

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

Language practices of the Ewe in Adeiso



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LANGUAGE PRACTICES OF THE EWE IN ADEISO

**JOY ETORNAM MENSAH
(8170080012)**



**A Thesis in the Department of Applied Linguistics,
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DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

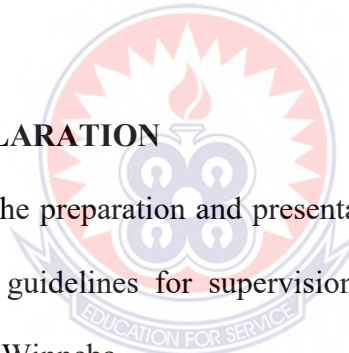
I, Joy Etonam Mensah, declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

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SUPERVISORS' DECLARATION

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



DR. REBECCA ATCHOI AKPANGLO-NARTEY (Principal Supervisor)

SIGNATURE:

DATE:

PROF. EVERSLED KWASI AMUZU (Co-Supervisor)

SIGNATURE:

DATE:

DEDICATION

In memory of my Late Father, Mr. Reuben Kwaku Senyo Mensah.



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ABSTRACT

This study investigates language practices of the speakers of Ewe in the Adeiso speech community. Specifically, the study investigates language choices across domains among the Ewe in Adeiso and aims at identifying the consequences of such language behaviour on the speaking of Ewe in the Adeiso speech community. The descriptive design and mixed approach were employed in the study which was done in three Ewe speaking communities - Ayigbe Town, Ndoda and Dzakpatra in Adeiso with a total of one hundred and twenty-six (126) participants. Data was gathered using survey and interviews. Responses from the questionnaire were analysed with the SPSS, employing descriptive statistics aided by the Sociolinguistic Variationist Approach. Findings were then explained within the framework of the Marked Bilingualism Model. The results show that Ewe dominates the life of its speakers in Adeiso as it is the main language used in the home, neighbourhood, religious gatherings and the school to some extent. Language mixing also pervades the speech of the Ewe bilingual as they switch between Ewe and Akan, and English in the case of those who have formal education. The study also reveals that the speakers of Ewe are strongly attached to their language and desire for its continuity. The study concluded that the Ewe in Adeiso are maintaining their language to a large extent, but with some instances of code switching.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This thesis investigates the language contact phenomenon in three migrant Ewe communities (Ayigbe Town, Ndoda and Dzakpatra) in Adeiso. Ewe is one of the numerous languages spoken in the Upper West Akim District in the Eastern Region of Ghana, a situation arising as a result of migration. The study seeks to explore the various language choices across domains and how this linguistic practice may impact Ewe as a language in those migrant communities.

This chapter opens the thesis with a general overview to the study. The linguistic occurrence of language contact is discussed with bilingualism as a result of language contact and how it influences language choice being the focus. Specifically, it looks at bilingualism and language practices with its consequences, and a background of the study setting which includes Adeiso and some Ewe communities in the area. The chapter goes on to discuss the problem which forms the basis of this study, the study objectives and questions that direct the course of the study, and the importance of the study. The chapter then closes with a description of the structure of the thesis and a summary of the chapter.

1.1 Background to Bilingualism and Language Practices

Africa is blessed with many languages. In fact, according to the Ethnologue's Geographical Distribution of Living Languages (2000), there are about 2,058 languages spoken in Africa, which forms about 30% of the world's languages. Thus, Africans, generally speak more than one language. According to Batibo (2005),

Africans speak a number of languages not because they are gifted, but that they are exposed to many languages, a situation which results in bilingualism.

Bilingualism is the ability of a speaker or community to use more than one language. This means that speakers have a variety of languages they use in their day to day activities. Bilingualism is so prevalent in Africa that Batibo (2005) argues that monolingualism, the ability to speak only one language, is scarce. Batibo is of the view that speakers of a language are a lot of the time in contact with speakers of at least one other language or dominant language in the area in addition to their mother tongue. To Trudell (2009, p. 56), “Africa’s bilingualism is a gift”, an allusion to the heterogeneous situation on the continent. It is interesting to note that West Africa accounts for more than half of the over 2000 languages spoken in Africa (Igboanusi, 2009), and Ghana is, no doubt, implicated in this situation.

Ghana has seen its fair share in the controversy surrounding the number of languages spoken across its length and breadth. Several scholars have suggested conflicting numbers of languages considered to be spoken in Ghana. For instance, Dzameshie (1988) states in his study of the linguistic situation in Ghana that there are about 45 to 60 languages spoken in the country, while Dakubu (1996) pegs it at 50. Guerini (2006) in her studies on Ghanaian immigrants in Italy states that there are over 60 indigenous languages spoken in Ghana. Simons and Fennig (2018) currently estimates 81 languages spoken in the country. Thus, the conflict ensues. However, Bibiebome (2011) suggests that one can safely say that there are over 40 indigenous languages in Ghana, including Akan, Ewe, Ga and others that enjoy institutional support and are, according to Guerini (2006), used extensively in a number of public and formal

domains. Ghana's languages belong generally, to the Kwa (Southern) and Gur (Northern) language families.

Going by Batibo's (2005) assertion, it may be difficult to find monolinguals in Ghana. Being exposed to so many languages, Ghanaians are generally bilinguals and as such, like other bilinguals worldwide, individuals and multilingual societies in Ghana use languages available to them in diverse ways to serve their communicative needs (Agyakwa, 2018). This ability of individuals and bilingual communities to choose from their linguistic repertoire to serve various communicative needs is referred to in sociolinguistics as language practices.

According to Duan (2004), language practices involve the choice and use of language in a speaker's and /or community's repertoire across various domains to serve various communicative purposes. In bilingual communities, the different languages perform different functions in various domains. This phenomenon, according to Duan (2004), is referred to as diglossia. In discussing language use in society, the concept of 'domain' is often used. Domain in sociolinguistics refers to certain settings in which participants choose to speak certain languages. These settings may include the home and public places. Sridhar (1996) explained that for members of bilingual communities to efficiently utilize the languages available to them in the various domains, they need to be communicatively competent in the languages.

Language practices may come with consequences. According to Romaine (2000), the language choices individuals make in their daily interactions impact the languages involved in the long run. In other words, the linguistic choice of bilingual individuals and/or communities may result in other linguistic situations such as language maintenance, language shift, borrowing and language mixing.

Language practices, as mentioned earlier, result from exposure to many languages due to situations such as industrialization, migration and urbanization. These factors create situations such as that of the Ewe in Adeiso speech community in the Upper West Akim District of the Eastern Region of Ghana. The speakers of Ewe in Adeiso and its surroundings resort to choices of language available to them to fulfil their communicative needs. This thesis seeks to investigate the language practice across various domains by the Ewe in three communities in Adeiso and how this practice impacts their mother tongue.

1.2 Background to the Study Setting

Adeiso, by ethnicity, is Akyem, and forms part of the Akyem-Abuakwa State with a sub-chief serving under the Okyehene, Amoatia Ofori Panin II. Historical narratives have it that Adeiso has been a town in existence through the pre-independence era. It was noted for its importance as a transit point where travelers rest for the night before continuing their journey to and from Kumasi. It is also said that the name 'Adeiso' is the corrupted version of 'Eda wo so' literally meaning 'it is on you', which comes from the vices that characterize life in the town during the pre-independence times. The same is also the name of the river that runs through the land.

1.2.1 Background of Adeiso and its Communities

Adeiso is the capital of the Upper West Akim District in the Eastern region of Ghana. Upper West Akim, one of the new districts created in 2012, was carved out of West Akim Municipality. It is bordered by eight districts; i.e. Ayensuano District, located on the east, West Akim Municipality to the north, Birim Central Municipality on the south-west, Agona East and Awutu-Senya West on the west, Nsawam-Adoagyiri, Ga West Municipality and Ga South Municipality on the south-east. According to the

2010 Population and Housing Census of Ghana, Upper West Akim has a total population of 87,051. Out of this number, a large majority, 65,937 representing 75.70% live in rural areas and are mainly engaged in agriculture. The remaining 24.3% live in the urban areas of the district, (The Composite Budget for the Upper West Akim District Assembly for the 2015 Fiscal Year).

Adeiso is located on the Nsawam-Asamankese highway. It is an economically vibrant town with a large central market, which serves as a centre of attraction for many traders. People come from its neighbouring districts and even from Accra to trade. According to one consultant, a forty-year old teacher who was born and bred in the area, the Adeiso central market, which operates mainly on Mondays and Thursdays, serves as a horde for the bulk of the large quantity of agricultural produce coming from the rural areas of the district. However, part of the produce are taken to markets in the neighbouring towns such as Bawjiase, which is in the Awutu-Senya West District. This makes Adeiso accessible to people from these other districts and other places as well.

Dzansi et al. (2018), reports that Adeiso accounts for over 7000 of the 24.3% of the population of the district living in urban areas of the district. This includes both indigenes and non-indigenes. Its heterogeneous population is akin to that of the district in general. This means that the population is made up of people from different ethnic backgrounds. The 2010 Population and Housing Census of Ghana reported that, people from different parts of the country and even the West African sub-region migrate to the Upper West Akim District. The report identified economic, education, religion and inter-marriages, among others, as the reasons that account for the movement of people to the district.

Consequently, another consultant, a retired educationist who moved to the area with his parents at a very tender age, and has lived and worked in the area till his retirement, narrates that Adeiso is made up of several migrant communities, the major ones being Akuapem, Ga and Ewe. According to his narrative, the Ga communities include Attohman (also known as Attohkrom) and Amaaman (also known as Amaakrom). The Akuapem communities include Asuaba, Teacher Danso and Papa Lamptey. The Ewe communities include Ndoda, Ayigbe Town, Agbeliga and Dzakpatra. These ethnic groups are allowed representative chiefs who have seats in the Adeiso chief's palace. Again, all the ethnic groups get involved in cultural celebrations such as the 'Ohum', which is the traditional festival of the Akyem-Abuakwa State.

This is confirmed by one other consultant who stated that though these communities are originally exclusive settlements of the various ethnic groups, it is currently difficult to find any of these communities entirely made up of their respective ethnic groups. This, he said, could be so due to extensive intermingling of the different tribes. Cultural performances such as funerals and festival celebrations in these communities are conducted in unison.

1.2.2 Background to Ewe and its Speakers in Adeiso

According to Ameka & Essegbey (2006), Ewe belongs to a major cluster of languages that is now known as Gbe, and is spoken by about three million people spread across West Africa. It belongs to the Kwa group of Niger-Congo language family. Gbe languages are spoken in an area that stretches from mid and lower Volta (east of Ghana) across Togo through Benin and go as far as Western Nigeria; that is an area

between the Greenwich Meridian to longitude 3° East and from the Atlantic coast to about 8° North (Ameka & Essegbey, 2006).

