where the /a/ of the second base is deleted thus *dzo + afi* is realized as *dzofi* while *dzo + me+ afi* become *dzomafi* as the /e/ of the second base was deleted to preserve the /a/ of the last base. The use of all the variants identified in example (49) is common in the discourse of speakers in the Ho speech community.

The variants identified in examples (44, 50, 51 & 52) have some differences in their structural realizations. In example (50), although the Añlɔ variant uses *ɲɔkutsu* as the preferred variant the dialect sometimes truncates it such that, it is realised as the Evedome variant, *ɲɔ*. From our data and observed, it is evident that the Tɔŋu variant *yetoto* is the less used variant within the speech community.

The variants for the variables mosquito and kenkey (examples 44 & 50) follow what pertains in example (50) where the Evedome and Añlɔ variants *tuli* and *(e)mu* are used as referents for ‘mosquito’ and *kɔŋ* and *dɔkunu* for ‘kenkey’ are preferred over the Tɔŋu variants *avage* and *kokoe* for the same referents.

Example (53) shows a set of variants that are very commonly used within the speech community. They are used interchangeable across genders, social status and generations. These everyday variants are *tsiletse*, *papaŋu* and *tsilènù* used for the variable ‘towel’.

The dialectal variants used for the variable ‘anus’ in example (52) are *mitoeme/minyefe* for Evedome, *mefime* for Añlɔ and *gbitome* for Tɔŋu. Although the Evedome and the Tɔŋu variants are used by speakers, they are sound quite vulgar and so most people refrain from using them in public, those who do are considered to be unrefined. To satisfy Hyme’s (1972) communicative competence, speakers across all ages, gender and other social variables, would rather use the Añlɔ variant

*mefime* which is considered more pleasant and appropriate, thus seems to achieve more decorum.

The last set of variant in this category is example (51). The variable ‘shorts’ has the variants *agbote/ aveŋte* in the Evedome dialect, *(a)vote/ godi* in the Aŋlo and *ágbitè* in the Tɔŋu dialect. It is revealed that old male native Evedome adults tend to use *aveŋte* in their speech while the older generation of native Aŋlo speakers, both male and females prefer the use *(a)vote* over its alternative- *godi*. In the case of the Tɔŋu variant - *ágbitè* it is used in the everyday discourses of both the old and young generation.

#### **4.2.4 Loan words as variants**

Borrowing has long been studied as one of the many linguistic outcomes of language contact (Weinreich, 1953; Appel, 1987). To Davis (1993), “the term loanword refers to a word that enters a language through borrowing from some other language”. The main characteristics of loan words are the pronunciation of the loanword in the borrowing (or recipient) language is often quite different from its pronunciation in the original (or source) language and the peculiar phonological characteristics of loan words which make them distinct from the native vocabulary (Davis, 1993; Agbedor, 2006; Wornyo, 2016). Usually, if languages or dialects do not have specific terms to describe certain concepts, they tend to borrow words from other languages or dialects close to them that already have labels for these concepts as a result of need. In a few instances, however, the borrowing language could have a more traditional means of referring to a concept yet borrow a different word for the same concept for other reasons such as prestige, simplicity or modernity but not for

need. This section examines words which are borrowed from English and are used by the average Ewe speaker in the Ho speech community.

**Table 5: Loan words as variants**

No.	Evedome (Variable)	Aɲɔ (Variant)	Tɔɲu (Variant)	Gloss (Variant)
<u>Clothing</u>				
54.	Beleti	Beleti	Beleti	Belt
55.	Siketi	Siketi	Siketi	Skirt
<u>Jewellery</u>				
56.	Wɔtsi	Wɔtsi	Wɔtsi	Watch
<u>Worship</u>				
57.	Tsɔtsi/ solime	Tsɔtsi	Tsɔtsi	Church
<u>Drum</u>				
58.	Bani	Bani	Bani	Band
<u>Institution</u>				
59.	Suku	Suku	Sùkù/sukufeme	School
60.	Kɔtu /ɔɔnudɔfe/nyadɔfe	Kɔtu /ɔɔnudɔfe /nyadɔfe	Kɔtu /ɔɔnudɔfe	Court
<u>Occupation</u>				
61.	Drava	Drava /	Drava	Driver
62.	ɔukula	Draivaɔukula	ɔukula	Driver/machinery
<u>Sports</u>				
63.	Bɔlu/ Abo	Bɔlu/abo	Bɔlu	Ball
<u>Tools</u>				
64.	Sofi	Sofi	Sofi	Shovel
65.	Siza/ sakisi /akobe	Siza/sakisi/ Kpasu	Siza/sakisi	Scissors
<u>Food/ Vegetables</u>				
66.	Sukli	Sukli	Sùkli	Sugar
67.	Timati	Timatere/ Tomatosi	Timati	Tomatoes



The loan words in Table 5 can be re-categorised into two groups. Group one comprises examples (56, 60, 57, 58, 64, 65 & 67) are used as a result of need while examples (57, 60, 61, 63 & 64) belong to group two and are used mainly because the speaker wants to demonstrate prestige, simplicity, modernity or ensure there is understanding on the part of the listener or audience as these concepts have matching native expressions that perfectly describe them. For instance, in the case of ‘belt’, the only lexicon used among Ewe speakers in Ho is the native version of the English name of the object which becomes *beleti* as shown in example (54) in Table 5.

This process of nativization occurs when the borrowing language takes the word which is being borrowed through an adaptation process. English words go through a three-level adaptation process in order to qualify as a ‘true’ Ewe word which would have met phonotactic parameters Ewe requires. The first level is the phonemic adaptation level; this is where the recipient language (Ewe) acts as a determinant, which helps to segment the loan word into acceptable segments allowed in the phonology of Ewe.

The first level requires that English words that contain sounds that are alien to the Ewe sound system should be replaced with a sound in Ewe whose production and perception is quite similar to the English sound in the loan word. The second and third levels involve syllable structuring and the application of all necessary prosodic elements that are required by the borrowing language to make the words nativized. Thus, any word borrowed from English must adapt at the phonemic level, syllable structure level and (or) stress or tone level to be fully integrated into the Ewe lexicon (Wornyo, 2016; Agbedor, 2006). In example (54), *belt* becomes *beleti*. At the phonemic level, *belt* conforms to all the phonetic needs of Ewe except the consonant cluster seen as [lt] in *belt*. The basic syllable structure in Ewe is a CV structure.

However, the language permits a CCV structure when the second consonant is a lateral or a trill. For instance, words such as *klo* ‘to wash’, *droe* ‘dream’, *kple* ‘and’, *gba* ‘to break’ are all permissible in Ewe. Therefore, per the phonotactics of Ewe, consonant clusters are only allowed with laterals or trills at syllable onset, never as the coda as pertains in languages such as English. This is what accounts for the breaking of the consonant sequence (i.e. the consonant cluster) through the process of vowel insertion which causes ‘belt’ (CVCC) to change to *beleti* (CVCVCV) to make it conform to the syllable structure of Ewe.

Again, example (55) follows the same process as example (54) since the English word ‘skirt’ has an initial consonant cluster that needs to be broken during the process of nativization in Ewe since the second consonant is not a lateral or a trill. The English word ‘skirt’ therefore becomes *siketi* in Ewe. In other words, a word with a CCVCC syllable structure in English becomes a word with CVCVCV syllable structure in Ewe.

As mentioned earlier, the second group of loan words identified as lexical variants commonly used in the Ho speech community have alternative native lexicons as shown in examples (57, 59, 63 & 65). Since the inventory of consonant sounds in Ewe has this pair of affricates *-/tʃ, dʒ/*, the adaptation process of ‘church’ into Ewe needed to only conform to the syllable structure. Therefore [tʃɜ:tʃ] becomes nativised in Ewe as *tsɔtsi* [tʃɔtʃi]. To satisfy that open syllable requirement where all Ewe words are to end in vowels, /i/ was inserted at word final position. An English word with CVC syllable structure becomes an Ewe word with CVCV syllable structure. It is imperative to mention that in the Ho speech community, the variant *tsɔtsi* is used mostly among speakers of Anlo descent rather than speakers from the other two dialectal backgrounds. That notwithstanding, there is total comprehension

of the term across both genders and generations in the community. Speakers with dominant Evedome dialect are more comfortable using *solime* when referring to ‘church’ as indicated in example (57) in Table 5. Interestingly, most Ewe speakers in Ho are equally comfortable with maintaining the English term for this variable.

The nativised version of driver, *drava* went through a similar adaption process as has been seen in example (57). Here the absence of diphthongs in the Ewe vowel systems requires that a vowel closest to the diphthong [ai] in [draivə] be used to replace it. Again since the final vowel in the word driver is the schwa vowel which is not part of the Ewe vowels, there is the need to have it replaced with [a] which seem to be yet the closest central vowel to [ə]. With these changes at the phonemic level, [draivə] is borrowed into Ewe as [drava], meeting the three-level adaptation requirement. The alternative lexicon for *drava* is *ɔkula* which is used among males and females as well as all generations.

The data and discussion suggest that no lexical variation exists between English loan words as they seem to have a common lexical representation across the Evedome, Aɲlɔ and Tɔŋu dialects and by extension, the Ewe spoken in the Ho speech community. However, English loan words which have Ewe lexical variants in either of these dialects display a remarkable pattern of variation among the three dialects. Whereas example (60) confirms all three dialects have the same variant, example (59) shows that aside from having a common Ewe variant across all three dialects, the Aɲlɔ dialect still has *nyadrɔfe* as an alternative variant for the variable ‘court’. In some other instances, only two dialects seem to have a common variant, the third dialect uses a completely different variant. Typically, a Evedome or Tɔŋu uses *timati* as a referent to ‘tomatoes’ while Aɲlɔ use *tomatere* or *tomatosi* as shown in example (67). Similarly, in example (65), the Evedome and Aɲlɔ

indigenous variants for 'scissors' are different and quite uncommon among the younger generation- Evedome the variant is *akobe* while the Aɲɔ one is *kpasu*. The Tɔɲu dialect only uses either of the two loan word variants *siza* or *sakisi*

The discussion emphasizes that lexical variation occurs across the Evedome, Aɲɔ and Tɔɲu dialects. It also indicates that members of the Ho speech community are more comfortable with using English loan words as lexical variants for variables that have known lexical referents in Ewe.

As a relatively highly educated urban community, evidence of the use of these loan words can be accounted for by the familiarity of language users to English and the close interaction between Ewe and English, Ho being a multilingual urban centre (Winford, 2003).

#### **4.3. Chapter Summary**

This chapter examined lexical and phonological variation across three dominant dialects- Evedome, Aɲɔ and Tɔɲu in the Ho speech community. The chapter looked at the form/structure and the frequency of use of lexical and phonological variants across social variables like gender, age and social status in the Evedome, Aɲɔ and Tɔɲu dialects found within the Ho speech community.

The chapter then identified and discussed the categories of variants (lexical, phonological and morphological) in three dialects. It was established that some of the variants are common to all three dialects, some are common to only two of the three dialects while the others distinct from each other. While some of the variants were identified to be different on the phonological level, others showed morphological differences.

The chapter further explores the use of loan words as variants within the speech community.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### LEXICAL CHOICES WITHIN THE HO SPEECH COMMUNITY

#### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter examines lexical choices of native speakers of Ewe during inter and intra dialectal discourses within the Ho speech community. The chapter utilizes both the Variationist Sociolinguistic Theory (Labov, 1966) and the Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles, 1973) in an attempt to answer the research questions for this study. Therefore, the primary objective of this chapter is to identify the lexical variations in the typical Ewe speaker's discourse in the Ho speech community with focus on Evedome, Aɲlo and Tɔɲu lexicons (i.e. examining lexical variation in context). By analyzing a number of Focus Group Discussions, this chapter also discusses the degree of lexical variation employed by native speakers of the three dialects being investigated, the accommodation technique which is usually used in discourses involving native speakers of at least any two of the three dialects and possible reasons for which lexical variation occurs within the Ho speech community.

#### 5.1 Analysis of Focus Group Discussions

As has been mentioned in chapter three, among other data collection instruments, focus group discussions and interviews were typically used to test instances of lexical variation in the use of Ewe in the Ho speech community. This section, therefore, examines some of the focus group discussions to ascertain these instances of lexical variation in the language of native Evedome, Aɲlo and Tɔɲu male and female speakers within the 18 to 70-year bracket. Extracts of all the focus

group discussions which show evidence of variation especially lexical variation will be exported from the appendices into this chapter for analysis.

### 5.1.1 Native Aŋlo Speakers' Group

This group consists of five adult native speakers of Aŋlo (two male group members, and three female group members and a male moderator. Per their sociolinguistic profiles, all five participants come from Aŋlo speaking areas – the female participants come from Keta, Agbozume and Denu respectively while the male participants come from Anyako and Tsiame. All participants have both parents being native Aŋlo speakers too. Again, all the participants are migrants residing in Ho because of work or business. For the purposes of confidentiality, the participants were given labels such as man 1, man 2, woman 1, woman 2, woman 3, etc. Woman 2 and 3 are public servants while woman 1 is an entrepreneur. In the case of the male participants, both man 1 and 2 are public servants. In this group, the discussion was centred on the benefits of marriages and the problems faced by some married couples.

#### EXTRACT 1

##### Focus Group Discussion in the Aŋlo dialect (Male & Females)

##### Topic: *Srɔ̄de* 'Marriage'

**Woman 1:** *Efe agbenɔɔ. Edze deka hã, enyakpɔ fine. Nuwo fetɛ ko enyo nam paa le nu de sia de gome. [Generally, his behaviour. He is also handsome, very good looking. I liked everything about him]*

**Woman 3:** *Akpe de babia ta. Eyi ke miede srɔ̄, nyemedo go afoklinu yi ke ana magblo be de menya la, nyeme gege ge de eme hafi o gake godoa, kuxi vivivi adewo ta do ge da koe ta wo dometo dekae nye be dɔwɔwɔ. Elabe afi ya melea, yevudɔwɔla menye eya hã nye yevudɔwɔla ta dewo nyemegbɔna kaba na nuɔɔa o gake srɔ̄nye nye ame yi ke sea nu gome paa ta ese akpa ma me ta gbewo ne wɔkpã la, ete [u gbɔna kaba akpe*

ḡe nye ƒu ado dzo aḡa nu hafi nye ya magbo. Gake va ḡo afi aḡea, amegbetɔ koa, amegbetɔe, edze dziku dodo viḡeviḡe gake eyi ke wona menɔ anyi, wogblo nya nam koa nye hã medze asitɔtrɔ le nye yevudɔwɔwɔa ƒu kple susu be mava ḡe game dzi ahakpɔ nuḡanyawo gbo. Ta eyi nya ma nɔ edzi yima, megblo be yeayi gbome ava ḡo ahiãvi aḡeke o. Ta nya yi ke atu ame ko le srɔḡefe ko ana be ame nagblo be yemega yesrɔ gbo nɔ ge o la, etɔgbi aḡeke, nyemedo goe kpɔ haḡe o.

[Thanks for the question. Since I got married, I haven't encountered any setback which caused me to regret getting married yet. It is true that some little little problems arise every now and then but they are not that major. However, one issue that has been a problem for me so far is the fact that I am a career woman. Sometimes, I don't get home early enough to prepare dinner but since my husband is quite understanding, whenever he gets home before me, he tries to arrange something for us to eat. That notwithstanding, as human as we are, my late returns from work started getting to him badly but when we had a discussion about it, I adjusted a few things and we were good to go. Even as we were going through such setbacks, my husband did not chase other women.]

**Woman 3:** Eḡee nye vimadzimadzi. Ame aḡewo ḡe srɔ fe geḡe gake womete ŋu dzi vi o. Ḋewo tsona akpa evea katã gbo alo tsona akpa ḡeka gbo. Ne mafo nu tso nyɔnua fe akpa dzi gbo. Ḋewo la, mitsɔe be nyɔnua nɔ ḡevime kpɔ eye eḡe fu geḡe...eḡe fu zãa hafi va ḡe srɔ ta srɔa wòḡe la megate ŋu vi kpɔm adzi o. Eḡewo, ete ƒu tsona ema gbo. ŋutsua hã nyemenya tututu o gake xɔnye aḡe nɔ gbɔgbloɔm nam ga aḡe me be ne ŋutsu wo ahiã su gbo le efe ḡekakpui me la ye wòtsia, megate ŋu dzia vi o.

[Some of the causes include childlessness. Some people marry for years without the gift of the fruit of the womb. This could be caused by the man or the woman. In the situation where the cause of the infertility is related to the woman, it could be the result of numerous abortions from

the past. I'm not too sure about the causes of men related infertility but some people assume that men who are chronic womanizers suffer from infertility issues.]

**Woman 3:** Megate ɲu lina abe ɲutsu ado fu o. Nene ma ame tsitsi aɖe ha no gbogblom nam enye ma. Ta ɖewo tsona vimadzimadzi gbɔ. Eɖewo ha srɔto ava ɖo ahɔavi bubu le gbɔ me. Nu ma ha la enana srɔ dome gblɛna. ɖewo nye akuviawowo, numadamada, nugomemasemase kple fewowo, ye ha te ɲu nana srɔ dome gblena. Ta woawoe nye nya yiwo ke dzi medi be matɔ asii.

[He is unable to perform like a man. That is what an elderly man used to tell me. So some are caused by childlessness. In other cases, husbands get girlfriends which also brew misunderstanding between couples. Some others are laziness, they don't cook, and are filthy. These are some of the issues I want to raise.]

**Woman 3:** Godoo la, ne ɲutsu va, mitsɔe be ahɔavie wɔdo le gbome hafi dzi vi ne, godogodo mete ɲu gbegble ge ɖi le kesinonuwo mama me o. Ne megbloe na srɔa ɲuto kura oa, ele ɖodo aɖe wo ge da ɖi ne kokoko hafi aku. Ta nenyɛ be wowo ɖodo vo, woku vo hafi srɔa va nye esela, esemaa, edome ve ge ne, e dziku kpɔ ge. Vɔa ame ma ha me nu gome ha se ge o. Ewo abe megbloe na ame ma ha be srɔ le ye si o ta ame ma ha me egome se ge o. Vo ɖevia ha, eva zu be womenya wo nɛwo o ta vunyavunya ɖe gbɔna dzodzɔ ge koe eye ne womekpɔ nyui ɖe oa, woate ɲu awu wo nɛwo to ema me.

[What I know is, once a man has a concubine, he makes an arrangement for her and her children to be taken if he should die. So if



the concubine is chased out after the death of the man, it will annoy her. Meanwhile, the legitimate wife too may not be that understanding. Aside from that, the children may not know about the existence of each other so definitely, there would be problems and if care is not taken, they could end up killing each other.]

From the focus group discussion in Extract 1 on marriage, being an intra-dialectal discourse, only a few instances of lexical alternations are identified. With the help of my Añlɔ dialect consultant, some lexicons and expressions were identified as not being prototypical Añlɔ variants. These include:

4. *Ga de me* ‘at a time’

*Ga de me* ‘at a time’ is usually used by the speakers of the Evedome dialect. The variant of this expression in Añlɔ is *yeadewoyi* or *yeadeyi*.

5. *fete* ‘all/ everything’

The rural speakers of Añlɔ generally use *katã*, the lexical variant of *fete*. *pete* is usually associated with speakers of Evedome rather than Añlɔ.

6. *...akpe de nye nu...* ‘to assist me’

This expression is used among Evedome speakers; the only difference between the Añlɔ presentation and the Evedome one is on the structural level. In Añlɔ, it is usually used as *...akpe de nnye...or ...akpe de ntsinye*.

7. *videvide* ‘little by little’

Another Evedome lexicon identified in the intra-dialectal focus group discussion with the speakers of the Añlɔ dialect is *videvide* ‘little by little’ instead of its Añlɔ variant *vivivi* ‘little by little’.

8. *Gbedewogbe* ‘on some days’

Generally, the Aɲlɔ expression for *Gbedewogbe* ‘on some days’ is ‘*gbe adewo gbe*’ or ‘*gb’a dewo gbe*’ ‘on some days’. It must be noted that the only difference between the Ewedome and the Aɲlɔ expression is phonetic.

9. *Ame tsitsi de* ‘an elderly person’

As discussed in example (d), the Ewedome variant of this lexicon was used instead of the Aɲlɔ one *Ame tsitsi de* ‘an elderly person’. The only difference identified is in the elision of the first vowel of the indefinite article in the Ewedome expression which is maintained in the Aɲlɔ dialect. This variation is however phonetic not lexical.

10. ...*ne womekpɔ nyui(e) de oa...* ‘if care is not taken’

The Aɲlɔ variant of this expression only differs in one morpheme. The *de* is usually elided in the Aɲlɔ dialect

11. Paa ‘a lot’, fine

Some of the participants used English words in place of the Aɲlɔ variants. Words such as *paa* ‘a lot’ which originates from Akan and the English word ‘fine’ used in the speech of some of the participants.

The instances of variation identified from the Extract 1 are relatively minimal and cannot be attributed to the use convergence strategy as all participants in the group identified themselves as native speakers of the Aɲlɔ dialect. Influence from personal and social contacts may have probably accounted for the instances of alternations in the discourse. It is therefore important to mention that not although most of the non-Aɲlɔ words, phrases and expression were used by a female (i.e. a woman, who is a public servant who is assumed to have been interacting with people of different

dialectal backgrounds in her day to day dealings). Generally, not much variation has been seen in the language of adult female and male speakers of the Aŋlo dialect.

### 5.1.2 Native Tɔŋu Speakers' Group

This section examines two extracts from two different focus groups made up of participants who are native Tɔŋu speakers. The first group where Extract 2 was taken, had six female adult native speakers of Tɔŋu in this group (five participants and a moderator). Although the precise sociolinguistic profiles of the participants were not captured, the participants all confirmed they were native Tɔŋu speakers. Again, for the purposes of confidentiality, the participants in this focus group were labelled as first woman, second woman, third woman, fourth woman, fifth woman, and moderator.

In this group, the main discussion was about farming; however, they also delve into a discussion on common illnesses that come with the farming season.

Group 2 was made up of 3 adult female Tɔŋu speakers participant and an adult male Tɔŋu speaker as the moderator of the group. This group just like group 1 discussed farming. Two females in these groups are traders while the other female participant is a small scale farmer. The moderator is however a teacher.

### EXTRACT 2

#### 12. Focus Group Discussion in Tɔŋu (All Females Group)

**Topic:** *Agblemenukwododo* 'Farming'

**Second speaker:** *Aɔɔiba. Míate ŋu* ado aɔɔiba hã le yeyiyi ya me.

[Pawpaw. We can also plant pawpaw this season.]

**FG Leader:** *Aɔɔiba?* Ye hã ɔe woviea alo wodoe?

[Pawpaw? With the pawpaw too, do we nurse or plant it?]

**Second speaker:** Ame aḍewo ya ne wonyaḍui ko wokɔnɛ ɔe afi ma.

[Some people just disperse the seeds after eating them.]

**Third speaker:** Ale yi ke etsie le dzadza, ne esɔ gbo, míate ŋu aviã ene hã.

[With the way it is raining, if it gets too much, we could nurse the seeds before planting.]

**First speaker:** Ok. Mɔlu la, míataŋ adoe ɔe eba me, gie etsi le, etsi xɔ anyigba dzi yi

ke eba le la because mɔlui ehiã na tsi fũu. Ta mɔlui gaa ke xɛ etsi nya le ko la míate ŋu ado mɔlu ɔe ga ma.

[Okay, so we can cultivate rice in a swampy area because the rice needs a lot of water. Therefore, wherever there is water, we can cultivate rice.]

**FG Leader:** Ta meku le ale ke xɛ etsi le o, ne etsie nya sɔ gbo ko. Etsie agbɔsɔsɔ

ka, loo ne etsie sɔ gbo naneke magble le mɔluɔ ŋua?

[Does that mean that it doesn't matter the quantity of water on the land? Once the land is waterlogged, nothing will go wrong?]

**Fourth speaker:** Ne etsie sɔ gbo, ne èbe yeado mɔluɔ, ne etsie sɔ gbo tsɔe, ne èdoe

la, atsɔe adzoe, etsie akplɔe dzoe. Ta edze be etsie megasɔ gbo paa o, megano uee paa o, ne nàkpɔ egbo be eba, elabe mɔlua, ne wole edom la eba me wono tem ɔa kafe wòatsi.

[If there's too much water on a rice farm, the water will wash the entire farm away. So the water shouldn't be too much or too little for the rice to flourish well. However, you need to ensure the place is muddy because when rice is being planted, it is pushed into the mud].