There is massive variation among the various dialects of Ewe. This is seen in the situation where according to Ameka & Essegbey (2006), groups of villages that are two or three kilometres apart from one another use distinct varieties. However, the local (Ghanaian) dialects may be categorized geographically into coastal or southern dialects which include Añlɔ, Tɔŋu; central dialect which include Ho, Kpedze and Dodome, and northern dialects which include Hohoe, Peki, Kpando and Fodome. The central and northern dialects are collectively characterized indigenously as *Ewedomegbe* and may also be referred to as the inland or northern dialects as opposed to the coastal or southern dialects (Ansre, 2000). The variations, notwithstanding, speakers from different localities understand each other and are aware of the peculiarities of the different areas (Ameka & Essegbey, 2006). The varieties are mutually intelligible and a written standard that was developed in the nineteenth century was based on the regional variants of the various sub-dialects (Ansre, 2000).

Traditionally, Ewe people from the coastal areas of Ghana, Togo and Benin are fishermen whilst their inland counterparts are farmers. This is in relation to their various geographical locations. As they move from their homeland to settle in other areas, they carry along these occupation and settle in places which favour their continuous practice. Ewe is used extensively in all activities of the native speakers, be it commercial, social or cultural.

According to one consultant, the Ewe in Adeiso and its environs migrated from a wide geographical area, beginning from as far as Benin through Togo into Ghana, to settle in their present place of settlement. They settled mainly in areas where they

could practice their occupation. Some settled along River 'Eda wo so' now Adeiso, and continued fishing while others settled in forest areas to farm. He added that many, especially those from Benin practice 'voodoo' which they continued to practice in their respective settlements. They healed people and made followers who worship with them.

Narratives have it that communities such as Ndoda, Ayigbe Town, Agbeliga, Alafia and Dzakpatra used to be exclusively Ewe communities. However, due to reasons such as trade, religion and inter-marriages, there are other ethnic groups now living among them. This contact has great impact on the culture of these speech communities resulting in a multilingual situation. The Ewe natives learn Akan in order to socially integrate in the larger community to carry on their daily activities. However, consistent with the narrative of one consultant, the Akan natives hardly learn and speak Ewe.

Of the several migrant Ewe communities in Adeiso and its environs, three - Ayigbe Town, Ndoda and Dzakpatra, were selected for this study based on their relative distance from Adeiso. Ayigbe Town is within the Adeiso township and may be seen to have greater contact with the host community, Akan. It is located just behind the central market and thus, it would not be uncommon to find members of other ethnic groups settled among them. The second community, Ndoda, is about fifteen kilometres from Adeiso. Dzakpatra is the farthest from Adeiso. It is about twenty kilometres away.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Language choice is a common issue in multilingual communities, where members are faced with the problem of what language to use with whom at what time and for what

purpose. Language practices are basically, about choices of language to fulfil certain communication needs. These individual and community language choices are distinctive and atypical to the language ideologies of the speech community. This linguistic practice highlights the individual or community's attitude and define the linguistic situation in the speech community.

Language choice and attitude have been known in the literature to have consequences on the interacting languages. Language choice and attitude may result in diglossia, language maintenance or language shift via linguistic phenomena such as borrowing, code switching and code mixing. In other words, language practices of choice and attitude either negatively or positively impact the languages involved.

Auer (1999) observed that many studies on bilingualism over the past decades are subsumed under more universalistic interest to the neglect of specific dynamic aspects of speech in individual bilingual communities. It may be understood from Auer that studies on bilingualism, and for that matter, language practices should be investigated considering the fact that the underlying sociolinguistic factors vary from community to community. This would help to better understand the specific dynamics of language practices of the individual bilingual communities. Following Auer's argument, there is the need to study the language practices of individual bilingual communities such as the one selected for this study.

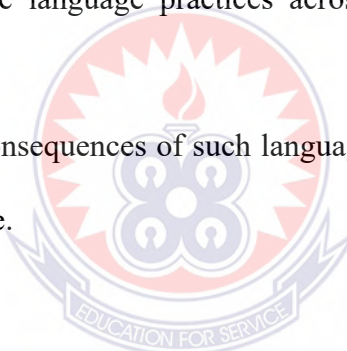
Many studies have been conducted on language practices in multilingual communities across the globe. Africa and for that matter, Ghana, has seen its share of studies in this area. However, there is a perceived limited literature on how languages, in this case the majority languages such as Ewe, fare in migration in Ghana when they become minority. Besides, no study has been conducted on the language practices of the Ewe

in Adeiso. In order to understand how this minority Ewe group in Adeiso use language coupled with motivation from Auer's (1998) argument of understanding how individual bilingual communities use language among other things, this study seeks to explore the language practices by speakers of Ewe in Adeiso and then establish possible implications of this linguistic phenomenon on the speaking of Ewe there.

1.4 Research Objectives

This section of the study outlines the objectives of the research which serve as a guide to data collection and analysis. The objectives are:

1. To investigate the language practices across domains by Ewe speakers in Adeiso.
2. To identify the consequences of such language choices across the domains on Ewe as a language.



1.5 Research Questions

To achieve the research objectives stated above, the following questions serve as a guide.

1. What languages are used in various domains by the Ewe in Adeiso?
2. What are the consequences of such language contact situation on the speaking of Ewe?

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study is the first research on language contact situation among Ewe speakers in Adeiso speech community. Basically, it establishes the language practices by Ewe speakers in Adeiso area by highlighting how language is used in various domains in

the community. It also brings to light the consequences of such language practices on the Ewe language among its speakers in the community. Ultimately, the study provides additional insight about how languages, in this case the majority languages such as Ewe, fare in migration in Ghana when they become minority and also serve as a reference material for language research, language policy formulation and language teaching in the area and other similar areas in the country.

1.7 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis comprises five chapters. Chapter one focuses on pertinent preliminary issues such as introduction, background and general concepts pertinent to the study, problem statement of the study, aim and objectives of the study. It further focuses on the research questions that guide the study, implication of the study and a summary.

Chapter two is in two parts. The first part presents a review of literature relevant to the study. The second part discusses the theoretical framework within which the data is analysed and the rationalization for the selected frameworks. Chapter three, the Methodology chapter, presents the information on research site, participants, sampling techniques and evidence of ethical considerations. It also provides information on the research design and instruments and procedure used in both data collection and analysis.

Chapter four presents the analysis of data. The chapter is devoted to analysis of data to identify the general language practice among the research population and also, the effects of language choice on Ewe as a language. Chapter five ends the thesis with a summary of the entire study. It discusses key findings and makes recommendations for further research.

1.8 Chapter Summary

This introductory chapter highlighted the background issues pertinent to the study. It briefly discussed bilingualism and language practices in Africa and narrowed down to Ghana. The chapter also presented a background to Adeiso speech community and its surroundings, and a brief historical account of the migration of the Ewe to Adeiso. The chapter continued with the statement of the problem and the significance of the study. The objectives and research questions were also presented in this chapter. The chapter closed with the outline of the thesis.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is presented in two parts. The first part reviews literature within the context of bilingualism with special attention to Mackay's (2000) description of bilingualism. The section continues with a discussion of the consequences of bilingual language use; code switching, interference, language shift and language maintenance. This part also reviews literature on previous work done in the area of language practices in bilingual communities in Africa and narrows it down to Ghana. The second part discusses the theoretical frameworks that underpin the research. The study employs the Sociolinguistic Variationist Approach proposed by Labov (1966) and the Marked Bilingualism Model by Batibo (1992, as cited in Batibo, 2005) in analyzing and interpreting the data in the study. This part also justifies the use of these frameworks in the study. The chapter finally closes with a summary.

2.1 Bilingualism and Language Practices

This section discusses bilingualism focusing on the description of bilingualism by Mackay (2000). The discussion in this section includes the consequences of bilingual language use as seen in code switching, interference and language shift and maintenance. This part also reviews literature on previous work done in the area of language practices in African bilingual situations as a wider linguistic context and Ghana in particular.

2.1.1 Description of Bilingualism

Defining bilingualism is a challenging task as almost every suggested definition for the phenomenon seems to run into some form of difficulty. Of such definitions,

Bloomfield's definition (1933, as cited in Ahlidja, 2017, p. 11) cannot be overlooked. To Bloomfield, bilingualism is a "native-like control over two languages". This definition restricts bilingualism to high proficiency in both languages, leaving out language users with some level of competence in a second language which cannot be regarded as "native-like". Thus, issues of degree of language proficiency are critical in describing a bilingual.

Other scholars of bilingualism have advanced definitions that include language users who, otherwise, would not be considered bilinguals, going by Bloomfield's definition. Weinreich (1968, as cited in Ahlidja, 2017, p. 11) in that direction, argues that bilingualism is "the practice of alternately using two languages". This definition includes bilingual language users with any level of proficiency in the two languages. However, it also raises the question of how many languages qualify a speaker as bilingual.

Others like Grosjean and Mackey extend the concept of bilingualism to speakers of two or more languages. According to Mackey (2000), the definition of bilingualism should include not only speakers of two but any number of languages. Grosjean (1982) includes speakers of different variations of the same language. Thus, bilingualism and multilingualism come to be grouped under the same canopy.

Mackey (2000) proposes four factors by which bilingualism may be described. According to him, since bilingualism is a relative concept, it involves the question of degree, that is, how well a speaker knows the languages he uses. The second issue has to do with function. In other words, what does the speaker use his languages for and what roles do the languages play in his total pattern of behaviour. The third is alternation. Alternation describes the manner and extent to which the bilingual

changes from one language to another and under what conditions. Finally, the question of interference addresses the issues of the bilingual's ability to keep his languages apart, the extent to which he fuses them and how one of his languages influences the use of the other.

With regard to degree of bilingualism, Mackey (2000) argues that a speaker needs not have a native-like control over his languages to qualify as a bilingual, since he may not have an equal mastery of all four basic skills in both languages. The bilingual may, indeed, be able to understand both languages equally well; but may be unable to speak both of them with equal competence. Simply put, a bilingual may display varied competence in a language at the phonological-graphic, lexical, semantic and stylistic levels of the language. He noted that since the language skills of the bilingual may include differences in comprehension and expression in both the spoken and written forms, it is necessary to assess each of these skills separately to determine the extent of his bilingualism.

Mackey (2000) defines function as the uses to which a bilingual puts his languages. He argues that the bilingual's use of language may be internal or external. A bilingual's internal use of language is reflected in non-communicative uses, like internal speech, and the expression of intrinsic aptitudes, which influence the bilingual's ability to resist or profit by the situations with which he comes into contact. To him, factors such as sex, memory, age, language attitude, intelligence and motivation affect a bilingual's language practice.