**First speaker:** Ɖeko wòsɔ kple mɔlu, ye hã hĩe na gie ke xɛ etsi le.

[It is just like rice, it also flourishes on swampy lands.]

**Fifth speaker:** Mílate ɲu ado agbeli hã.

[We can also plant cassava.]

**FG Leader:** Agbeli? Míate ɲu adoe ye naneke mawœ o alo dóléle ađeke....?

[Cassava? Can we plant it and it won't get affected by any sickness?]

**Fifth speaker:** Edodo mea, naneke melawœ o but ne míyie míahoe la ke ema elate ɲu aprɔ but ekie ɔe míyie míadoe. Etsia, yeyiyi ke mee...

[With its planting, it will be fine but when it is not harvested on time, it may get rotten. For this one, we are just talking about planting.]

The participants in Extract 2A used a number of non- Tɔɲu variants in the discourse which were identified with the help of my Tɔɲu dialect consultant. Some of these include: *aɔiba* 'pawpaw', *afi ma* 'there', *ale yi ke* 'the way that/how', *fũu* 'plenty/ a lot', *agbeli* 'cassava', *míate ɲu* 'we can',

13. *Aɔiba* 'pawpaw' is usually used by Evedome speakers while the Tɔɲu variant is *aɔuba*. The variation in this instance is phonetic rather than lexical which is the focus of this study.
14. *Afi ma* 'there' has a Tɔɲu variant, *ga ma* which is generally used by the Tɔɲu speakers instead of using the Evedome lexicon *afi ma*.
15. *Ale yi ke* 'the way that/how' has a Tɔɲu variant-*nene ma ke* which was expected to be used instead of the use of the Aɲlɔ variant which was used by a participant in this group.
16. *fũu* 'plenty/ a lot' is usually used in the Evedome dialect. In the context within which it is used in the discussion, its Tɔɲu variant should have been used by the native Tɔɲu speaker.

17. *Agbeli* ‘cassava’ is usually associated with the Evedome and Aɲɔ dialects.

However, according to the dialect consultant, the younger generation and the urbanised speakers of Tɔɲu tend to use *agbeli* instead of its indigenous variant known as *akute*.

18. *Míate ɲu* ‘we can’ is a typical Evedome expression. Speakers of the Tɔɲu dialect will rather use *mílataɲ*. It seems as most speakers of the dialect are more comfortable with the use *míate ɲu* rather than the dialect’s preference.

Here, the variation is on the phonological level.

The frequency of variation identified from this Extract is low. The instances cannot be attributed to the use of convergence strategy either as all participants in the group are native speakers of the Tɔɲu dialect. Influence from personal and social contacts may have probably accounted for the few instances of alternations identified within the discourse. Language use in the extract also reveals that native speakers of the Tɔɲu dialect tend to use variants from both Evedome and Aɲɔ dialects in the discourses. It must be mentioned that some English words were also identified in the discourse. Some of which include ‘but’, ‘because’, ‘ok’, and ‘have’. This occurrence confirms the influence of English on most Ghanaian languages/dialects in recent times.

## **B) Extract 3**

### **Focus Group Discussion 2 (Tɔɲu)**

**Topic: Agblemenukwododo ‘Farming’ 2**

**FG Leader:** Yoo, nananyeviwo miawoe zɔ.

[Okay, my brothers and sisters, you are welcome]

**All Speaker:** Yoo

[Okay]

**FG Leader:** Egbea, míeva be míafo nu tso agblemenukuwo ɲu ta mebe mabia be yeyiyi ya me míele ɔee, agblemenuku kawo míate ɲu ado yi ke woanyo le agblea me?

[Today, we are here to discuss food crops. Like I have asked already, which kinds of food crops can we plant during this season?]

**First speaker:** Míate ɲu afã agblemenukuwo abe ebli ene. Ebli nyona yeyiyi yiɛ me.

[We can plant food crops such as maize. Maize is good for this season]

**FG Leader:** Ke mebe mabia be ebli ɔee, ale míe...ɔe míefãa bli loo alo mídoe?

[I have asked a question-do we plant maize directly or we nurse it]

**First speaker:** Ɖe míefãa bli.

[It is sown directly]

**FG Leader:** Ke ebliɛ ɔee, gaa godzi míate ɲu ado bliɛ le wòanyo? Abe etsi me loo, ekpo dzi, gaa woate ɲu ado bliɛ le wòanyo le yeyiyi yiɛ me?

[So the maize, which kind of land can we cultivate it on to have it yield? A waterlogged area or a hilly area? Where can we plant maize and have a good yield?]

**First speaker:** Míate ɲu ado bli le anyigba ke dzi etsi mele fùu o. Ne tsi sɔgbɔ le

tsõ may be etsiɛ ate ɲu akplɔ bliɛ akɔ adzoe ta mídoe ɔe anyigba ke xɛ dzi mewɔ ba me hã o, mewɔ etsi me hã o.

[We can plant maize on a land that does not have too much water. Too much water can wash away the maize, so we need to plant them on a land that isn't swampy or waterlogged.]

**FG Leader:** Yoo. Ke nuku ka hã míate ɲu agado le yeyiyi ya me?

[What else can we cultivate in this season?]

**Second speaker:** Míate ñu ado ablɛ hã.

[We can also plant pepper.]

**FG Leader:** Ablɛ? Meɖe ku ate ñu akpe ɖe mía ñu ale wodoa, ɖe wodoa ablɛ loo alo

wofãne loo wovĩeneã? Ale woko done?

[Pepper? Can you help us to understand how pepper is cultivated? Do we nurse and transfer them or we plant them directly?]

**Second speaker:** Wovĩaa ablɛ.

[It is nursed.]

**Third speaker:** Le ablɛ viavĩa me la, àvĩa ablɛ. Ne èvĩe la, atsi vee ke èdzra gie

èbe yeado ablɛ ɖa, ke èhoe va do. Edze be etsinu hã não anyigba kple susu be ablɛ nakpo ñusẽ atsi kaba.

[In nursing pepper, when it shoots out a little, you have to prepare the permanent planting location, then you uproot them for planting. There must be some water on the land so the pepper can grow faster.]

**FG Leader:** Ke nuku ka hã míagate ñu ado?

[Then which other crops can be planted?]

**Third speaker:** Míate ñu agado mɔlu hã. Le mɔlu dodo mee, àfle mɔlukuɔ, avĩe.

Ne èbe yeado mɔluɛ, edze be nãkpo egbo be gie etsinu le elabe mɔlu la etsi wòhiã kafe etsie ta mɔlu la edze be nãvĩe. Àvĩa mɔluɔ alo àkoe ɖe kotoku me ava ko de tsi me be wòadze. Ne wòdze la, yema megblo be àte ñu avĩe, ne èvĩe la, àva hoe kafe ado. Le edodo me la, womedoe yie ñgogbe o, wodoe vaa megbe.

[We can also plant rice. In the case of rice, you will buy rice grains and nurse them. You will have to make sure that there is enough water on the land because rice thrives well in waterlogged areas. Like I said earlier, you need to nurse them first



before you transfer them. When planting rice, you plant them backwards instead of forward.]

**FG Leader:** Nu ka dzo afe?

[Why?]

**Third speaker:** Elabe ne èle dom kɔ le ɲɔgbe yim la ànɔ dzi zɔm ta ne èbe yeadoe la edze be nàtrɔ megbe anɔ edom kɔ va nɔ megbe yim wòanɔ wò akɔme vam.

[It is because when you are planting them ahead of you, you are likely to step on them so it is better to plant them backwards to avoid stepping on them.]

**FG Leader:** Yoo akpe. Ke mabia be nane lee ame aɖe hã agako kpe le eɲua?

[Okay, thank you. Is there anything else anyone wants to explain to us?]

**Second speaker:** Mebe mabia be le ebli gome, nu kae dzo hafi ɲɔ gena le bli me le kuɖiyi alo le tsidzayi?

[In the case of maize, what is the cause of worm infestation in either the dry or raining season?]

**First speaker:** Eɲɔ ate ɲu age le bli me nenyè be yeyiyi ma nye eɲowo vayi alo wo dodoyi. Mítsɔe be wofa bli fifie, nenyè be eblie tsi gbe, like egbe to le agblee mee, may be eɲɔ mawo wogbɔɔ ɖe egbee ɖu ge gake xe wòwɔe be eblie hã le gbea me taa, woadze eblie hã dzi aɖu. Time aɖewo hã, maybe ne tsi le dzadzam, tsi hã hee ɲɔ kɔ vɛ ta ate ɲu anye tsidzayi alo kuɖiyi faa nenyè be eɲowodoyie ma.

[Worms can invade maize if they are in season. If maize is left in the bush and the worms which usually feed on grasses see the maize, they will consider them to be grasses and feed on them. Occasionally, the rains also

come with a worm infestation. It doesn't matter if it is rainy or dry season, once it is the season for worms, they can infest maize farms.]

**Third speaker:** Nye hã mebe mabia be ne woḍe bli da ḍe alo woḍoe ḍe ava dzi, wobe takpokpoe. Ale takpokpoe wɔa kafɛ geɛ le bliɛ me o?

[I also want to ask that if maize is harvested and stored, I understand that weevils infest it. How do the weevils get access into the stored maize?]

**First speaker:** Takpokpoewo gege le bliɛ mea, etso giɛ bliɛ le wo fafa gbɔ.

Takpokpoe ma, wonɔɔ tefe yiwo fa ta miakɔe be èkɔ bliɛ va de kotoku me, ne èkɔe da ḍe anyigba ye anyigba fa ḍa eblie la enana be edzea takpokpoe, alo ava dzi, ava dzi hã ne yetoto mele uuuu ḍe ava dzi o la, enaa be takpokpoe geɛ le blia me.

[The ability of weevils to infest stored maize depends on the coldness of where they are stored. These weevils are usually found in very cold areas so when you bag maize and keep them on a cold floor, it causes it to breed weevils. Even if maize is stored in a traditional granary that does not have direct sunlight, there is the likelihood that it will breed weevils.]

**Second speaker:** Ke mienya hã be etsidzayie nye kie ta miate nu ado fofonu hã le eba me. Míado fofonu le ba me kple susu be awɔ nyuie ta fofonudoɣi hã kie.

[We also know that this is the rainy season so we can plant sugarcane in swampy areas. We plant sugarcane in swampy areas so that it could flourish well. Again, this is the season for planting sugarcane]

**FG Leader:** Ke meḍe ku ḍee fofonu ale wokɔ doɛo?

[Please, so how is sugarcane cultivated?]

**Second speaker:** Nenye be èfle fofonu fifie ye èkpɔ be tefe ale le enu, ne míele fofonu ḍu hã míekpɔ be menye tefe ḍe sia ḍe míeḍuɔ ne o ta àkpɔ be

míeyɔɛ be aba alo ekpoekpo. Nàkpɔ be le ekpo ale ɲu la fofɔɲuɔ dze dzedze alo edze vi ale ta nàlã fofɔɲua me be gama xe dze vi alee, nàkɔɛ avae do ɔɛ eba me.

[When you buy sugarcane, the joint could sometimes have some shootings which can be planted in a swampy area]

**FG Leader:** Yoo, akpe na mi.

[Okay, thank you.]

Apart from the isolated use of English words like ‘may be’, ‘like’, and ‘time’, Extract 2B identifies only two non- Tɔɲu variants- *míate ɲu* ‘we can’ and *nu ka dzɔ afe* ‘why’. The Tɔɲu variant of *nu ka dzɔ afe* is *nu ka dzɔ kafe* which tends to be phonologically different from this which is used mainly by the Ewedome speakers. Extract 2 is discussed to prove that intra dialectal discourse in Tɔɲu can either have instances of lexical variation or be devoid of it totally as seen in Extract 2.

### **5.1.3 Native Aɲlɔ, Ewedome Speakers’ Group**

This section discusses an inter dialectal discourse between native speakers of Aɲlɔ, Ewedome during a focus group discussion. The group comprises two adult male native speakers of Aɲlɔ, an adult male native speaker of Ewedome and an adult female native speaker of Aɲlɔ. This group sought to test if participants will employ the convergence strategy during the discourse since they are linguistically diverse due to dialectal difference.