Mackey (2000) broadly categorizes the external functions into the areas of contact and the variations in the use of the languages. He explains that contact refers to the areas in which languages are acquired and used. These language contact areas of the

bilingual include language use in the home, the community, the school, in the media and in his correspondence. The categorization of language contact areas by Mackay is similar to Fasold's (1984) definition of domains of language use which is subsequently discussed in some detail. However, the extent of influence of each of these language contact areas on the language use pattern of the bilingual depends on factors such as the duration, frequency, and pressure of the contact (Mackay, 2000).

The third characteristic referred to by Mackay (2000) is alternation. To him alternation refers to the manner and extent to which the bilingual changes from one language to another. A bilingual's readiness to change from one language to the other depends on his fluency in each language and on the uses (external and internal) to which he puts the languages.

Mackay identifies topic, person and tension as factors that are responsible for a bilingual's alternation between languages. These factors reflect Myers-Scotton's (1993) social motivations for code switching which is expressed in her Markedness model. According to her, participant, topic and situational factors condition speakers to switch codes. In other words, a speaker's willingness to switch from one language to another depends on what the discussion is about, the person he is speaking to, and the tension of the situation in which he speaks. Mackay (2000) again observes that each of these factors may determine the rate of alternation and the amount of each language used in a given situation.

Mackay's (2000) fourth characteristic is interference which he defined as the use of features belonging to one language while speaking or writing another. In other words, interference is referred to as the transfer of elements of one language to another at various linguistic levels. According to Mackay, interference differs from borrowing in

the sense that borrowed elements are fully integrated in the recipient language and are used by monolingual speakers of the language while in interference the elements are not integrated and are only recognized and used by bilingual individuals of the recipient language.

However, Hoffer (2002) argues that interference is not the mere introduction of elements from one language into another but involves the reordering of the linguistic systems of phonology, vocabulary, morphology and syntax of the receiving language. Hoffer's argument seems to suggest that transferred elements are integrated into and behave as elements of the recipient language. According to Mackay (2000), interference may vary with the medium, the style, the register, and the context in which the bilingual happens to be using the language and may be studied at cultural, semantic, lexical, grammatical, phonological, phonetic or graphic levels of the dialect. Transferred elements may occur as a unit or a structure.

2.1.2 Language Practices in Multilingual Communities

One of the core values of studies in multilingualism is to discover the language use patterns of bilingual individuals and communities. According to Duan (2004), language practices is a term used to describe the situation in which members of a community use different languages or speech varieties in various social settings. Languages employed in the different social settings are used to perform various functions which, according to Wang (2000), are mutually complementary. Again, it must be noted that how individuals and communities employ these languages in the various speech settings is not random but rule-guided (Agyekum, 2009) and reflects the linguistic beliefs typical to such speech communities (Agyakwa, 2018).

2.1.2.1 Domains of Language Use

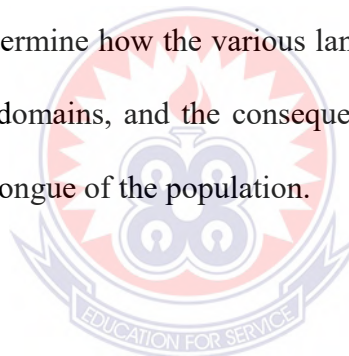
In the study of language use, Schmidt-Rohr in the early 1930s proposed the concept of ‘domains of language’ which was further developed by Fishman. Fasold (1984, p. 183) defines domains as “institutional contexts in which one language variety is more likely to be appropriate than another.” To Adams, Matu and Ongarora (2012), ‘domains’ are institutional contexts in which one language is more likely to be appropriate than another considering such factors as topic, location and participants. In other words, what language an individual chooses at any point in time may depend on whom he or she is speaking with, what he or she is discussing and where the conversation is taking place.

The concept of domain according to Baker and Prys Jones (1998) basically aligns with such notions as ‘formality and informality’ where minority languages are linked with informal situations and majority languages associated with formal situations of communication. Bilinguals typically manage to accord each domain the language choice it deserves. However, Ferrer and Sankoff (2004) indicate that the language preference of a speaker is influenced more by dominant languages which have wider acceptance and functions and can be used in formal and informal domains of communication. Pillai (2006) explains that in multilingual society, the language spoken by a large community stands superior to those spoken by the minority population since it help to gain prestige, better economic access in the community, authority and power.

In West Africa and precisely Ghana, the research country, the minor indigenous languages are assigned to informal in-group domain, the major indigenous languages are accorded *linguae francae* status for out-group interactions, while the ex-colonial

languages are of national official, global importance (Batibo 2005). Studies on domain are usually geared towards identifying the situations that require the use of language and in how many such domains each language is used in multilingual communities. Since speakers choose which language to use every time they interact within a given domain, their collective choices may be suggestive of which of the languages in the community's repertoire is used in which domain.

The concept of domain discussed in this section relates to the language contact areas as identified in Mackay (2000). This study consequently aligns the study of language use in domains with that of Mackay (ibid), i.e. the home, the community (neighbourhood, market, religious gatherings and outside the neighbourhood) and the school. The aim is to determine how the various languages in the research setting are used across the various domains, and the consequences such a language use pattern has on Ewe as a mother tongue of the population.



2.1.2.2 Diglossia

As stated earlier, Baker and Prys Jones link the concept of domains to 'formality and informality' of the linguistic situation. This classification aligns with Fasold's (1984) claim that the analysis of domains is related to diglossia. The discussion of diglossia is then relevant to this studies as it outlines the various languages employed by speakers across the domains and the functions each language performs with regard to how and where it is used.

Diglossia is the situation where two codes, either distinct languages or varieties of the same language, perform two distinct sets of functions in the same linguistic community. Ferguson (1959) defined diglossia as a relatively stable situation where a

highly codified variety of a language is reserved strictly for use in very formal situations where the less codified ones will not be used. Fishman (1967) modified Ferguson's definition to include not only two varieties of the same language but also two different languages. These definitions seem to imply that languages used by bilinguals are strictly bound to specific domains. Fasold (1984) refers to diglossia as a functional distribution of bilinguals' languages as H (high) and L (low). The H language is used in more formal situation while the L language is used in informal settings.

However, Abdulaziz-Mkilifi (1978, as cited in Batibo, 2005) described the language pattern in most African countries as 'trifocal'. A situation where three languages are used in a community showing a three-tier language structure. Abdulaziz-Mkilifi termed this a 'triglossic structure model' but Batibo (2005, p. 17) would rather term it a 'doubly overlapping diglossic structure'. This he explains as a relationship of two languages at two levels. According to Batibo, there is usually an ex-colonial language at the top of the structure, a major indigenous language at the middle and a minority language at the lowest level.

An ex-colonial language is the language of the colonial masters such as French, English and Portuguese, which they introduced for the purposes of administration and education. Over the years, according to Batibo (2005), these languages have grown to acquire both economic power and prestige and have been adopted by many African countries as official languages after independence. In the case of Ghana, Bodomomo et al (2009) report that the ex-colonial language, English functions as the national or official language of the country. Thus, these colonial languages have remained with these countries and are used largely in all national domains.

Major indigenous languages are those African languages that are socio-economically prestigious and demographically superior to other African languages (Batibo, 2005). They have assumed the role of lingua franca as they are spoken by a significant number of people as second languages and used as inter-ethnic means of communication at local, regional and national levels. According to Batibo (2005), they attract second language learners from other less prestigious languages because of their socio-economic promotion, access to wider communication and demographic superiority. He explained that minority languages as opposed to dominant languages have few speakers and no conspicuous public role. They are usually spoken within the confines of the speakers' territories and may not attract second language speakers.

According to Batibo (2005), these languages serve distinctive roles and at the same time complement each other. Going by the triglossic structure model, the H language functions in formal domains such as government, education and technology. The dominant indigenous languages serve as the language of communication in the public places where inter-ethnic interaction is usually observed; places such as market, neighbourhoods and to some extent, in mass media. The minority languages on the other hand may be used in family conversations and by local people, i.e. intra-ethnic communication.

However, Myers-Scotton (2006) noted that the strict adherence of the languages to specific domains does not always reflect language use by the speakers. This is in support of Batibo's (2005) argument that the linguistic dynamism of Africans is much more complex than stipulated by the triglossic structure model. According to him, due to expansion in education, ex-colonial languages may take over some of the domains of the dominant languages as more young people are getting educated and want to

associate with western lifestyle. Same way, dominant languages may spread over: upwards or downwards to some domains of the ex-colonial or minority languages. In such situations, minority languages may suffer the pressure to either maintain their language or shift to the dominant language.

2.1.3 Consequences of Bilingual Language Use.

Language practices in bilingual speech communities has several consequences on the languages in question. Winford (2003) identified three linguistic effects among minority speech communities which are similar to that of Fishman. According to him (Winford), a minority community may abandon their language for the majority, maintain their mother tongue, or a whole new language evolves from such contact situations. A minority community maintaining their mother tongue or abandoning it for the majority language may be seen as the ultimate consequences of language contact in bilingual communities.

However, in the creation of new languages from bilingual language contact situation, there may be transfer of elements between the languages involved. This is seen in Aladesohun's (2012) assertion that languages typically influence each other when their speakers interact closely. Winford (2003) observed that there are structural and lexical transfers between the languages in bilingual settings which may result in an altered version of the recipient minority language, or that bilingual speakers alternate between their languages. These observations are in line with Mackay's (2000) description of bilingualism which includes alternation and interference. This study thus considers alternation and interference as consequences of bilingual language use.

2.1.3.1 Alternation

Alternation is the shift from one language to another in the same conversation. This definition is taken to cover all forms of switches which can be identified in a bilingual speech and is used interchangeably with code switching and language mixing in this thesis. Code switching is a pervasive phenomenon in bilingual speech and has received more scholarly attention in recent times. The fields of anthropology and sociolinguistics have taken keen interest in code switching (Poplack, 1980; Myers-Scotton, 1993). Research into code switching is assumed to have been traced to Weinrich in the early 50s who is presumed to be the first to have used the term. But the phenomenon has been at the periphery of language research until recently, and was seen in a negative light.

Code switching was considered by scholars as a deficient form of language use and that those who switched codes were not proficient in the languages involved in the switch. Benson (2001) mentions that researchers used this term to mean “deviant behaviour patterns”. However, recent studies by Poplack (1980), Myers-Scotton (1993), Amuzu (2005) Quarcoo (2012) view code switching in a more positive light and consider it as a discourse strategy which demonstrates high levels of proficiency in both languages. In spite of the rising interest in and positive attitude towards code switching, scholars have been unable to arrive at a universal definition of the phenomenon.

Gardner-Chloros (2009) explains that understanding what ‘code’ is, is crucial in defining code switching. To her, code is understood as a neutral umbrella term for languages, dialects and styles or registers and that code switching refers to the alternation between languages, dialects, and styles. This definition is supported by

scholars such as Myers-Scotton (1993), Milroy and Muysken (1995) who define code switching as a bilingual behaviour where speakers shift from one language or language variety to another within the same conversation. It includes single-word switches to stretches of construction in a bilingual conversation.

Code switching has been studied from different perspectives. The sociolinguistic perspective investigates the social motivations for code switching among speakers in a language contact situation. The structural approach of code switching is of much concern to the linguistic approach, where the grammatical constraints that govern the occurrence of code switching are the focus. Code switching is also considered as being ‘psychologically motivated’ and thus, can be studied from the psycholinguistic point of view. To Clyne (2003), bilinguals frequently code switch not by their intentions, but rather by certain specific conditions of language production related to the cognitive processes happening in the speaker’s mind. A qualitative analysis of code switching is however, not the focus of this study. It only focuses on speakers’ motivation for the use of code switching in their interactions.

2.1.3.2 Interference

Interference, according to Mackay (2000), is the use of features belonging to one language while speaking or writing another. It focuses on the extent to which the bilingual is able to keep his languages apart or fuses them and how one of his languages influences the use of another. The term *interference* was first introduced by Weinreich (1953, as cited in Chatterjee, 2015), who defined it as a linguistic change that occurs in the native language of a bilingual speaker in a contact situation due to pressures from the foreign language. According to Chatterjee (2015, p. 36), Weinreich stated that this change results in a “deviation from the norms of either language”,

resulting in a “rearrangement of patterns” in the structures of linguistic systems. This study focuses on the change caused in the native language of bilingual speakers of Ewe in Adeiso.

Mackay (2000) argues that interference may be analysed from the cultural, semantic, lexical, grammatical, phonological, phonetic, or graphic levels of the dialect. At each of these levels, the transferred element may be a single item or an arrangement of items; in other words, it may be a unit or a structure. According to Berthold, Mangubhai & Batorowicz (1997), interference is the transference of elements of one language to another at various levels, namely phonological, grammatical, lexical and orthographical. Cultural interference occurs as a result of the bilingual’s introduction of foreign elements to express new phenomena or new experience which are not accounted for in a language. Cultural interference may range from introduction of unfamiliar objects to customs of greeting.

Semantic interference is due to familiar phenomena and experience which are classified or structured differently in the other language. Even though the semantic units may be the same in both languages, a foreign way of combining them may be introduced as a new semantic structure. Lexical interference involves the introduction of foreign forms into the speech of the bilingual, either as units or as structures. Phonological interference affects the units and structures of intonation, rhythm, catenation, and articulation. Berthold et al, (1997) define phonological interference as items including accent such as stress, rhyme, intonation and speech sounds from the first language (L1) influencing those of the second language (L2).

Grammatical interference includes the introduction into the speech of bilinguals of units and structures of foreign parts of speech, grammatical categories, and function

forms. According to Amenorvi (2015), grammatical interference occurs when one language influences the other in terms of word order, use of pronouns and determiners, tense and mood. The interference may involve the creation of new items belonging to a different part of speech. Grammatical interference also includes the introduction of features from different grammatical categories. Structural interference in grammatical categories has to do with the use of concord and government. The third type of grammatical interference concerns the function forms of the two languages. Function forms may be free or bound. Free forms include such units as prepositions, conjunctions, determinatives, and so on. Bound function forms, which result from such inflectional and derivational processes as affixation, internal change, zero modification, and reduplication, are also subject to bilingual interference. The structure of bound forms may also be carried over by bilingual speakers from one language to another, both in their order and in their boundness (Mackay, 2000).

2.1.3.3 Language Shift

Language shift occurs when a minority speech community moves either completely or partially, to a dominant language due to pressure. It is a process that gradually begins with individual language choices made by members of a speech community until when the minority language is no more used. According to Agyakwa (2018, p. 14), Abtahian (2009) defined language shift as “the process by which a speech community in a contact situation (i.e. consisting of bilingual speakers) gradually stops using one of its two languages in favour of the other.”

Scholars such as Batibo (2005) attributed language shift to the individuals’ choices in a speech community. He notes that “language shift results when speakers, abandon their language, willingly or under pressure, in favour of another language which then

takes over as their means of communication and socialization” (p. 87). Relating to this, Romaine (2000, p. 51), dwelling on the stages by which language shift occurs states that “language shift generally involves bilingualism (often with diglossia) as a stage on the way to eventual monolingualism in a new language.”

Similarly, Lenk (2007, p. 5) is of the opinion that “when language becomes variable and minority and majority languages are used in the same social contexts, language shift begins.” The assumption here is that language shift begins when minority and majority languages struggle for space in some linguistic setting which eventually leads to an invasion by the majority language on domains, presumably, reserved for the minority language.

However, according to Bodomo, Anderson and Dzahene-Quarshie (2009), language shift in West Africa and for that matter Ghana is a much more complex situation involving more than two languages in most cases. Their study revealed that language shift in Ghana usually does not only involve shifting from indigenous Ghanaian languages to English, but also shifting from a mother tongue or minor indigenous language to a major one and subsequently, to English. They refer to this situation as the concept of ‘multilingual language shift’.

It is evident in the discussions so far that language shift is a collective result of language choice practices of speech communities in contact situations. Language shift is a gradual process due to intense pressure on the speakers of a minority language to move to a dominant language. This pressure stems from the need to learn the dominant language of socio-economic importance for social integration.

2.1.3.4 Language Maintenance

Language maintenance generally, refers to the linguistic contact situations whereby speakers of a minority language continue to use their language in their daily interactions. Dyers (2004) refers to language maintenance as when a community continues to use its heritage language across all generations in the face of other languages also being used by the same community. In the same vein, Adams et al (2012, p. 99) define language maintenance as “a language-contact situations where a minority group continues to use its language even under conditions that might support a language shift”. Dyers (2004), Fishman, (1989) and Fasold (1984) maintain that language maintenance is a trans-generational affair such that there is linguistic continuity between older and succeeding generations.

According to Hamde (2005), speakers of a minority language, most often, wish to keep their ethnic identity through language, religion or cultural heritage, which of course, is determined by several factors. Okpanachi and Abuh (2017) listed status, degree of institutional support and demographic strength of an ethno-linguistic minority group, in addition to the speakers' loyalty to their heritage language, as the factors that determine language maintenance. They explained, however, that these factors differ greatly from speaker to speaker and from situation to situation. Hamde (2005) is of the same view that the position of a language depends on the motivation of the group to stick to their language, in addition to appropriate socio-economic and political factors.

It is evident from the discussion that bilinguals desire to preserve their cultural identity through maintaining their mother tongue. Consequently, speakers of the less prestigious language device ways of retaining it, transmitting it to the next generation,

and using it in all areas. In this regard, Maitz (2011) defines language maintenance as the situation where speakers put measures in place to ensure the continuous use of a language in the face of language contact and competition with more powerful or numerically stronger languages. Thus, language maintenance involves all strategies which bilinguals adopt to preserve the functional domains of respective languages in their linguistic repertoire.

Winford (2003) outlined three language maintenance strategies adopted by bilinguals in language contact situations. According to him, the speakers of a minority language may borrow and incorporate items from the majority language with which it is in contact. In other cases, in highly multilingual situations, heavy structural and lexical diffusion take place resulting in structural convergence, a situation which results in an altered version of the recipient minority language. Language maintenance situation may also include stable bilingual speech communities where speakers make alternate use of their languages resulting in code switching (Winford, 2003). In the same vein, Alvanoudi (2017) mentioned borrowing and other forms of change as strategies used by minority groups to preserve their native languages. This study is concerned with borrowing and code switching as language maintenance strategies.

2.1.4 Bilingualism and Language Practices in Ghana

Bilingualism in Ghana results from the large number of languages spoken in the country. Ghana, a country in the West African sub-region is endowed with many languages, making the country one of the highly multilingual nations in Africa. As stated in chapter one of this thesis, scholars are unable to settle on an exact number of languages spoken in the country.

Scholars such as Agbedor (1996); Guerini (2008); Bibiebome (2011) and Simons and Fennig (2018) have advanced various numbers because of what Bodo, et al. (2009) termed the difficulty in distinguishing between what qualifies to be called ‘a language’ and what should be called ‘a dialect of other languages’. These figures vary between forty and eighty-one languages. Simons and Fennig (2018), being the most current, estimate the number of languages at eighty-one, including both indigenous and non-indigenous languages. This linguistic complexity in this relatively rather small country is due to the large number of ethnic groups presently domiciled in the country.

Wright (2014), states that there is a large number of ‘tribes’, ‘ethnicities’ and ‘sovereignities’ currently resident in Ghana. Every child born in Ghana acquires and makes use of the language peculiar to the ethnic group into which that child is socialized. Apart from the mother tongue (i.e. language of the ethnic group), the child may also be exposed to one neighbouring language and a major language of the area (Batibo, 2005). Thus, that child may grow up with the ability to speak about three or more languages.

According to Bodo et al (2009), all the indigenous languages in Ghana belong to the Gur and Kwa groupings which are sub-families of the Niger-Kordofanian language family. These indigenous Ghanaian languages, according to Afrifa, Anderson and Ansah (2019), are closely linked to various ethnic groupings. Speaker populations vary across the various indigenous languages. While many of the languages have speaker strength of less than a hundred thousand, major ones such as Akan (i.e. Asante Twi, Akuapem Twi and Fante), being the largest, and Ewe have speaker populations running into the millions (Afrifa et al, 2019).

In addition to these indigenous languages, Ghana plays host to other West African languages such as Hausa and some Mande languages (Bisa & Safaliba). According to Bodomo et al (2009), Hausa may not be regarded as indigenous to Ghana because geographically it is completely cut off from its major speaking areas (i.e. northern Nigeria and Niger) in addition to the fact that it is mostly spoken in 'immigrant Zongo' communities in Ghana. However, Bisa which is spoken on the north-eastern border of Ghana and Safaliba which is also spoken somewhere towards the Ghana-Ivory Coast border may be considered, to an extent, indigenous to Ghana by virtue of the fact that they have identifiable native speakers (Bodomo et al, 2009).

Apart from these West African languages which are spoken in Ghana, Bodomo et al (2009) identifies a third group of languages which are clearly non-indigenous to the country. These are English, French and Arabic. French and Arabic are spoken to various degrees in the country by individuals and in very restricted communities. French is taught as a subject in school and spoken among few educated bilinguals while Arabic is also taught in Islamic schools known as 'makaranta' and spoken in Lebanese communities, (Bodomo et al, 2009). English being the dominant language in this group is also one of the most important languages in Ghana.