All the participants who belonged to this group are civil servants. According to the native speaker of Ewedome, he was born and bred in Ho. The native Aɲlɔ man said he migrated to Ho nine years ago whereas the native Aɲlɔ woman has only been staying in Ho for four years. This group discussed on the ‘planting season and food

cropping. Extracts from the discussion which illustrate variation, especially, lexical are examined.

#### Extra 4

#### Focused Group Discussion (Aᅇb and Evedome, Native Speakers)

#### Topic: Agbledeyi kple Agbledede ‘Planting Season and Food Cropping’

**FG Leader:** Yoo, akpe. Ke Professor Kunovi, le wò nukpòkpò nu ðee, yeyiyiwo yawo mea, nu kae míado wòanyo?

[Ok, thanks. Professor Kunovi, in your point of view, what is best to cultivate in a season like this?]

**Kunovi:** Wolebe ya le míawo mía gbɔa, zi geɖe ne wòɖo ale kea, míawoa, tsi míezãna ko dona nu, tsi medzana le mía gbɔ gbogboɖe nene ma o ta míedona sabala, míedona gbɔebese kple saladagbe. Yae míedona, ko ne míede tsiea, wolebe yawoa, ewɔna nyuie. womehĩa na tsi sɔ gbɔ fuu o ta ne míe manage humidity ale kea kple míawo ηuto míe tsi vi aɖe, vi aɖe demee koa, enyona. Woawoe míedona le míagbɔ wolebe yawo ye wowɔna na mí nyuie.

[In times like this, we do not experience much rainfall at our side so we use irrigation in farming. We cultivate onions, pepper and lettuce. Those are what we cultivate and they grow well when we water them. They do not need much water so they grow when we manage the humidity and we also water them. Those are what we cultivate at our side in this season and they grow well.]

**Kplanyi:** Abe ale yi ke ame donɔa gbɔea, yeyiyi ya ke míele, woyɔe be kele alo le yevugbe me wobe minor season. Akpɔ be tsi medzana fuu abe ale yi

wòdzana le major season o ta le míawo míá gbɔa, le yeyiyi ya mea, míate ɲu afã bli, eyi ke ate ɲu axɔ abe ɣleti eve ko wòate ɲu atsi. Afi yiwo ke míede dzesi be nenyè be tsi xɛ dza, xɛ tsi ate ɲu axa ɔ́ɛɛa, míete ɲu wɔna mɔlu ɔ́ɛɛ afi ma. Nu yi ke míeyɔna be tomato hã, yeyiyi ya mea, míate ɲu awɔɛ. Amewo hã fãna azi kple bubuwo ta le yeyiyi ya mea, nuku yiwo ke xɔna abe ɣleti eve ko yiɛ etɔ́ hawoa, yeyiyi yiɛ me koɲ ye nyo be míadoe be tsi nagake le egbo hafi wòava tsi o. Ta nenema wòle le míagbo enye ma.

[As the first speaker said, we are in October, a season called Minor season in English. It does not rain frequently as it does in Major season so in a season like this at our end, we can cultivate maize that can grow within two months. We cultivate rice at places we observed are waterlogged. We can also cultivate tomatoes in this season. Some also cultivate groundnut and other things in this season hence this is the time to cultivate plants that grow within two or three months so that they are not short of water before they reach maturity. That is how it is at our place.]

**FG Leader:** Watermelon la koe. Ke ne mede suku watermelon nya ge ayɔ o ɔ́ɛɛ, ke metsi eme oa?

[It is always watermelon. Then are you not left behind if you have not been to school for you to know that it is called watermelon?]

**Kplɔanyi:** Eya ta ne èyiɛ efle fe la, ame yi ke le edzraa, egboɔ efe ɲko yɔ na wò gbe.

[That is why when buying it; the seller will mention its name to you.]

In the focus group, Kunɔvi and nufiala are the adult male native speakers of the Aɲlɔ dialect. Kplɔanyi is the adult male native speaker of the Evedome dialect while the moderator (FG Leader) is the Aɲlɔ speaking adult female.

From Extract 4, some non- Aŋlo words/ phrases such as *wɔlebe* ‘times/ period’, *saladagbe* ‘lettuce’, ‘manage humidity’ were identified in the discourse of Kunovi. Kplanyi, the Evedome speaker on the other hand appeared to have used some Aŋlo words/ phrases in his submissions. Some of the instances of variation identified include ‘minor season’, ‘major season’, *ya* ‘this’. Kplanyi used *ya* ‘this’ all through his submissions thus it was not a one-time variation. In the case of Kunovi he could have used the Aŋlo variant *yeyiyi* ‘times/ period’ instead of the prototypical Evedome word, *wɔlebe* ‘times/ period’. However, his use of *saladagbe* ‘lettuce’ cannot be considered as an actual instance of variation since Ewe does not have any vocabulary for ‘lettuce’ as it is a noun, which is alien to our African culture. The term used is a compound formed from the English word, ‘salad’ and a near translation of it in Ewe, *gbe* ‘grass’.

It is observed that Kunovi had acquired a few Evedome terms as a result of his long stay in Ho.

Kplanyi, being the only Evedome speaker among native Aŋlo speakers seem to have accommodated them by using the convergence strategy hence his use of Aŋlo variants instead of the Evedome words. Kplanyi could have used *sigbe* ‘that is...’ in place of *nenema* and *ke-e* ‘instead of *yike* ‘who/ that’.

## 5.2 Chapter summary

This chapter analysed the instances of variation, particularly lexical variation in inter and intra dialectal discourses within the Ho speech community. The analysis utilized the Variationist Sociolinguistic Theory (Labov, 1966) and the Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles, 1973) to achieve this. The analysis revealed that there are minimal instances of variation in discourse events of members of the Ho

speech community. However, these instances of variation cannot be attributed to speech accommodation strategies but to personal and social influences. The chapter also reveals the use of English words within certain parts of the discourses discussed. The most significant revelation of the chapter is that no participant in any of the inter-dialectal discourses seems to have difficulties with understanding the non-native variants which were used. This suggests native speakers of all three dialects can achieve mutual intelligibility.



## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY, FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.0 Introduction**

This thesis sets out to explore the incidence of lexical variation within the Ho speech community. Even though there are many dialects of Ewe spoken in Ho, the focus of this study was to examine lexical variation involving the use of lexical variants from the three most dominant dialects (Evedome, Aɲlɔ and Tɔɲu) within the speech community. Labov's (1966) Variationist approach and Giles (1973) Speech Accommodation theory were used in the data analysis. This chapter, therefore, concludes the study with a general overview of the major issues discussed. It, therefore, provides a summary of the findings, general conclusion and recommendations for future research on lexical variation. The ensuing sections will offer a discussion on the aforementioned areas.

#### **6.1 Summary and Findings**

This thesis is written in six chapters, with each chapter focusing on one main area of discussion. This section provides a summary of all six chapters of the study and their respective underlying findings relevant to the subject matter.

Chapter one which unveils the study provided a general introduction to the phenomenon of lexical variation and how pervasive it is among speakers of Ewe within the speech community. The chapter presented a background to the concept of variation, the Ewe language and its speakers, especially speakers within the Ho municipality which happens to be the speech community (i.e. research site) within which this study is situated. Chapter one further stated the problem statement,



research objectives and questions as well as the significance of the study. It ended with a comprehensive organization of the entire thesis.

In chapter two, there was a review of relevant literature relating to lexical variation and the theoretical frameworks –the Variationist and the Speech Accommodation theories which underpin the study. However, to provide an extensive review, the chapter was divided into two main sections. The first part of the first section defined some linguistic notions which are important for facilitating a better understanding of the central theme of this study. Some of these concepts include language and dialect, language variation, speech community, etc. The second part of the first section reviewed related literature Yankson (2018), Esseygbey (2009), Botha (2011), among others. The second section discussed the Variationist theory (Labov, 1966) and Speech Accommodation theory (Giles, 1973) which provided theoretical support for the study.

Chapter three presented the methods involved in conducting the study, spanning the determination of sample population through to data collection to data analysis. Thus, the chapter discussed the research population, sample and sampling, data collection instruments, etc. This discussion highlighted the use of the purposive sampling technique and the qualitative research approach. The chapter also mentioned how data was obtained by the use of interviews, and focus group discussions and participant observation.

In chapter four, lexical variation in the Ho speech community was examined. The chapter looked at the form/structure and the frequency of use of lexical variants across social variables like gender, age and social status in the Evedome, Anlo and Tonu dialects found within the Ho speech community. The chapter then identified and discussed the categories of variants in the three dialects. It was established that

some of the variants are common to all three dialects, some are common to only two of the three dialects while the others distinct from each other. While some of the variants were identified to be different on the phonological level, others showed morphological differences. Further, the chapter explored the use of loan words as variants in all three dialects.

Chapter five investigated the lexical choices of Ewe speakers within the Ho speech community in everyday discourse events to ascertain the degree of lexical variation and how speech accommodation plays a role in a speaker's lexical choice at any given time. To achieve this, discourses of native Evedome, Aɲɔ and Tɔɲu speakers within the speech community were analysed. It was established that only a few instances of lexical variations occur in intra and inter dialectal discourses thus, the frequency of occurrence is somewhat low. It was also established that the speech of some native speakers has been influenced by the English dialect hence the use of English words within native dialect discourses. Again, the chapter revealed that few instances of lexical variation cannot be attributed to speech accommodation strategies but rather the presence of other dialects with the speech community that has brought about a form of contact situation. Finally, the chapter confirms that the dialect backgrounds of language users within the speech community has no effect on the issue of mutual intelligibility as the Evedome, Aɲɔ and Tɔɲu dialects can be considered as being quite mutually intelligible.

Chapter six concluded the thesis by summarising the entire thesis, discussing the findings and offered recommendations for future studies.

### **6.3 Conclusions**

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, this study aimed to investigate lexical variation among speakers of Ewe within the Ho speech

community. The study confirmed that the Ho speech community is indeed a linguistically heterogeneous one and is therefore characterized by linguistic complexities such as lexical variation. It was therefore prudent to examine these variations in the various speech events of participants within the speech community. The corpus for this study shows that all three dialects in question share common lexicons across most lexical items. Although phonological variation is not the focus of this thesis, the data showed significant variation in the phonological realizations of certain words Anlo and Evedome rather than on the lexical level.

Apart from the geographical distribution of variation which has already been established from the beginning of this study, data and observation have not overtly shown any major social distribution of variation in the variables discussed in this study. That being said, the study has shown that the speech of the younger generation is devoid of traditional terms and inferences as discussed in chapter four.

Additionally, in the case of variation and age, unlike the younger generation that pays little or no attention to their language thus uses a lot of alteration of dialectal variants, the older generation tends to make use of a more traditional and stable language in order to exhibit in-depth linguistic knowledge, language loyalty and to uphold their cultural heritage. For instance, the data revealed that some dialectal variants are only used by the older generation. With this attitude, in a due course, some vocabulary will be totally lost from the dialects and the language as a whole.

The study again revealed that the incident of lexical variation which usually results in the mixing of lexical variants across dialects is more pronounced in the language of female speakers of Ewe in Ho than is the case with their male counterparts. Regarding the language of children, it was observed that the frequency

of lexical alternation is quite high as they are still in the language acquisition stage and are not yet aware of the dialectal variations that exist in the dialects of Ewe, especially in the Evedome, Aɲlo and Tɔɲu dialects.

Another finding which was revealed by the study through observation is that the Ewe which is used within formal domains has a lot of lexical alternation (the use of Ewe lexical variants and English variants). In the formal domains, Ewe speakers attempt to use a variety that is considered prestigious and is devoid of vulgar terms and makes the variety quite different from that which is used in the informal domains where people do not pay attention to the quality of the Ewe they use. Although the data does not overtly display any outstanding prominence in age, gender or social variation, there are some instances of variation supported by the data that indicate some sort of overall diachronic generational variation.

According to Biber (1988), linguistic needs and other external factors ignite language variation which leads to language change over a period of time (Fasold, 1991). With the current linguistic situation within the Ho speech community, the host Evedome has generally been maintained, only few native speakers, especially language users of the younger generation have acquired a seemingly hybrid variety as it has become quite normal to hear most youngsters mixing variants from all three dialects in their discourse, although not frequently. It is therefore essential to reiterate that the phenomenon of lexical variation within this speech community seems to pose no threats to cultural displacement or total dialectal substitution; rather, it has provided speakers with a wide array of vocabulary to choose from as they meet their day to day communication needs and also serve as a means to display their communication competencies.