As stated earlier, some of the indigenous languages have very large number of speakers while others have few speakers of hundreds and thousands. Based on this and other factors such as domain of use and language policy issues, Dzameshie (1988) indicates that some of the indigenous languages may be classified as major languages while others are classified as minor languages. According to Afrifa et al (2014), ten of the indigenous languages are accepted for official translation and publication purposes. These are Akan (Asante Twi, Akuapem Twi and Fante) Ewe, Ga, Dangme,

Nzema, Gonja, Dagbani, Kasem, Dagaare and Wali. These languages are recognized as government-sponsored major indigenous languages that are taught and used as medium of instruction from kindergarten to the third year of basic school, and taught as mandatory subjects from the fourth to ninth year of basic school education in their respective geographical locations, (Dzameshie, 1988). Again, these languages become second languages for minority ethnic groups, who through migration, find themselves within the geographical areas of these major languages.

In Ghana's linguistic repertoire, English, though foreign, is one of the most important languages. Its position as the official language of the country affords it the prestige as the language of education and of mass communication in the country. English, according to Bodomo et al (2009), is the most widely spoken language in the country, taking into account the various forms in which it is spoken – from pidgin to standard educated English. This is supported by the 2010 Population and Housing Census in Ghana, which estimates that about 63.6% of Ghanaians of fifteen years and above speak English.

Several attempts have been made by successive governments to promote indigenous Ghanaian languages, yet English has remained the most widely spoken language in the country. Bodomo et al (2009) identify the inter-play of historical, linguistic, educational, political factors, among others, as responsible for the national status of English in the country. Akin to all multilingual communities, individuals and multilingual communities in Ghana make use of the many languages in their repertoire in unique ways to meet various communicative needs.

2.1.5 Empirical Review of Bilingualism and Language Practices

As already discussed language practices is how bilingual individuals and communities use language in various social settings. It is also seen in the discussion that the way the various languages in the bilingual's repertoire are employed have consequences, i.e. one language influences the use of the other, as in alternation and interference with language shift or maintenance being the ultimate. This section reviews existing studies on bilingualism and language practices, with their attendant consequences in some African communities and then narrowed down to Ghana.

2.1.5.1 Kedrebeogo's (1998) Study of Koronfe Speech Community

Kedrebeogo (1998) investigated the case of language shift in Koronfe speech community, northern part of Burkina Faso. The study centered on Yatenga, Zondoma, Lorum, and Soum provinces of Koromba, which is a farming community with a high rate of illiteracy. The study was aimed at achieving two objectives; a) to assess the on-going sociolinguistic situation of that community and the extent to which this speech community has actually shifted from Koronfe to the dominant language Moore, and b) to identify factors that are responsible for language shift in Koromba and determine whether or not language shift of the Koromba is reversible. Questionnaire, observations and interviews were employed to collect data from a total of 537 participants who were twelve years and above. The data gathered included the demographic information of participants, language repertoire and the various domains of language use.

Generally, it was found that the speakers of Koronfe in the Koromba community were shifting to Moore progressively, mainly due to the inability to transmit Koronfe to the

younger generation. Moore was found to have invaded the home while Koronfe was reserved for religious purposes. Though Koronfe was spoken by majority of the parents, most of their children spoke Moore as their first language compared to Koronfe. It was also found that military and political supremacy of the Moore was another factor that aided the shift from Koronfe to Moore. Again, the study revealed that Koromba people, especially the young people, have negative attitude towards their language (Koronfe) and associate it with 'backwardness' or 'ignorance'.

The study concluded that the Koromba people have not completely yielded to Moore though the shift is well advanced. Religious ceremonies were predominantly conducted in Koronfe as it was forbidden to speak Moore in the shrines or the tombs of the Koromba ancestors. There is still some resistance to the pressure from Moore, especially among the Koromba elders. The study also reported an increasing desire to create a "national sub commission for Koronfe" by the Koromba community, among other strategies to save the language.

Just like the Koromba people, as it shall be shown in this thesis, the speakers of Ewe in Adeiso (a minority group) are faced with pressures from Akan majority to either shift or maintain their heritage language. The study investigates language use in domains such as the home and religious settings to arrive at a conclusion as to whether Ewe is being maintained, especially in these two domains or not. The study also aims to further establish the factors that drive this pressure and the impact the other languages have on the speaking of Ewe in Adeiso.

2.1.5.2 Michieka's (2012) study of Language Use in Kenya

In a related study, Michieka (2012) investigated the patterns of language use among Kenyan university students. She sought to establish whether multilingualism is successful or local languages are threatened by a potential shift. She suggests that speakers' attitude towards their language determines whether the language dies or survives. Using the convenience sampling, she selected two hundred and forty Kenyan students from different backgrounds for her study. A detailed questionnaire was employed to survey language use patterns among the youth and the data was examined using the Ethnolinguistic Vitality theory.

The study revealed a preference for English and indigenous majority languages such as Kiswahili and Sheng among the youth in Kenya. This leads to a replacement of the indigenous minority languages with English, Kiswahili and Sheng in primary domains such as the home which should be a reserve for indigenous minority languages. Again, the study revealed that the youth resort to Kiswahili, Sheng or code-mixing between English and Kiswahili at home and in interpersonal conversations. Furthermore, the official English status and the heterogeneity of the country, favours the use of English over the indigenous minority languages, thus, widening its functions resulting in an encroachment on primary domains such as the home.

Again, most families, in response to modernity, speak Kiswahili only or code switch between English and Kiswahili at home, a situation which increases children's proficiency in Kiswahili to the disadvantage of their indigenous languages. The study also observed that though the youth were bilingual, their switch from one language to another does not include their indigenous minority languages, which to her, is injurious to the maintenance of the indigenous minority languages.

Michieka (2012) is relevant to the current study owing to the fact that it investigates language practices across domains and its effects on minority languages. We shall find in this study that in the case of Ewe in Adeiso, Akan, which is the ethnic language of the area, dominates the area and is the language used in inter-ethnic communication. This position affords it some power which poses a threat to the minority languages such as Ewe, in migrant communities in the Adeiso enclave. English, with its official language status also poses some threat, especially, among the formally educated. Consequently, the study seeks to establish the language behaviour of Ewe bilinguals in Adeiso in domains such as the home, community and school.

2.1.5.3 Okpanachi and Abuh's (2017) Study of LANGUAGE use and Maintenance in Olowa

With regard to language maintenance, Okpanachi and Abuh (2017) likewise, investigated language use and language maintenance in Olowa, Dekina Local Government Area, Kogi State, Nigeria, with the aim of identifying the factors that condition the use or non-use of the languages in contact, namely Igala, Bassa-Nge and Bassa-Komo. In other words, the study sought to investigate how domains influence language use and the factors responsible for language maintenance in Olowa. The specific objectives of the study were to identify the domains of language use in Olowa community and to examine the level and pattern of the proficiency of the members of the community in the three languages spoken in Olowa, which are Igala, Bassa-Nge and Bassa-Komo.

The study maintains that in language maintenance, the languages in contact may have co-existed in a stable relationship, and that there are several factors that lead speakers to maintain or shift from their language. The study also assumes that while these

factors vary considerably from speaker to speaker and situation to situation, a group must demonstrate a sense of maintaining one's linguistic and cultural identity within a multilingual context. Furthermore, the study holds the view that the use and maintenance of a language is usually determined by factors such as status, degree of institutional support and demographic strength of its speakers, in addition to the speakers' will to hold on to their language.

One hundred participants from each of the three language groups totaling three hundred participants, representing the different age groups, sexes, and socio-cultural classes were selected through random sampling. A questionnaire was used to gather data on participants' demographics, language proficiency and domains of language use such as school, home, public gathering, market place and work. The data was analyzed using simple percentages to determine the extent of language use and language maintenance, and explained within the framework of Fishman's theory on the relationship between micro- and macro-sociolinguistics, which focuses on who speaks what language to whom and when.

The findings show that speakers of the three languages were proficient in their various native languages and also in the dominant language, Igala. The study also reveals that the factors responsible for this include ethnic identity consciousness, inter-ethnic relations such as marriage, economic, communal and other socio-cultural activities. Religion is another factor reported for being responsible for language maintenance. The study concludes that languages in contact may co-exist without any of them being endangered, provided the factors named are present.

The study reveals a pattern of language use which is similar to that of the Ewe in Adeiso where three main languages are used in different domains for different

purposes. However, Okpanachi and Abuh's (2017) study was silent on possible bilingual switches which Winford (2003) sees as language maintenance strategies. The current study also aims at identifying the possible consequences of language practices on Ewe, as a mother tongue and, by extension, the possibility of switches among the languages in question.

2.1.5.4 Afrifa et al's (2019) Study of Language Shift in Urban Ghana

Narrowing the discussion down to Ghana, Afrifa et al (2019) in a related study, investigated the choice of English as a home language in urban Ghana. The study was aimed at identifying the motivating factors that are responsible for the perceived shift from indigenous Ghanaian languages to English as the home language in urban Ghana. It examined the patterns of language use within twenty homes in two urban communities within Accra, the capital city of Ghana. The study described Ghana as a highly multilingual society with as many as eighty-one languages. To the researchers, there is a clear sign of language shift in progress as English and other dominant indigenous languages continue to exude so much power and prestige, thus invading domains that are preserved for minority indigenous languages.

The study selected ninety-four participants from ten homes in two urban communities, West Legon and Madina within Accra. It has been argued in the study that urban dwellers are more inclined to shift languages and that the home has been identified as the best place to preserve and transmit one's language to younger generations. The snowball technique was used in selecting the participants to ensure that the occupants were Ghanaians and three years or older, and that at least one of the occupants was a parent or guardian. Data was collected through observation, interviews, audio-

recording of conversations and questionnaire that was either written or verbally responded to by participants.

It is revealed in the study that language shift towards English is more apparent in West Legon. Families in this community are more inclined to adopt English in particular as a home language compared to families in Madina. Majority of children in West Legon homes speak English as their L1 with no indigenous Ghanaian language. This disrupt the transfer of indigenous languages to the next generation. In Madina, however, there is rather a shift from minority indigenous languages such as Guan and Ewe to Akan. This, according to the study, is as a result of the use of Akan as a community language. It is obvious from the study, nonetheless, that there is an incidence of language shift in progress.

Moreover, the study listed demography, economic status, age, inter-ethnic marriages and educational background as the main factors influencing the choice of English as a home language in urban Ghana. The media, language-in-education policies and the internet were also seen to play a crucial role in the use of English in the Ghanaian community. The study also reports instances of code switching Akan and English, with English seemingly being the base language in most cases. This also supports the assertion that English has become the language of the home in many urban communities in Ghana.

Similarly, the current study investigates language practices and **its** consequences on Ewe as a mother tongue and a minority language in the Adeiso speech community. It focuses on language shift and maintenance as consequences of bilingual language practices and factors that necessitate a shift or maintenance. In the face of dominant languages such as Akan and English, Ewe as a minority language is likely to face

some pressure which may result in its speakers either shifting to Akan mainly, or maintaining Ewe. The current study also examines instances of language mixing as in code switching and interference in the speaking of Ewe, using recorded data as seen in Afrifa et al (2019).

2.1.5.5 Ansah's (2014) Study of Language Choice in Leteh

Another work worth discussing is Ansah's (2014) study of language choice in multilingual communities, using Larteh as a case study. The study investigated factors that govern language choices that multilingual speakers make in Larteh, a multilingual community. Ansah was of the view that due to changes in various spheres of life in Larteh, current language use patterns in the community differ from what pertained about three decades ago as reported by Johnson (1973, as cited in Ansah, 2014). Subsequently, factors that determine language choice are gradually undergoing some modification.

According to Ansah, Johnson (1973) reports that Larteh is a non-reciprocal bilingual community, where the people speak Leteh and Akuapem Twi with English being the third language for those who have had formal education. Thus, she based her study on the premise that people who speak more than two languages are often confronted with making the right language choice within a particular domain. She was also of the view that language choice is informed by the kind of participants in a communication situation, the topic, social distance, and also location. Consequently, the study investigated the factors that govern language choices among speakers of Leteh within three domains of language use: education, tradition, and religion. The study was conducted within the framework of Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model.

The study conducted a survey on four hundred and eighteen participants, who were randomly selected and aged ten years and above, to collect information on individual and societal linguistic repertoires and also to have an insight into the patterns of language use in Larteh. It also observed primary 1 classroom teaching and learning in three public basic school in Larteh in addition to two funeral sessions and church service in two different churches, which enabled investigation into the choices that teachers, family spokesman, and church leaders made in multilingual contexts.

The findings from the study showed that there were about twenty languages spoken in Larteh, out of which Leteh, Twi, and English are the dominant ones. Again, the study reports that majority of the participants reported to have knowledge and use of two or more languages, including the three major languages. This confirms Larteh as a multilingual community. Language choice in the classroom in Larteh was found to be highly bilingual. It was observed that the teachers' choice of language in the classroom is unmarked code switching between English and Akuapem Twi, which reflects Government of Ghana's educational policy on language. The study also noted that Leteh, the first language of the majority of the pupils was not used in any of the teaching sessions as pupils also answered questions either in English or Twi, depending on their proficiency in either language.

According to the study, language choice during funerals which is a traditional rite defies community expectations, and as a result the choice may be described as marked so far as domain type was concerned. It was observed that instead of Leteh only, Twi and English were used along with Leteh since people from other language background may be present. With regard to the religious domain, the study reported that whereas Akuapem Twi was the unmarked choice in the orthodox churches, English was the

unmarked choice in the Pentecostal Churches. However, church services were also characterized by English/Akuapem Twi code switching.

The study concluded that the functional distribution of the three languages - Leteh, Twi, and English as reported by earlier researches had changed with regard to the use of English. English was seen to invade domains such as tradition and religion, hitherto reserved for indigenous Ghanaian languages like Leteh. The introduction of English in some domains, as well as the comparative increase of its use may be accounted for by a corresponding growth in education in the Larteh community. Thus, there was a shift from Leteh to Akan and to English in some instances.

In a like manner, the Ewe in Adeiso are often met with the challenge of making the right language choice within a particular domain. The Ewe in Adeiso speak Ewe in various domains, from the home through the community and even the school in some cases. However, certain factors constrain their use of Ewe across these domains. As a result, the current study purposes to investigate how the speakers of Ewe in Adeiso negotiate the use of language across the various domains and what factors account for such language practices. Again, the study examines the influence of the other languages on the speaking of Ewe in Adeiso.

2.1.5.6 Bodomo et al's (2009) Study of Language Shift in Ghana

Another study that is of much importance to the current study is the study by Bodomo et al (2009) who investigated multilingualism as a complex ecology of language shift in Ghana, a country described as highly multilingual. The study was premised on the assumption that multilingualism in African countries and, for that matter, Ghana, is very complex, giving the numerous languages spoken across the country.

Consequently, the issue of language shift is more complex as compared to the less multilingual nations such as Switzerland and Belgium. The study specifically investigates the linguistic choices made by adults and children in specified domains such as the home and community, in which indigenous Ghanaian languages were originally used.

200 participants (100 parents and 100 children) were randomly sampled from two cosmopolitan urban communities, Accra and Tema. According to the study, the heterogeneous nature of the two communities makes them representative of social structures in Ghana and present a fairly balanced ethnic mix and population fluidity. The study sampled participant from two different generations (parents and children) so as to have a basis to be able to compare and determine if there is a shift in the language habits of the children. The study employed a questionnaire in collecting data for analysis. The domain theory and the functional choice theory were employed in the analysis of data in the study.

It is revealed from the data that all the participants reported to speak two or more languages and that majority of parents use English either partially or totally with their children at home and with their friends. On the part of the children, majority speak English with their siblings at home and friends at school, but a lower percentage speak English with their parents. This demonstrates a clear case of shift to English. The study also reports of a kind of “sequential language shift” (p. 369) which involves a preliminary shift from mother tongue to a regional Ghanaian language and ultimately to English, and “concurrent language shift” (p. 369) in which the offspring of an immigrant picks up a new Ghanaian language in informal situations, such as in

the neighbourhood playground and picks up English at the same time in formal situations, such as a school.

In spite of the language shift recorded, the study also reports of language maintenance on the macro level. With evidence from the media and education, the study reports on conscious and unconscious institutional efforts aimed at maintaining the indigenous Ghanaian languages. Many FM stations now deliver their broadcasts in indigenous Ghanaian languages. There were also discussions to include indigenous Ghanaian languages as medium of instruction in school as means of maintaining the indigenous Ghanaian languages.

In a similar way, the Ewe in Adeiso are faced with the use of multiple languages in their repertoire in their daily interaction: Ewe as their mother tongue, Akan as a regional language and English as the official language with several other minority languages. Consequently, the current study examines the consequences of the use of these languages across the various domains on Ewe through the use of questionnaire. The current study also purposes to investigate language mixing as a bilingual strategy of language maintenance, which is not mentioned in Bodomo et al (2009).

2.1.5.7 Mensah's (2008) Study of Language Shift and Maintenance among the Efutu

Mensah (2008) is of the view that demographic size, lack of institutional support and prestige are factors that can result in language shift. She, consequently, studied how Efutu and Fante interact in the socio-economic activities of the people of Winneba. The study sought to assess whether or not the speakers of Efutu were shifting to Fante. The study employed questionnaires, observations and interviews to collect

data. The data was analysed within Batibo's conceptual framework of marked bilingualism.

The study was premised on the fact that Efutu, an indigenous language spoken at Winneba in the central region of Ghana, is under pressure from Fante (a dialect of Akan). Efutu is surrounded by speakers of Fante who are in the majority, causing the two groups to interact on daily basis. This situation has resulted in a bilingual situation which is skewed in favour of Fante because Fante controls more domain than Efutu. For instance Fante was used in church and other public places and is the medium of instruction at the pre-school level. The study revealed a clear incidence of shift by the speakers of Efutu to Fante.

This study is relevant to the current study in its use of the Marked Bilingualism Model. The Marked Bilingualism Model as discussed subsequently, is a process related model that demonstrates the stages a language goes through on its way to extinction. It places languages in these phases depending on the prevailing characteristics observable in the use of the language. Based on the identified characteristics, Mensah (2008) concluded that the speakers of Efutu were shifting to Fante. The current study makes use of the marked bilingualism model to clearly identify the characteristics of the use of Ewe in Adeiso, situating it on the scheme proposed by the model, and also to make recommendations regarding the future of Ewe in Adeiso.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

For the analysis and explanation of data gathered for this study, two theoretical frameworks are employed; the "Sociolinguistic Variationist model" by William

Labov (1966) and Batibo's (1992, 1997) "Marked Bilingualism Model". The application of the theories in the context of this study is discussed in this section.

2.2.1 The Sociolinguistic Variationist Approach

This approach, as propounded by Labov (1966), is a quantitative study of social and linguistic variables by comparing texts or language use by speakers within social contexts to reveal the variances that exist between them. According to Labov, linguists are able to account for the linguistic changes in progress by quantitatively analysing linguistic variables. The changes result from the interaction of linguistic variables and social variables. Apparently, variationist studies are comparative in nature and involve the researcher usually identifying a linguistic variable which forms the center of the study. Hudson (1996, p. 169) defines a variable as "a collection of alternatives which have something in common". He makes a distinction between phonetics, phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax as the types of sociolinguistic variables which form the core of linguistics. The theory postulates that linguistic variables correlate with social factors like age, gender, ethnicity and social status, the reason being that different groups of speakers, age, gender, ethnicity and social status in a speech community may exhibit differences in their use of language.

Hudson (1996) identified five stages of methodology and data analysis within which the sociolinguistic approach operates. The stages are: selecting participants, circumstances and linguistic variables, collecting the texts, identifying the linguistic variables and their variants in the texts, processing the figures and interpreting the results. The first stage involves defining the sample size of the community of interest to the researcher and stratifying the sample in terms of ethnicity, gender, education or

social status. Every selected participant must be treated under the same conditions and the variables under investigation must be the same for all of them.

The second stage deals with data collection. The kind of data to be obtained will depend on the objectives of the study. This approach to language studies adopts various data collection techniques such as written questionnaires, interviews, participant observation and surreptitious recording. These techniques may be combined in a study so as to compensate for their weaknesses. The next stage is where the variants of the selected predetermined variables are identified. The fourth stage is the processing of figure. This is where the variants of the linguistic variables in the data are counted and the figures are reduced to percentages for easy comparison. This requires the use of instrumental techniques such as Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS). The figures are then compared with that of the other texts to identify significant statistical differences to explain the results. Finally, there is the interpretation of the results. The researcher describes and explains the figures. It involves the description of the patterns that emerge from the data after which they are explained to make generalisations.

Eckert (2012) identified three movements in the application of sociolinguistic variationist approach in language research. Labov (1966) led the first movement with the study of linguistic variation in the New York City. The concept of colloquial speech forms the basis of this trend. It also finds age, social class, ethnicity and gender stratification correlated with linguistic variation. According to Eckert (2012), Milroy's (1980) study of phonological variation in social networks in Belfast introduced the second wave of variationist studies. In this Belfast study, Milroy employed ethnographic methods in studying the relationship between network

strength and the use of vernacular forms to which she concluded that high network strength correlated with the use of vernacular forms. The implication of this conclusion is that speakers' integration in a social network influences their use of vernacular (Eckert, 2012).