That notwithstanding, on the broader level, if the current linguistic situation (i.e. the attitude of language users revealed by the data and observation) pertains over a period of time, it may lead to a diachronic native dialect attrition and (or) koinesation where a hybrid form of the Ewedome dialect may emerge.

Although the findings of this work do not necessarily provide a full picture of what is going on, it provides a prediction of what could be happening, all in all, the social variables discussed in this study do not seem to significantly trigger the choice of variants among language users, rather, the choice and usage of variants is influenced by the need to accommodate one's listeners or audience, the show of knowledge and competence. The study, therefore, reveals that variation in the Ewe spoken within the Ho speech community is either mechanical or automatic. Mechanical, due to lexical gap, personal conscious choices and for rare reasons relating to speech accommodation.

#### **6.4 Recommendations**

The findings of this work do not give a full picture of the complexities of lexical variation within the Ho speech community as it limits its investigation to a relatively small sample size which may not be very representative of the phenomenon under investigation. Therefore, this study can only be considered as an exploratory one. Using a bigger sample size and research approach may alter some of the findings of the current study. However, it will provide some thought-provoking dynamics to the current situation and reveal more exhaustive findings. Therefore, in the future, researchers could also employ a mixed approach of either quantitative and qualitative approaches or community of practice in collecting data. In this regard, questionnaires would be administered to participants to investigate

their overall sociolinguistic profiles by asking questions concerning, their mother tongue, mother's language, father's language and years of living in Ho, language/dialect of a spouse, etc may bring out very relevant information important for the data analysis and discussion sections.

Additionally, future researches can attempt to undertake a comparative study of rural and urban Ewe to draw out precise similarities and difference between the language of 'rural native' speaker and an 'urban native' speaker.



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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1

NO.	Evedome	Aṅlɔ	Tɔŋu	Gloss
1.	Kpukpo/ Ablɛŋɔ	Zikpui	Kpukpo	Chair
2.	Kukli	Atadi	Àblɛ	Pepper
3.	Ete	Agbitsa	Àgbitsa	Garden Egg
4.	Mɔli	Mɔlu	Mɔluù	Rice
5.	Aṅgba	Amakpa	Àṅgbaã	Leaf
6.	Akpatsa/ Afandza/Krante	Yi/ he	Eyii	Cutlass
7.	Koloe/Koli	uegba	Agba yibo	Earthen ware grinder
8.	Afe	Ayiɖa	Afi/ Ayiɖa	Comb
9.	Eɖo/Etse	Avɔ	Avɔ	Cloth
10.	Tɔkpo/ Bɔkiti	Tseshi/ Bɔkiti	Gagò	Bucket
11.	Koko	Katsa/ dzogbo	Koko	Porridge
12.	Gbeklɔ	Akutsa	Àkùtsa	Sponge
13.	Aɖeɖe/anyidi	Aɖiɖi	Ɖiɖi	Ant
14.	Adzayi	Ayiyi	Yiyi	Spider
15.	Dzowɔ/ Dzokalifi	Dzofi/ Afi	Dzomafi	Ashes
16.	Broɖo	Abolo	Bloɖo	Bread
17.	Kpéku	Kpekui	Kpèkui	Pebbles
18.	Dome(dome)	Domezã	Dome	Middle
19.	Akutu	Aṅutsi	Akutu	Orange
20.	Yɔme/ Yɔnu	Aṅɔme	Aṅɔme	Abdomen
21.	Adzadza	Adzamu/ Ahù	Ahù	Dew
22.	Amatsi/ Atike	Atsike	Amatsi/ Àtsikè	Medicine
23.	Kpeli	Bli	Bli	Corn
24.	ɛɖɔ	ɛɖɔkutsu	ɛtoto	Sun
25.	Atisê	Fetri	Atife/ fetri	Okro
26.	Ve	Ekɔ	èkɔ	Neck
27.	Sabula	Sabala	ablɔ/abrɔ	Onion
28.	ɛlɔgo/Kpetefe/gbi	Me fi	gbi	Buttocks
29.	Akɔdodrome	Axatome	Anyixatome	Armpit
30.	Xɔe se be	Bu be	susu be	To think that
31.	Tsie	Nu ka	Nù kà	What
32.	Lewuie	Fifia	Fifia	Now
33.	Sigbe	Nenema	Yema	That is it
34.	Tse	Hâ	hâ	Too
35.	Lafo	Godzi	Godzi	Around
36.	Anukuare	Nyatefe	Nyatefe	True
37.	Plingo	Katagbadze	Plengo	Nail
38.	Akpa	Lã	lã	Fish
39.	Tuli	(E)mu	Avage	Mosquito
40.	*Mitoeme/ minyefe	Me fime	Gbitome	Anus

41.	Fɔŋli(me)	Fɔfɔme	Fɔŋli	Dawn
42.	Do dziku/ do dɔmedzoe	Kpɔ dziku / Do Dɔmedzoe	Dze agla	Get angry
43.	nú	Gblɔ	Gblɔ	Say (some variants collocate well with other words in a structure thus they are chosen over others. Eg To nyatefe/ to/ anukuare
44.	Agbote/ Avenɛte	(A)vote/ Godi	Àgbitè	Shorts
45.	Afɔdzi	Agbotsi	Àgbotsĩ	Toilet Building
46.	Ali	Ali/ Alime	Gagawe	Waist
47.	Akpakpla	Akpɔkplɔ	Akotso	Frog
48.	Dade	Dadi	Todzovi	Cat
49.	Abable	Atɔtɔ	Atɔtɔ	Pineapple
50.	Fi mi	(A)fi ma	Ga ma	There
51.	Efi	Afi/ Afi ya	Geɛ	Here
52.	Nkransa/ Kakadro	Gometakui	Kakadro	Ginger
53.	Agbeli	Agbeli	Akute	Cassava
54.	Kusi	Kushi	Agawe/ Kusi	Basket
55.	Klotevi	Klo	Klo	Knee
56.	Xixe/ Xixenu	Goto	Xixe	Outside
57.	Tagbatsu	Tagbatsutsu	Tsatsu	Housefly
58.	Tukpokpui	Ɖetugbui	Ɖetugbi	Lady
59.	Alɔ	Alɔgo	Alɔ	Cheek
60.	Ɖevi	Ɖevi	Ɖèvi	Child
61.	Adzalê	Adzalê	Adi/Adzlê	Soap
62.	Aka	Aka	Àkâ	Charcoal
63.	Duku	Taku	Taku/Duku	Headgear
64.	Tsiletse	Papaŋu	Tsilènù	Towel
65.	Kɔŋ	Dɔkunu	Kokoe	Kenkey
66.	Awu	Awu	Awu	Clothing
67.	Ahuhɔɛ	(A)huhui	Hwihwi/ (a)huhue	Mirror
68.	Gede/gbogbo	Zâa/ fũu	Gbogbo	A lot [talk about collocations]
69.	Ɖome	Gɔme	Gɔme	Under
70.	Ao	Ao	Oho	No
71.	Suku	Suku	Sùkù/suku/fe me	School
72.	Sukli	Sukli	Sùkli	Sugar
73.	Nyadrɔfe/ Kɔtu	ɔnɔdrɔfe/ Kɔtu	Kɔtu	Court
74.	ɔukula/ drava	ɔukula/ drava	ɔukula/ dreva	Driver
75.	Siketi	Siketi	Siketi	Skirt
76.	Abo/ Bɔlu	Bɔlu	Bɔlu	Ball
77.	Sofi	Sofi	Sofi	Shovel
78.	Timati	Timatre/ Tomatosi	Timati	Tomatoes
79.	Mumɔe/ Dɔŋuti	Dɔŋutsi	mùmùe	Lemon

80.	Lala	Dzo/ to dzo	to/ lala	Wait
81.	Ele/ ele ye	Le kee	Aleo	How



## Appendix 2

### Focus Group Discussion 2 (Tɔ̃ɔ)

#### Topic: Farming (Agblemenukwododo 2)

**FG Leader:** Yoo, nananyeviwo miawoe zɔ.

[Okay, my brothers and sisters, you are welcome]

**All Speaker:** Yoo

[Okay]

**FG Leader:** Egbea, míeva be míáfo nu tso agblemenukuwo ɲu ta mebe mabia be  
ɣeyiyi ya me miele ɔee, agblemenuku kawo miateɲu ado yi ke wòanyo le  
agblea me?

[Today, we are here to discuss food crops. Like I have asked already, which  
kinds of food crops can we plant during this season?]

**First speaker:** Míate ɲu ado agblemenukuwo abe ebli. Ebli nyona ɣeyiyi yiɛ me.

[We can plant food crops such as maize. Maize is good for this season]

**FG Leader:** Ke mebe mabia be ebli ɔee, ale mie... ɔe míefãa bli loo midoɔ?

[I have asked a question-do we plant maize directly or we nurse it]

**First speaker:** Ɖe míefãa bli.

[It is planted directly]

**FG Leader:** Ke ebliɛ ɔee, gaa godzi míate ɲu ado bliɛ le wòanyo? Abe etsi me loo,  
ekpo dzi, gaa woate ɲu ado bliɛ le wòanyo le ɣeyiyi yiɛ me?

[So the maize, which kind of land can we cultivate it on to have it yield? A  
waterlogged area or a hilly area? Where can we plant maize and have a  
good yield?]

**First speaker:** Míate ɲu ado bli le anyigba ke dzi etsi mele fũu o. Ne tsi sɔ gbɔ lo  
tsɔ̄ may be etsiɛ ate ɲu akplɔ bliɛ akɔ adzoe ta míedoɔ ɔɛ anyigba ke xɛ dzi  
mewɔ ba me hã o, mewɔ etsi me hã o.

[We can plant maize on a land which does not have too much water. Too much water can wash away the maize, so we need to plant them on a land that isn't swampy or waterlogged.]

**FG Leader:** Yoo. Ke nuku ka hã míate ɲu agado le ɲeyiyi ya me?

[What else can we cultivate in this season?]

**Second speaker:** Míate ɲu ado able hã.

[We can also plant pepper.]

**FG Leader:** Able? Meɔɔ ku àte ɲu akpe ɔɛ mía ɲu ale wodoa, ɔɛ wodoa able loo  
wofãɛ loo wovĩɛɛa? Ale woko doneɛ?

[Pepper? Can you help us to understand how pepper is cultivated? Do we nurse and transfer them or we plant them directly?]

**Second speaker:** Wovĩaa able.

[It is nursed.]

**Third speaker:** Le able viavĩa me la, avĩa able. Ne evĩɛ la, atsi ɔɛe ke edzra gie  
èbe yeado able ɔa, ke ehoe va do. Edze be etsinu hã nano anyigba kple  
susu be able nakpɔ ɲuseɛ atsi kaba.

[In nursing pepper, when it shoots out a little, you have to prepare the permanent planting location, then you uproot them for planting. There must be some water on the land so the pepper can grow faster.]

**FG Leader:** Ke nuku ka hã míagate ɲu ado?

[Then which other crops can be planted?]

**Third speaker:** Míate ñu agado mɔlu hã. Le mɔlu dodo mee, afle mɔlukuɔ, avĩe.

Ne èbe yeado mɔluɛ, edze be nakpɔ egbɔ be giɛ etsinu le elabe mɔlu la, etsi wòhĩaa kafe etsiɛ ta mɔlu la edze be nàvĩɛ. Avĩa mɔluɔ alo akɔɛ ɔɛ kotoku me ava kɔ de tsi me be wòadze. Ne wòdze la, yema megblo be àte ñu avĩe, ne èvĩe la, àva hoe kafe ado. Le edodo me la, womedoɔ yiɛ ñgɔgbe o, wodoɔ vaa megbe.

[We can also plant rice. In the case of rice, you will buy rice grains and nurse them. You will have to make sure that there is enough water on the land because rice thrives well in waterlogged areas. Like I said earlier, you need to nurse them first before you transfer them. When planting rice, you plant them backwards instead of forward.]

**FG Leader:** Nu ka dzɔ afe?

[Why?]

**Third speaker:** Elabe ne èle dom kɔ le ñgɔgbe yim la anɔ dzi zɔm ta ne èbe yeadoe la edze be nàtrɔ megbe anɔ edom kɔ va nɔ megbe yim wòanɔ wò akɔme vam.

[It is because when you are planting them ahead of you, you are likely to step on them so it is better to plant them backwards to avoid stepping on them.]