As observed by Eckert (2012) from these studies, linguistic variation indexes social categories. The third movement considers the meaning of variation as a vital characteristic of language. Eckert is at the head of this drift and it locates “ideology in language itself, in the construction of meaning, with potentially important consequences for linguistic theory more generally” (Eckert, 2012, p. 98). The sociolinguistic variationist approach is widely used in quantitative study of language as it helps in quantifying variations in linguistic variables in relation to social variables. The Sociolinguistic variationist theory is used in the analysis of variations in language usage in chapter four of this thesis.

2.2.2 Marked Bilingualism Model

The second theoretical framework used in the analyses of data in this study is Batibo's (1992, 1997) Marked Bilingualism Model (MBM). This is a process-based model that concerns itself with the processes involved in language shift and death. Its main focus is on the stages a language goes through as its speakers shift to a dominant language. According to Batibo (2005), a minority language in a contact situation gradually loses its domains of use to the dominant language on its way to extinction. In addition, its stylistic and structural complexities are also weakened due to interferences from the dominant language, (Batibo, 2005).

The model is based on three assumptions: a) language shift can only take place when there is a state of bilingualism as, clearly, no community can afford to abandon its language and become mute; b) in order for the speakers of one language to be attracted to another, there must be significant differences of prestige and status between the two languages and c) the rate of language shift depends to a large extent on the amount of pressure from the dominant language on the one hand, and the degree of resistance from the minority language on the other hand, (Batibo, 2005). The model postulates five phases that a language goes through on its way to extinction as its speakers shift to a dominant one.

Phase one: Relative monolingualism

This phase involves a situation in which the speakers of a language (L1) are relatively monolingual. According to Batibo (2005), the speakers may have casual contact with the speakers of other languages and may be bilingual, but majority of the L1 speakers are monolingual and use their language in all or most aspects of their lives. Majority of the speakers are rural, conservative and much exposed to education, urban life, migration or inter-ethnic activities (Batibo, 2005). To him, many of the major languages or those spoken in remote areas would fall into this class.

Phase two: Bilingualism with L1 Predominance

In this phase, a more prestigious language (L2), invades on L1. According to Batibo (2005), usually, L2 is used as a lingua franca or second language. This brings about a diglossic situation in which L2 is used in higher (H) public functions or for wider communication such as inter-ethnic interaction, trade and local administration, while

the L1 which assumes the lower (L) status, remains the language used in most village communications, intra-ethnic interaction and family life.

At this stage, L1, according to Whiteley (1971) is the primary medium as it is used in most domains, while L2, the secondary medium is used in specific situations. Consequently, each language has its own defined domains of use, with minimal instances of language alternation and interference from the L2 since it is only used for wider communication (Batibo, 2005). Thus, L1 dominates the life of the bilingual at this stage. Though Batibo (2005) argued that many of the relatively safe languages find themselves in this phase, Kutsukake & Yoneda (2019) stated that studies subsequent to the model argue that most ethnic community languages were in phase three or even beyond.

Phase three: Bilingualism with L2 Predominance

In this phase, L2 predominance sets in as L2 becomes the primary language; a situation that results from the unequal partnership of the two languages making the relationship between L1 and L2 unstable (Batibo, 2005). According to Batibo (ibid), L2 takes over many of the domains that were previously reserved for L1 as L2 becomes the most frequently used language which the speakers are most comfortable with. At this stage, L2 is used even in village activities and some family interaction, while L1 is restricted to family and cultural activities (Batibo, 2005).

The speaking of L1 by its speakers in this phase is characterized with extensive alternations and interferences from the L2. As observed by Myers-Scotton (1992) and Smeija (2000), code switching to a large extent is a sign that language shift is inevitable. Kutsukake & Yoneda (2019) observes that majority of African languages,

especially, the small ones and those that are heavily influenced by dominant languages are in this category.

Phase four: Restricted Use of and Competence in L1

This is the stage where the functions of L1 are so much reduced that the speakers use it only in specific situations such as initiations, rituals and folkloric performances. The speakers according to Batibo (2005), have lost the ability to use the language as their structural and stylistic competence is affected to a large extent because they may not have learnt it properly. The L1 thus, becomes the reserve of a few old men and women who might still be familiar with its original forms. However, the speakers still regard the language as vibrant and part of their ethnic identity.

According to Batibo (2005), the language at this stage is considered dying. This may be a result of what is considered as significant simplification of the phonological system of the language, contraction in its morphology and extensive lexical intrusion from the L2 (Williamson, 2003). What remains of the language in this phase usually, are personal and ethnic names which are the last to be abandoned in case of cultural erosion (Batibo, 2005).

Phase five: L1 as Substratum

This is the stage where L1 is completely replaced by L2. L1 is then described as dead as it is no longer used by its speakers in the community. According to Batibo, (2005) the community may, however, maintain its ethnonym and some of its traditions together with some linguistic features such as prosodic, phonetic, phonological, semantic and lexical elements of L1 as residual features in L2. In other cases, the L1 may disappear without any linguistic traces.

The Marked Bilingualism Model has been employed together with other theories of language contact in several studies involving language shift and maintenance to access the status of minority languages in contact situations. Mekacha (1993) for instance, employed the MBM with the Gaelic-Arvanitika Model in the study of the effect of the expansion of Kiswahili on the minority languages in Tanzania. Mekacha concluded that minority languages in contact with Kiswahili in Tanzania were on their way to extinction with the upwards and downwards expansion of Kiswahili. Mensah (2008) in her study of language shift among the Efutu of Winneba, applied the MBM to access the status of Efutu in relation to Fante dominance in Winneba. She concluded that the Efutu had to a large extent, shifted to Fante. Though Kutsukake & Yoneda (2019) reported that the current language situation in Tanzania in recent studies revealed that minority languages are not following the schemes proposed in the Marked Bilingualism Model. It explains to a large extent the relationship between loss or maintenance of linguistic domain and language shift or maintenance.

2.2.3 Justification of the Frameworks

The multifaceted nature of this study demands the use of the selected theories. In the first place, Labov's (1966) Sociolinguistic Variationist Approach is essential in studies of language practices in bilingual communities. Studies in language practices correlate social variables with linguistic variables and variation in language use, and the need to assign figures to data in order to draw generalizable conclusions. Again, the theory helps in comparing language use across the communities to see which is most impacted. In summary, the Sociolinguistic Variationist Model helped to analyse variations in language use amongst the Ewe in Adeiso with respect to choices they make in their use of Ewe against other languages in various domains.

Secondly, Batibo (2005) argues that languages in any contact situation go through some stages where there is the tendency of one language to have a tip over the other resulting in a shift or maintenance and other consequences such as language mixing. Bilingual studies are also aimed at evaluating the relative strength of, especially, the minority languages in contact situations. These descriptions seem apparent in the situation of the Ewe in Adeiso, which calls for a theory that explains these contact phenomena to a large extent, hence, the option of the Marked Bilingualism Model.

2.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed concepts that are relevant to language practices in bilingual communities. It dealt specifically with bilingualism and its consequences on the languages involved. Issues relating to the consequences of language practices; language shift, maintenance and language mixing were discussed. The chapter also did an empirical review of studies on language practices in selected contact situations in Africa and narrowed it down to Ghana, the setting of the current study. The chapter continued with a discussion on the various theories that formed a framework within which the study was done and how these frameworks, the Sociolinguistic Variationist and Marked Bilingualism Models, were used complementarily to present an understanding into the language practices of the Ewe in Adeiso.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the general procedures employed in carrying out the study. It deals with the research design and setting, the target population, sample size and sampling techniques. The chapter also deals with the instrument used in data collection, data collection procedure and how the data was analysed.

3.1 Research Setting

The study, as already stated, was conducted in three communities in Adeiso and its surroundings in the Upper West Akim District in the Eastern Region of Ghana. These communities are Ayigbe Town, Ndoda and Dzakpatra. The selection of these communities was based on their geographical location with regard to their respective distances from the Adeiso Township and the degree of impact Akan may have on the Ewe spoken in these communities. Figure 3.1 below is a map showing the Adeiso speech community which is followed by descriptions of the three communities.

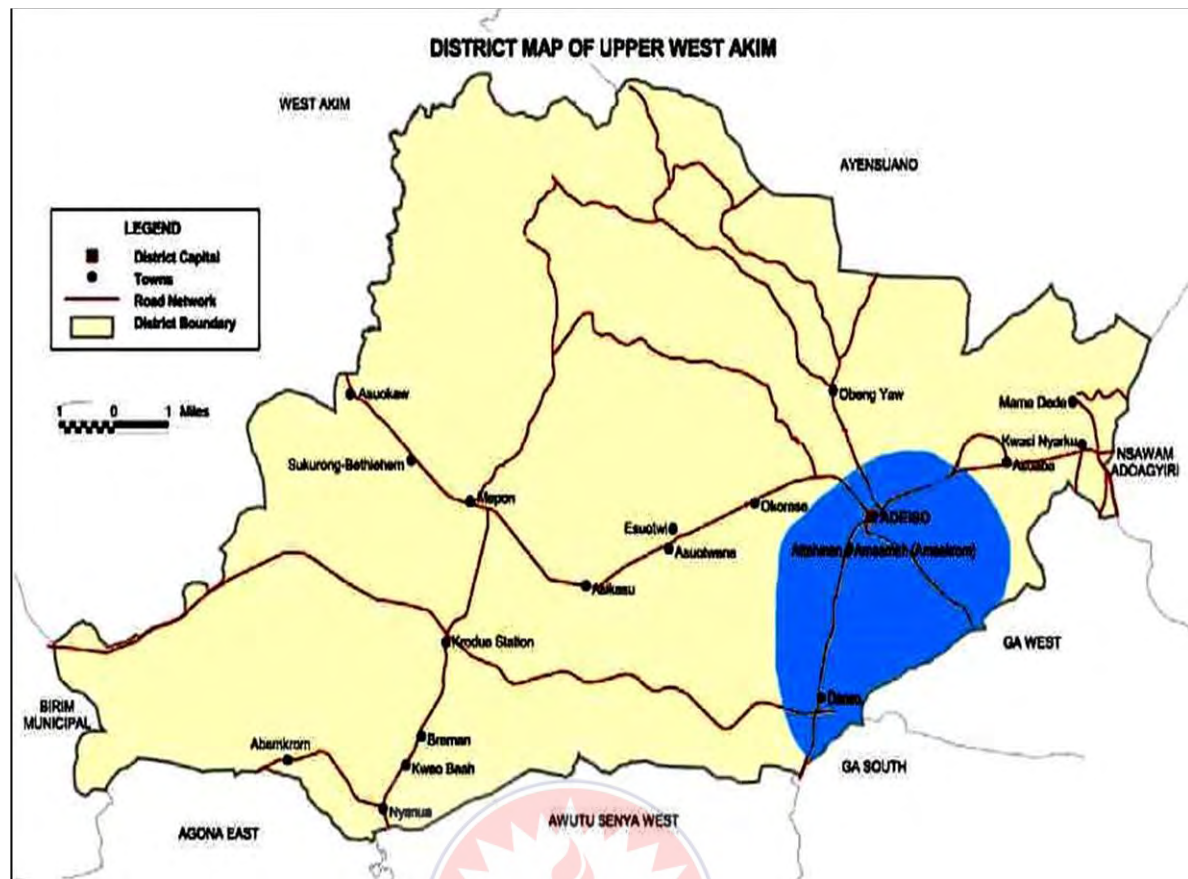


Figure 3.1 Map of Upper West Akim District Showing the Research Communities (Adopted from Ghana Statistical service, 2010)

3.1.1 Ndoda

As already stated, Ndoda is one of the communities selected for this study. It is a small farming community with a population of about 450 according to the Upper West Akim District Assembly. It is about eight kilometers from Adeiso Township. The people usually walk to Adeiso to do their businesses. Others make a transit at Danso, another community in the area, and board vehicles bound for Adeiso. However, the recent motorbike transport system, ‘okada’, has even made movement to and from Adeiso a lot easier.