**FG Leader:** Yoo akpe. Ke mabia be nane lee ame aɔe hã agakɔ kpe le eɱua?

[Okay, thank you. Is there anything else anyone wants to explain to us?]

**Second speaker:** Mebe mabia be le ebli gome, nu kae dzɔ hafi ñɔ gena le bli me le kuɔyi alo le tsidzayi?

[In the case of maize, what is the cause of worm infestation in either the dry or raining season?]

**First speaker:** Eɱɔ ate ñu age le bli me nenyɛ be yeɱiyi ma nye eɱɔwo vavayi alo wo dodoɱi. Mítsɔɛ be wofã bli fifiɛ, nenyɛ be ebliɛ tsi gbe, like egbe to le



agblee mee, may be enɔ mawo wogbɔɔ ɔe egbee du ge gake xe wòwɔe be eblie hã le gbee me taa, woadze eblie hã dzi aɔu. Time aɔewo hã, may be ne tsi le dzadzam, tsi hã hee ɲo kɔ ve ta ate ɲu anye tsidzayi alo kuɔiyi faa nenye be enɔwo doye ma.

[Worms can invade maize if they are in season. If maize is left in the bush and the worms which usually feed on grasses see the maize, they will consider them to be grasses and feed on them. Occasionally, the rains also come with worm infestation. It doesn't matter if it is rainy or dry season, once it is the season for worms, they can infest maize farms.]

**Third speaker:** Nye hã mebe mabia be ne woɔe bli da ɔe alo woɔe ɔe ava dzi, wobe takpokpoe. Ale takpokpoe wɔa kafe gee le blie meo?

[I also want to ask that if maize is harvested and stored, I understand that weevils infest it. How do the weevils get access into the stored maize?]

**First speaker:** Takpokpoewo gege le bli mea, etsɔ gie blie le wo fafa gbɔ.

Takpokpoe ma, wonɔ tefe yiwo fa ta miakɔe be ekɔ blie va de kotoku me, ne ekɔe da ɔe anyigba ye anyigba fa ɔa eblie la enana be edzea takpokpoe, alo ava dzi, ava dzi hã ne yetoto mele uuuu ɔe ava dzi o la, enaa be takpokpoe gee le blia me.

[The ability of weevils to infest stored maize depends on the coldness of where they are stored. These weevils are usually found in very cold areas so when you bag maize and keep them on a cold floor, it causes it to breed weevils. Even if maize is stored in a traditional granary that does not have direct sunlight, there is the likelihood that it will breed weevils.]

**Second speaker:** Ke mienya hã be etsidzayie nye kie ta miate ɲu ado fofonu hã le eba me. Míado fofonu le ba me kple susu be awɔ nyuie ta fofonudoɔyi hã kie.

[We also know that this is the rainy season so we can plant sugarcane in swampy areas. We plant sugarcane in swampy areas so that it could flourish well. Again, this is the season for panting sugarcane].

**FG Leader:** Ke meɖe ku ɖee fofonɔ ale wokɔ doeɔ?

[Please, so how is sugarcane cultivated?]

**Second speaker:** Nenye be ɛfle fofonɔ fifie ye ekpɔ be tefe ale le enɔ, ne míele fofonɔ ɖu hã míekpɔ be menye tefe ɖe sia ɖe míeɖuɔ ne o ta akpɔ be míeyɛe be aba alo ekpoeɖe. Nàkpɔ be le ekpo ale ɔ la fofonɔ dze dzedze alo edze vi ale ta nàlã fofonɔ me be gama xe dze vi alee, nakɛ avae do ɖe eba me.

[When you buy sugarcane, the joint could sometimes have some shootings which can be planted in a swampy area]

**FG Leader:** Yoo, akpe na mi.

[Okay, thank you.]

### **Focused Group Discussion (Aɔlɔ and Evedome Native Speakers)**

#### **Topic: Planting Season and Cropping**

**FG Leader:** Yoo, akpe. Ke Professor Kunɔvi, le wò nukpɔkpɔ nu ɖee, ɣeyiɣi yawo mea, nu kae míado wòanyo?

[Ok, thanks. Professor Kunɔvi, in your point of view, what is best to cultivate in a season like this?]

**Kunɔvi:** Wolebe ya le míawo míá gbɔa, zi geɖe ne wòɖo ale kea, míawoa, tsi míezãna kɔ dona nu, tsi medzana le míá gbɔ gbogbo ɖe nene ma o ta míedona sabala, míedona gbɔ ebese kple saladagbe. Yae míedona, ko ne míede tsiea, wolebe yawoa, ewɔna nyuie. womehiã na tsi sɔ gbɔ fuu o ta ne míe manage humidity ale kea kple

míawo ñtɔ míe tsi vi aɔe, vi aɔe demee koa, enyona. Woawoe míedona le mía gbɔ wɔlebe yawo ye wowɔna na mí nyuie.

[In times like this, we do not experience much rainfall at our side so we use irrigation in farming. We cultivate onions, pepper and lettuce. Those are what we cultivate and they grow well when we water them. They do not need much water so they grow when we manage the humidity and we also water them. Those are what we cultivate at our side in this season and they grow well.]

**FG Leader:** Ebe yewo gbɔe nye afi ka?

[Your side is where?]

**Kunɔvi:** Aflao

[Aflao]

**FG Leader:** Aflao, akpe.

[Aflao, thanks]

**Kunɔvi:** Aflaonyigba, kenyigba wònye.

[Aflao land is sandy]

**FG Leader:** Akpe. Ke efo, efo Kplɔanyi, ale kee? Nu ka do ge míala akpɔ ga?

[Thanks. What about you, Mr Kplɔanyi? What can we cultivate to get money?]

**Kplɔanyi:** Abe ale yi ke amedonɔa gblɔea, yeyiyi ya ke míele, woyɔe be kele alo le yevugbe me wobe 'minor season'. Akpɔ be tsi medzana fũu abe ale yi wòdzana le 'major season' o ta le míawo mía gbɔa, le yeyiyi ya mea, míate ñu afã bli, eyi ke ate ñu axɔ abe yleti eve ko wòate ñu atsi. Afi yiwo ke míede dzesi be nenye be tsi xɛ dza, xɛ tsi ate ñu axa ɔɛea, míete ñu wɔna mɔlu ɔe afi ma. Nu yi ke míeyɔna be tomato hã, yeyiyi ya mea, míate ñu awɔe. Amewo hã fãna azi kple

bubuwo ta le ɣeyiyi ya mea, nuku yiwo ke xɔna abe ɣleti eve kɔ yiɛ etɔ hawoa, ɣeyiyi yiɛ me koŋ ye nyo be mía doe be tsi nagake le egbo hafi woava tsi o. Ta nenema wòle le mía gbɔ enye ma.

[As the first speaker said, we are in October, a season called Minor season in English. It does not rain frequently as it does in Major season so in a season like this at our end, we can cultivate maize that can grow within two months. We cultivate rice at places we observed are waterlogged. We can also cultivate tomatoes in this season. Some also cultivate groundnut and other things in this season hence this is the time to cultivate plants that grow within two or three months so that they are not short of water before they reach maturity. That is how it is at our place.]

**FG Leader:** Mede ku, èbe yewo gbɔe nye afi ka?

[Please where do you say your place is?]

**Kplanyi:** Agate

[Agate]

**FG Leader:** Akpe. Ye nèbe yenye do ka wɔla?

[Thanks. And what work do you do?]

**Kplanyi:** Nye ya agbledela menye.

[I am a farmer]

**FG Leader:** Akpe kakaka. Papa nufiala, lekee? Eyɔ nuku aɖewo va yi be wowɔye nye ya gakea, nyemenya ne enua, ɖe wodone alo ɖe wofãne, ɖe woviane o. Le kee, àte ŋu aɖe eme na mí viea?

[Thanks so much. Teacher how is it? You have mentioned certain crops that are cultivated in this season. I have no idea whether they are planted, sown or nursed. Can you explain to us?]

**Nufiala:** Abe le ayi gomea, yaa ɔe míefãe. Ke nenye atadi yea, atadi la edze be woavã atadia. Ɖe míevãne wòtsina ɔona kòkò aɔe me hafi nãho ado. Ta nenema wòle. Le dzamatre gomea, ye hã le teƒe aɔewoa, eku li, enumake ne ɛflee koa, wowua tsi anyigba, ale be tso gbe ma gbe dzi koa, wowu tsi anyigba koa, ekua, yeko wodea toa me nenema. Efiã be ɔe wodone enye ma ta nene ma wòle le eya hã gome enye ma.

[For beans, we sow it. When it is pepper, it has to be nursed. We nurse it and let it grow to a certain level before we uproot it and plant it. For watermelon, it has seeds and in some places when the seeds are bought, they water the land and from that day, they place it in the soil which implies that it is sown.]

**FG Leader:** Akpe. Le míafe numedzodzroa mea, mese bli, mese atadi, mese mɔlu, mese dzamatre. Meɔe kuku le mí ame ɔee yawo dome ɔe, ame aɔe li menya nu yi nye eyawo fe ñkò míeyɔ? Mabilia efo agbledela tso Agate be, nye ya nyea, dzamatrea, menya nu yi wònye ya gake aƒi yi nye ya metsoa, mímeyɔne be dzamatre o ta nyemenya aleke wòle le papa agbledela gbɔe o. Ale ke míeyɔne?

[Thanks. In the course of our discussion, I heard maize, pepper, rice, watermelon. Please among us the few people here, is there someone who does not know what any of the things mentioned are? Let me ask Mr. farmer from Agate, I know what watermelon (dzamatre) is but where I come from, we do not call it (dzamatre). So I do not know how it is with Mr farmer. How do you call it?]

**Kplcanyi:** Dzamatrea, mateɔu anyae gake maybe ñkò ke xe yɔɔ ne milea, womeyɔe le míawo tse gbɔ sigbe o.

[(Dzamatre), I may know it but maybe we do not call it the way you do.]

**FG Leader:** Ke ale ke woyɔna ne le mia gbɔ?

[How is it called at your place?]

**Kplanyi:** Nyemenya nu ka ye o.

[I do not know what it is.]

**Nufiala:** Yae nye watermelon.

[It is watermelon.]

**Kplanyi:** Oo! Mía gbɔ ya, ekpɔ be nuɔ ɔewo li, metso mía gbɔ le fii le o, yevuwo gbɔ koŋ wòtso eya ta yeadewoyi la esese be míate ŋu aɔe ŋkɔ nɛ. Ta míafe tefe yi ke míawo míelea, watermelon ko míeyɔna.

[Oh! You see, some of the things are not from us. They are mainly from the Whites and so it is difficult sometimes to name them. We call it watermelon where we come from.]

**FG Leader:** Watermelon la koe. Ke ne mede suku watermelon nya ge ayɔ o ɔee, ke metsi eme oa?

[It is always watermelon. Then are you not left behind if you have not been to school for you to know that it is called watermelon?]

**Kplanyi:** Eya ta ne eyie efle fe la, ame yi ke le edzraa, egbɔ efe ŋkɔ yɔ na wò gbe.

[That is why when buying it, the seller will mention its name to you.]

**FG Leader:** I see. Yoo, ke mexɔ yeyiyi vi aɔe na mi. Masee ɔe afi ya. Akpe na mi kakaka.

[I see. Ok, I have taken some of your time. Let us end it here. Thank you very much.]

### **Focused Group Discussion (Ave)**

#### **Interview**

**Interviewer:** Mede kuku ŋdi na wò.

[Good morning]

**Woman:** Ddi, femetowo?

[Good morning, how is everyone?]

**Interviewer:** Wodɔ

[They are all fine.]

**Woman:** Mifɔ nyuidɛa?

[I hope everyone is very well.]

**Interviewer:** Miefɔ. Wo hã ɛfɔa?

[Yes, they are. I hope you are fine too.]

**Woman:** ε. Afea me fɔ.

[Yes, everyone is fine.]

**Interviewer:** Miefɔ. Mede ku ŋkɔ wò dɛe?

[What is your name, please?]

**Woman:** Dkɔnyee nye Bernice Akpa.

[My name is Bernice Akpa.]

**Interviewer:** Akpe. Du ka mee nɛtso?

[Thanks, where do you come from?]

**Woman:** Nye ŋutɔa?

[You mean myself?]

**Interviewer:** ε

[Yes]

**Woman:** Metso Ave Dzalele.

[I come from Dzalele.]

**Interviewer:** Ave Dzalele le Volta fe akpa ka dzi? Anlɔ kpa dzi loo?

[Located at which part of the Volta Region?]

**Woman:** Ele Ave kpa dzi. Gake meva le Ho.

[Close to Ave but I have relocated to Ho.]

**Interviewer:** Eva le Ho? Akpe, èle Ho fia ewo viea?

[You are in Ho? Thanks, I guess you have been in Ho for quite some time now, right?]

**Woman:** ε

[Yes]

**Interviewer:** Meɖe kuku nu ka dzram nèle? Mekpo be nuwo le wo agbaa dzi fũu.

[What are you selling, please? I can see a lot of items in front of you.]

**Woman:** Nye ya nye ηuto medzrana tomatos. Tomatos koη kple sabala koη medzrana gake fifia gbɔdzɔgbɔdzɔ va vavam viɖe viɖe ta metsɔ agbaa na vinye ta eya, nye ηuto koe va le modzaka dem.

[I sell tomatoes. I sell tomatoes and onions but now because of tiredness my daughter is helping out with hawking. I am just distracting by sitting here.]

**Interviewer:** ε, ta nu kawoe ya le agbaa dzi na wò?

[Yes, so, what are these on display here?]

**Woman:** Medzrana akpa, koobi kple kpakposhitɔ kple tomatos.

[I sell fish, salted tilapia, cotch bonnet pepper and tomatoes.]

**Interviewer:** Koobi, akpa, koobi. Ekae nye akpa, ekae nye koobia?

[Which is fish, which is salted tilapia?]

**Woman:** Koobia, yae nye eya.

[This one is the salted tilapia.]

**Interviewer:** Eyae nye koobi. Meɖe kuku le Aveawo fe akpa dzi ɖee, koobi ko mienya nea?

[This is salted tilapia. So, where you come from, do you only call it *koobi* ‘salted tilapia’?]



**Woman:** ε, míeyɔnɛ be dzemekpa.

[Yes, we call it *dzemekpa* ‘salted tilapia’.]

**Interviewer:** Dzemekpa. Gake fifia nɛva le Ho ɔee, ŋkɔ ka koŋ nɛnya nɛ?

[*Dzemekpa* ‘salted tilapia’. So being in Ho now, how do you refer to it?]

**Woman:** ε, eya koe ma yɔm mele.

[Yes, that’s exactly what I have mentioned.]

**Interviewer:** Yae nye koobia?

[Is that *koobi* ‘salted tilapia’?]

**Woman:** Yae nye koobia.

[That’s *koobi* ‘salted tilapia’.]

**Interviewer:** Ta efia be ne èɔo Avea, eɔblɔna be dzemekpa gake ne ele Ho ya koa, koobi. Ta efia be akpa evea katã, ne ège ɔee koa, esuna te pɛpɛpɛ?

[It means when you are in your hometown Ave, you refer to it as dzemekpa but when you are in Ho, it is koobi. It means you don’t have any communication issue at either of these places, right?]

**Woman:** ε.

[Yes]

**Interviewer:** Akpe. Yoo, ke asi nexɔ wò he!

[Thanks. I wish you good sales.]

**Woman:** Amen.

[Amen]

**Focused Group Discussion (Aḡb, Evedome and Tḡḡ Native Speakers)**

**Topic: Illnesses**

**FG Leader:** Yoo, akpe. Miawoe zḡ.

[Okay, thank you. You're welcome]

**All Speakers:** Yoo.

[Okay.]

**FG Leader:** Ddi ya, meva miagbḡ be mḡawḡ dzedḡḡ ku ḡe nu ḡeka eve aḡewo ḡḡ ale be, ne mḡelḡ ḡku ḡe ḡeyiyi ya ḡua, woale yawoe etsi nḡa dzadzam. Ne tsi dza alea, mḡekpḡne be dclḡle aḡewo nḡa fu ḡem na mḡ. Nu kawoe miebu be woanye nu yi ke ate ḡḡ ahe dḡlḡle ya fomevi ve? Be matsḡ dze egḡmea, madze egḡme tso efo Mawufemḡ dzi. Le ke wḡle le gbḡwḡde?

[This morning, I want us to talk about a few issues. As we can notice, we are in the raining season. This season comes with certain illnesses, what causes do you think can be attributed to these illnesses? Let's that with brother Mawufemḡ, what are your submissions?]

**Mawufemḡ:** Akpe ḡe biabia ma ta. Meka ḡe edzi be nu yi ke koḡ heḡ dḡlḡle yi ke mḡeyḡḡ be asrḡ vea, eyae nye lḡvi aḡe yi ke mḡeyḡḡ be tulḡ. Nenye be xḡme ḡlale o, xexe ḡla le o, vevietḡ le fianyiwo me, elḡ yawo doa tso afi yiwo etsiwo xa ḡee, wogena ḡe amewo dzi le xḡme alo xexe ale be nenye be woka ḡuwoe eye woḡḡ wo koa, woateḡḡ ana wo nenem fe dḡ yi ke mḡeyḡ be asrḡ. Ta nenema wḡle enye ma.

[Thanks for the question. I believe what causes this malaria is what we refer to as *tuli* 'mosquito'. When you are indoor or outdoor, especially in the evenings, mosquitoes come out from areas with stagnant water, invade people's rooms or



egbo o ye tsia le afi maa, yae dzine kple afi yi ke gbe le, gbea me fa alo tsi le gbea me, mede ku nyemenya ale yi ke megblo ge nyuie o.

[Please, what I know is the mu ‘mosquito’ is the cause of malaria. If stagnant waters are not handled appropriately it breeds mosquitoes, and bushes, especially if there’s always moisture in the bushes.... pardon me, I don’t really know how to put it well.]

**FG Leader:** Efia be tsi le tefea, ye gbe to de tefea.

[It means there is water at the place, it is weedy too.]

**Victor:** ehe, yae dzina mua. Ta ne wodzi mua, ye mua tsia, ne wotso va du mi alo wofe ado to miaa, ye wonana mi dalele ya alo asradalelea.

[Oh yes, that’s what breeds the mosquitoes. So when it breeds the *mu* ‘mosquitos’, and they mature, if they bite us, we get malaria.]

**FG Leader:** Ema deko wofia kpuie ko be miano miafe gologuiwo alo miafe nutoawo me dzram do. Ne tsi ade xa de kpodomee kple ganugowo kple gbe ade fo xla mia, mianlo wo da kple susu be nugbagbeviwo magano tefea ayi mia du ge o. Ta kpuie ko, ne mase nyaa mea, ewo abe nu ya tutu yom efo Saviour kple efo Victor le be emua, dewomahi ya kee ma glom Afeto Kplanyi le be tuli. Manye nene ma yea?

[It just means we need to keep our surroundings clean. If water collects around in pounds and containers, and overgrown weeds are in our environment, we must drain the water and clear the weeds to prevent the breeding of insects. In short, it means what brother Saviour and brother Victor are referring to as mu ‘mosquito’ is the same thing Mr. Kplanyi is referring to as *tuli* ‘mosquito’.]

**Kplanyi:** Nene mae.

[That's it.]

**FG Leader:** Meɖe ku miawo hã mienyae be tuli woyɔna nea?

[Please, do you also know it is called *tuli* 'mosquito'.]

**Victor and Saviour:** Meɖe ku ao.

[No, please.]

**FG Leader:** Ta ke efiã be nu ya tutu yɔm wòle le wo degbe me, èbe yetso Agate?

Nu yi yɔm wole be tulía, ya kee ganye mua ta ewo abe míawo míegasrɔ̃ ale yi uedomea fe akpa aɖewo yɔna mue. Ta meda akpe na mi ɖe miafe numeɖeɖewo ta.

[So it means what they are referring to in their dialect, did you say you come from Agate? What they are calling *tuli* 'mosquito' is what they are calling *mu* 'mosquito'. It looks like we have to know that some Evedome speakers also refer to mosquito as *mu*. Thank you for your valuable insights.]

**Victor:** Míegasrɔ̃ nu hã be Agate, ele Afadzato South fe District me.

[We have also learnt Agate is in Afadzato District]

**FG Leader:** Tututu!

[Exactly!]

**Kplanyi:** Nenema kee nye hã mesrɔ̃ tso wo gbɔ be, nu yi ke míawo míeyɔa be tuli la, woyɔne le woawo hã gbɔ be mu.

[It is the same way I learnt from them that what we refer to as *tuli* 'mosquito' is what they call *mu* 'mosquito']

**FG Leader:** Ke le Ho ɖee, le kee nèsenã be amewo yɔna nenem fe nu ya yɔm míele be tuli alo mue?

[So, in Ho, how do you hear people refer to the insect you all *tuli* 'mosquitoe'.]

**Kplanyi:** Ekpɔ le Ho ɔee, Hoa, zi geɔe enye amedzrowo fe nɔfe. Amewo tso Anɔ, Evedome, tefe vovovowo, tso Volta fe akpa geɔewo va do go le Ho eya ta le Hoa, àte ŋu ase ŋkɔ woame eve ya eye ame aɔewo hã wotso Tɔŋu, woyɔne be avage.

[You see, in Ho, Ho has become a town for immigrants. People come from Anɔ, Evedome, and other parts of the Volta Region to converge in Ho.]

**FG Leader:** Avage. Tututu. Ewɔe abe nye hã mesee kpɔ.

[Avage ‘mosquito’, exactly. I think I have also heard that before.]

**Kplanyi:** Ta nenema wòle le Ho enye ma.

[So, that is how it is in Ho.]

**FG Leader:** Akpe. Ke to vovo na avage, mu kple tuli ɔee, ekae míesena awu le Ho?

[Thank you. Apart from avage, mu and tuli ‘mosquito’, which other variants refer to mosquito in Ho?]

**Kplanyi:** Mu.

[Mosquito]

**FG Leader:** Mu. Akpe.

[Mosquito. Thank you.]

### **Focus Group Discussion in Anɔ dialect (Males & Females Group)**

#### **Topic: Marriage (Srɔɔede)**

**FG Leader:** Miawoe zɔ.

[You are welcome]

**Speakers:** Yoo míezo ɔe ŋuwò.

[Thank you, we are geared up for you.]

**FG Leader:** Yoo egbea, míedi be míasr̄ nu ku ɔ́ sr̄ɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ti ta miawoe z̄ va sr̄ɔ́ɔ́fe.

[Today, we will be learning about the institution of marriage, once again, you are all welcome.]

**Speakers:** Yoo.

[Okay.]

**FG Leader:** Meka ɔ́ edzi be mi kat̄ mieɔ́ sr̄ k̄p̄?

[I believe that you all have been once married or are currently married?]

**Speakers:** [ɛ]

[Yes.]

**FG Leader:** Sr̄wò ɔ́k̄ ɔ́?

[What is your husband's name?]

**Woman 1:** Nye ya sr̄nye ɔ́k̄e nye Afet̄ Hot̄ K̄ku.

[As for me, my husband's name is Mr. Hotor Korku.]

**FG Leader:** Ok, afi ka wòtso?

[Okay, where does he come from?]

**Woman 1:** Etso Akatsi Agbedraf̄.

[He comes from Akatsi Agbedrafor.]

**Woman 2:** Sr̄nye ɔ́k̄e nye Afet̄ Fianu K̄kuvi.

[My husband's name is Mr. Korkuvi Fianu.]

**FG Leader:** Yoo. Et̄, ke wò ɔ́? Wòa mekp̄ ɔ́ sr̄a?

[Okay, auntie, what about you? Aint you married yet?]

**Woman 3:** Meɔ́ sr̄.

[I am married.]

**FG Leader:** fe ka mee nèɔ́ sr̄a?

[In which year did you get married?]

**Woman 3:** fe yi va yi.

[Last year.]

**FG Leader:** fe yi va yi me ko nèḍee? Oo ke gbɔwo medidi o. Ke èdzi via?

[Just last year eh, then you're still fresh in the business. Do you have a child?]

**Woman 3:** Ao

[No]

**FG Leader:** Medzi vi haḍe ke o. Yoo mabia mi, nu kae wò, nèkpɔ na srɔwò ḡutsu hafi wòte ḍe ḡutiwò, bia gbe wò nèlɔ ne kaka mieḍe mia nɔewo? Nu kawoe nèkpɔ na ḡutsua hafi? Afenɔgã Hoto, nu kae nèkpɔ na Afeto Hoto hafi eyi wòte ḍe ḡutiwò, bia gbe be yeade wò, ye nèlɔ kaka mieḍe srɔ?

[You don't have a child yet. Okay, let me ask you this, what did you see in your husband before you agreed to marry him? What did you see? Mrs. Hotor, what did you see in Mr. Hotor before accepting his proposal?]

**Woman 1:** Nye ya nu ya ke mekpɔ le eḡutia, ye nye ale yi ke wòdze be amegbetɔ ḡutsu nanɔ wɔwɔm na nyɔnua, mekpɔ nane le emea, edzɔ dzi nam ḡutɔ. Abe, eléna be na ame alo eyi ke mekpɔe koa, nye dzi ku ḍe eḡu alegbegbe ye ale yi ke nye kpli míenɔ anyi, míekpɔ mía nɔewo koa, edzɔ dzi nam paa ya tae meḍee ḍo.

[For me, I realised he was good at treating women well. It was something that appealed to me. He takes good care of people. In addition to that, when I met him, I fell head over heels in love with him almost immediately. This made me so happy, that is why I married him]



**FG Leader:** Ne mese wò nya gómea, efiáfiam be wò afetò medana wò òjì o.

Ewòa nu òjì sia òjì yì ke wòne be wò òjì dzea eme le goawo katà me. Enaa nuòdu wò òjì game òjì.

[If I understand you correctly, you mean your husband is up and doing. He does all that is expected of him, he feeds you on time]

**Woman 1:** ε

[Yes]

**FG Leader:** Gake mele biabiam be òjì, nu kawoe nekpò ne hafi nédze anyi òjì efe lólò me kaka miva zu sròdelawo? Menya nu yiwo wòwòna na wò le sròdèdè me ko, nu yiwo nekpò ne hafi be amewo li fùu gake yebe Afetò Hotò ye ko yebe yeakplò òjì òjì, nu ma biam mele.

[But what I am asking is what you saw in him before you married him not how he treats you now that you are already married to him. What made you choose Mr. Hotor out of all the men]

**Woman 1:** Efe agbenòò. Edze òjìka hã, enya kpò fine. Nuwo pètè ko enyo nam paa le nu òjì sia òjì gome.

[Generally, his behaviour. He is also handsome, very good looking. I liked everything about him]

**FG Leader:** Meka òjì edzi be nya yiwo katà gblóm nèlea, èdèe fía be Afetò Hotò megafo nu legbe aòke hafi nèlò ne xoxoxo be yèbe yèaòe o elabe nu yiwo katà dim nèle be yeakpò le òjìtsu me hafi aòe, ekpò wo xoxo, menye ye maa?

[I believe that everything you are saying now indicates that Mr. Hotor did not talk too much before you accepted to marry him since he had all the qualities you've ever wanted in a potential husband, Is that so?]

**Woman 1:** ε

[Yes]

**FG Leader:** Yoo. Etε, wò ɔe?

[Yes, auntie, what of you?]

**Woman 2:** Nye ya Afeto Fianua, ekua kutri. Megbea asigbega nana o, koa ye mekpɔe be elōm vevie ta, nye hã melōe.

[In my case, Mr. Fianu is very hardworking, he never fails to provide feeding fee. This shows he really loves me, so I love him too]

**FG Leader:** Yoo. Vi nenie mi kpakpli miedzi xo?

[How many children do you have together?]

**Woman 2:** O, eve.

[Oh, two]

**FG Leader:** Yoo, hafi ame aɔe yi ke nabui be eɔe srō, wòakpɔe hã wòadzroe wòabe yeage ɔe srōgbenōnō me ɔee, aɔaŋu kawoe nàɔo na wo, nu kawoe nàfia amea be wòazo wo dzi hafi ne ya hã nage ɔe srōgbenōnō me?

[What advice will you give to someone who is yet to get married.]

**Woman 2:** Ne èbe yeage srōa, gakpɔ be amea dze ɔeka ko nàbe yèaɔee o elabe edze ɔeka o. Ele be nàkpɔ efe agbenōnō, etona nyatefea, edana alakpaa? Ele be nàkpɔ akpa mawo katã menye be edze ɔeka ko hafi nàyi eme o. Ne hã efe asi me sēa? Ame aɔewo menaa asigbega o. Ele be nàkpc akpa mawo katã kple geɔewo hafi nàge ɔe eme.

[If you want to get married, don't just look at physical appearance. You need to examine his or her morals, is he honest? Is he stingy or he is generous? You need to pay attention to all these before you decide on marrying the person]

**FG Leader:** Ok. Nyɔnu gedewo kpɔna ga na ntsu. Míakpɔe be ntsu ya, ga le esi. Ale be nyɔnu, le dekonu fe se tsinu alo le amegbetɔ fe dzɔdzɔ me, nyɔnu melɔna be yeakpe fu fũu hafi adu nu o ta, zi gedea, wokpɔna be ntsu yi ke alome le esi, dɔwɔna adɛ le esi yi ke ne yegbenyado asi da koa wɔakɔe na ye. Le wò gome de, ekpɔ nu ma na srɔwò hafi dea?

[Okay. Most women pay attention to the financial standing of a man. Per tradition or by nature, women don't like to suffer to survive so they like men who have a job or are well to do. Do you also consider that as a prerequisite?]

**Woman 2:** Srɔnyea, abe ale yi ke megblo enea, ekua kutri, ta kutrikulaa, mehia be nàgakpɔ naneke hafi age de eme o elabe ye wò kutri kum koa dɔa dzi dze ge ne, ga ya vava ge. Gbã, ne evavam ye meyi kutrikukua dzi oa, edzodzo ge ta ye wòkua kutri koa enyo.

[My husband, like I have mentioned already, he is hard-working so it is not necessary to consider that before going on with the marriage. As long as he is hardworking he will be successful. He knows if he doesn't work hard he can't enjoy the luxuries of life, so he will surely continue working hard.]

**FG Leader:** Afenɔ, kuxi kawoe nekpɔ eyi ke nede srɔ? Nu kawoe nye nukpekeamewo, afɔklinuwo nedo goe le srɔgbenɔ me? Abe srɔto ene, mía katã míenya be srɔde de fe gommedzedze ya deko wòvivina gake ne ege de eme vɔ hafi ne nyanya ge be alea wole hafi wonɔa eyom be kelewole hã? Me wò biam be eyi nede de srɔde gbenɔ me de, nu kawoe nye nuwo nedo goe, afɔklinuwo nedo goe yike ava do yeyi adɛ nàgblo na dokuiwò be ne de yenya, yemafo ta de eme o? Nu kawoe nye afɔklinu nekpɔ le srɔde?

[Madam, which problems did you encounter when you got married? As married couples, we all know that the beginning of the journey is full of

fun but doesn't actually stay that way all through. I am asking that you sure with us some of the setbacks you've encountered in your marriage which probably made you regret getting married in the first place?]

**Woman 3:** Akpe ɔe babia ta. Eyi ke miede srɔ, nyemedo go afoklinu yi ke ana magblo be ɔe menya la nyeme gege ge ɔe eme hafi o gake godoa, kuxi vivivi aɔewo ta do ge ɔa koe ta wo dometo ɔekae nye be ɔowɔwɔ. Elabe afi ya melea, yevudɔwɔla menye eya hã nye yevudɔwɔla ta ɔewo nyemegbɔna kaba na nuɔaɔa o gake srɔnyea enye ame yi ke sea nu gɔme paa ta ese akpa ma me ta gbe ɔewo ne wɔkpa la ete nu gbɔna kaba akpe ɔe nye nu ado dzo aɔa nu hafi nye ya ma gbɔ. Gake va ɔo afi aɔea, amegbetɔ koa amegbetɔe, edze dziku dodo vide vide gake eyi ke wona meno anyi, wogblo nya nam koa, nye hã medze asi tɔtrɔ le nye yevudɔwɔwɔa nu kple susu be mava ɔe game dzi ahakpɔ nuɔanyawo gbɔ. Ta eyi nya ma nɔ edzi yi ma, megblo be yeayi gbɔme ava ɔo ahiãvi ɔeke o. Ta nya yi ke atu ame ko le srɔɔefe ko ana be ame nagblo be yemega ye srɔ gbɔ nɔ ge o la, etɔgbi aɔeke, nyemedo goe kpɔ haɔe o.

[Thanks for the question. Since I got married, I haven't really encountered any setback which caused me to regret getting married yet. It is true that some little little problems arise every now and then but they are not that major. However, one issue that has been a problem for me so far is the fact that I am a career woman. Sometimes, I don't get home early enough to prepare dinner but since my husband is quite understanding, whenever he gets home before me, he tries to arrange something for us to eat. That notwithstanding, as human as we are, my lateness for returning from work started getting to him badly but when we had a discussion about it, I adjusted a few things and we were good to go. Even as we were going through such setbacks, my husband did not chase other women.]

**FG Leader:** Yoo. Eyi medzɔ ɔe wò nɔtɔ dziwò kpɔ o ɔe, le hadede me, wò veliawo, fometɔ bubuwo ɔe, ɛsena nya aɔe tso wo nɔ ku ɔe nu yi nenyɛ afɔklinu le wofe srɔ̄gbenɔnɔ mea?

[Oh okay, but have you heard about any marital issues from friends and family members?]

**Woman 3:** O, mesenɛ.

[Oh yes! I have]

**FG Leader:** Àte nɔ atɔ asi ɔeka eve aɔewo dzi na mía?

[Can you share some of these experiences with us?]

**Woman 3:** Eɔee nye vimadzimadzi. Ame aɔewo ɔe srɔ̄ fe geɔe gake womete nɔ dzi vi o. ɔewo tsona akpa evea katã gbɔ alo tsona akpa ɔeka gbɔ. Ne mafo nu tso nyɔnua fe akpa dzi gbɔ. ɔewo la mítsɔe be nyɔnua nɔ ɔevi me kpɔ eye eɔe fu geɔe...eɔe fu zãa hafi va ɔe srɔ̄ ta srɔ̄a wòɔe la megate nɔ vi kpɔm adzi o. Eɔewo, ete nɔ tsona ema gbɔ. nɔtsua hã nyemenya tututu o gake xɔnye aɔe nɔ gbɔgbɔm nam ga aɔe me be ne nɔtsu wɔ ahiã su gbɔ le efe ɔekakpui me la, ye wotsia, megate nɔ dzina vi o.

[Some of the causes include childlessness. Some people marry for years without the gift of the fruit of the womb. This could be caused by the man or the woman. In the situation where the cause of the infertility is related to the woman, it could be the result of numerous abortions from the past. I'm not too sure about the causes of men related infertility but some people assume that men who are chronic womanizers suffer from infertility issues.]

**FG Leader:** Dutsu medzina vi o ɔe? Megadzina vi o ale ke?

[Men don't give birth...he doesn't give birth, how?]

**Woman 3:** Megate nɔ dona fu o.

[He is unable to impregnate a woman]

**FG Leader:** Megate ɲu lí na o alo megate ɲu dona fu o?

[He is unable to have an erection or he's unable to impregnate a woman?]

**Woman 3:** Megate ɲu lína abe ɲutsu ado fu o. Nene ma ametsitsi de hã nɔ gbɔgbɔm nam enye ma. Ta de wo tsona vimadzimadzi gbɔ. Ede wo hã srɔtɔ ava de ahiãvi bubu le gbɔ me. Nu ma hã la, enana srɔ dome gblêna. De wo nye akuviawɔwɔ, numaɗamaɗa, nugɔmemasemase kple fewɔwɔ, ye hã te ɲu nana srɔ dome gblêna. Ta woawoe nye nya yiwo ke dzi medi be matɔ asii.

[He is unable to perform like a man. That is what an elderly man used to tell me. So some are caused by childlessness. In other cases, husbands get girlfriends which also brew misunderstanding between couples. Some others are laziness, they don't cook, and are filthy. These are some of the issues I want to raise.]

**FG Leader:** Yoo akpe. Hafi míawu enua, medi be mabia wò be srɔɲutsu fe nyɔnu eve, etɔ, ene de de de, kpɔtsɔtsɔ a de de wòle eɲua? Abe wò nyɔnu srɔtɔ, ne srɔwò de atsusi na wò, èkpɔ kpɔtsɔtsɔ a de le eɲua? Vodada a de le eɲua?

[Okay, thank you. Before we end the discussion, I want to ask if there is a problem with a man marrying two, three, four wives.]

Woman 3: ε

[Yes]