According to one of my consultants who is a teacher, an opinion leader and a native of the area, the members of the Ndoda community are mainly migrant farmers from Togo. Cassava is the chief crop in the area and is usually processed into cassava chip commonly called 'gari'. However, corn is also cultivated in some quantity, usually for their own consumption. Adeiso central market serves as a destination for these produce.

According to this consultant, apart from one basic school which ends at primary six, there is no market, health post or any other public office. These public facilities are accessed at Adeiso. This assertion was confirmed by another consultant who further stated that many of the children who continue after primary six go to school in Adeiso, while few also go to Danso which is a nearby community. The means of transport to and from Adeiso is mainly by taxi and commercial motorbike. However, others prefer to travel on foot since the community is not too far from Adeiso.

3.1.2 Dzakpatra

Dzakpatra is another community selected for this study. It is located in the Adeiso speech community, about six kilometers from the Adeiso Township. It is a small area with a population of about 200, according to the Upper West Akim District Assembly. The people are chiefly farmers of crops such as cassava, corn and some oil palm. The cassava is usually processed into 'gari'. They send these produce send to the Adeiso market usually on foot, due to the short distance they have to cover.

A consultant from this community who is also an opinion leader and a native of the area, recounted that a fetish priest was the first person to settle there and practiced his 'voodoo'. According to him, the 'voodoo' was called 'Alafia' while the fetish priest

was called Dzakpatra, hence, the name of the community. Many of those people who came to consult the ‘voodoo’ decided to make their home there, making the community expand. To confirm the claims by the first consultant from Dzakpatra, another consultant stated that the people who consulted the oracle included people from other ethnic groups, who only visited occasionally when they needed to. She stated further that one hardly heard Akan being spoken in the community since the settlers were chiefly speakers of Ewe. There are no schools, health post, market or public office in the Dzakpatra community, hence, these facilities are accessed at Adeiso. Children of school going age attend different schools in the Adeiso Township. As already stated, the means of transport is usually by foot.

3.1.3 Ayigbe Town

Ayigbe Town is the third community selected for this study. It is located within the Adeiso Township, a few meters from the central market. It covers a large area with a population, of about 1000, according to the Upper West Akim District Assembly. The people are chiefly farmers of crops such as cassava and corn. However, the women are mostly into ‘gari’ processing. These produce are sent to the Adeiso market usually on foot, due to the short distance they have to cover.

A consultant from the community who happened to be the Assembly member for the area, related that the area was first occupied by a certain man called Chief Saba Doh, a farmer, many years ago. According to him, many of the occupants of the community migrated from Penyi in the Volta Region of Ghana. However, there are members from other ethnic groups such as Ga and Akan. He stated that Ewe is the major language spoken in the community and that some natives of the other communities (Ga and Akan) which share boundary with Ayigbe Town speak Ewe. A second consultant

pointed out that the community shares boundary with a prominent Ga community called Kwaohene, with which members of Ayigbe Town have close ties. The occupants of Ayigbe Town use public facilities, schools, health post, market or public offices, together with the other ethnic groups in the Adeiso Township. These facts were confirmed when the researcher visited the communities.

3.2 Sample Size and Sampling Technique

The stratified purposive sampling was adopted for this study. Since the objective of the study is to investigate the language practices of the Ewe speakers in Adeiso across domains and its effects on the language, there is the need for adequate representation of the population. Stratification involves the categorization of the population into smaller units according to certain characteristics such as age, gender and level of education, to ensure representativeness (Creswell, 2014).

Accordingly, one hundred and twenty-six (126) participants, forty-two (42) from each community, were sampled for the study. The selection was done with regard to their ethnic orientation as native speakers of Ewe and members of the communities. In addition, the participants were categorized based on their ages, gender, and place of birth. Other factors such as education and occupation were also considered in the sampling process. This was done so as to cover domains such as the home, community and public places such as schools, work place, religious activities (churches, mosque or shrine) and the market where language is used. The biographical data on the participants are presented in table 3.1 overleaf.

Table 3.1: Table Showing the Biographical Information of Participants

		Frequency	Percentage (%)
Gender	Male	63	50.0%
	Female	63	50.0%
Age	30 years and below	42	33.3%
	31 – 60 years	42	33.3%
	Above 60 years	42	33.3%
Education	Non – Literate	58	46.0%
	Semi – Literate	41	32.5%
	Literate	27	21.4%
Occupation	Farming	48	38.1%
	Trading	30	23.8%
	Craftsmanship	29	23.0%
	Public Service	9	7.1%
	Student	10	7.9%
Place of residence	Ayigbe Town	42	33.3%
	Ndoda	42	33.3%
	Dzakpatra	42	33.3%
Place of birth	Ayigbe Town	21	16.7%
	Ewe-speaking area outside Ayigbe Town	21	16.7%
	Ndoda	26	20.6%
	Ewe-speaking area outside Ndoda	16	12.7%
	Dzakpatra	22	17.5%
	Ewe-speaking area outside Dzakpatra	20	15.9%

As already stated, 126 participants were involved in this study. This number was made up of 63 males and 63 females. Each community was represented by 42 participants of which 21 were males and 21 were females with ages ranging between 16 and 75. The ages of the participant were categorized into three to represent three generations; 30 years and below, 31 to 60 years and 61 years and above. Each year group was represented by 7 participants. The participants were people engaged in various occupations such as farming, trading and vocations such as dressmaking, hairdressing, masonry and vulcanizing. Others include factory hands, teachers, nurses and students.

Though the major languages (Ewe and Akan) that were identified in the study were languages that are largely acquired from the environment and not as a result of the acquisition of formal education, the educational background of the participants was considered as a factor in this study. Participants demonstrated the use of various forms of English, i.e. ranging from Pidgin English to formal Ghanaian English. Consequently, participants were categorized into Non-literate, Semi-literates and Literates. Literates were considered to be people who have higher level of competence in reading and writing English. They include students, public workers such as teachers and nurses and persons who have formal education up to the second cycle level (secondary, vocational and technical). The Semi-literates include those who have some level of competence in English as in the use of informal English and Pidgin English, while the non-literates include people who have no competence in English.

Table 3.1 also sheds light on the participants' birth history. Majority (69, 54.8%) of the participants reported that they were born in one of the three study communities. It is however, interesting to note that the remaining 57 (45.2%) were born in Ewe dominated communities outside the three study communities. This was helpful since the study targeted native speakers of Ewe. This was further supported by participants' parental history. As will be seen in the analysis, majority of the participants reported both parents were native speakers of Ewe. Only a few reported that their mothers were of Akan or Ga ethnicity.

3.3 Research Design and Approach

A research design, according to Thyer (1993), is a detailed plan of how a research study is to be done. This involves setting of research goals, selecting a sample, data

collection and analysis and presentation of the results of interest to the study. Basically, the design is the arrangement that links the empirical data, research questions and conclusions (Yin, 2002). Bryman & Bell (2007) are of the view that the overall structure and orientation of an investigation as well as a framework within which data can be collected and analysed should be outlined in the research design. Simply put, the research design, if well structured, enables the researcher arrive at valid and reliable conclusion.

Consequently, with the objectives of the study in mind, the researcher adopted the descriptive research design. Descriptive research design may be defined as a research method that describes the characteristics of the population or the phenomenon being studied. According to Hossein (2015), the descriptive research design basically focuses on describing the nature of the demographic segment without focusing on ‘why’ a particular phenomenon occurs. In descriptive research, data collected may be analyzed using frequencies, percentages, averages, or other statistical analyses to determine relationships among variables (Hossein, 2015). Based on this backdrop, the researcher adopted the descriptive research design to investigate language practices and its consequences on the speaking of Ewe in Adeiso.

The study adopts the mixed research approach. According to Creswell (2014), a mixed method of research is an inquiry which involves collecting and analyzing both quantitative and qualitative data. Although according to Duff (2002) these two methods are perceived as contradictory methods in academic research, Creswell (2014) is of the view that a combination of both qualitative and quantitative approaches provides a more complete understanding of a research problem than either approach alone.

Creswell's view is supported by Hancock (2001), who believes that employing the two methods enables the researcher to understand the intricacies of the bilingual language processes, and that combining the two approaches will bridge the gap between the two paradigms. Moreover, the degree of confidence and the validity of findings are enhanced when the two approaches are employed in the data collection process (Gulzar, 2009). Hence, the current study employed both quantitative and qualitative approaches as the researcher believes they complement rather than contradict each other.

The objective of this study is to investigate the language practices of Ewe speakers in Adeiso across domains and its implication for Ewe. To achieve these objectives, the researcher conducted a survey to identify the pattern of language use among the population. Based on the revelation from the analysis of the survey, the researcher made a follow up inquiry using sociolinguistic interviews to ascertain the accuracy of the responses provided by participants in the survey and also, to collect qualitative data to help explain the consequences of the language practices of the population on the speaking of their mother tongue, Ewe. This kind of mixed approach, the explanatory sequential mixed method, helps obtain a holistic understanding of the phenomenon under study.

3.4 Data Collection and Research Instruments

In view of the mixed approach adopted for this study, two instruments were employed for collecting data; questionnaire and sociolinguistic interview. The sociolinguistic interview was a follow-up to the responses in the survey. The sequential approach to data collection and analysis as required in the explanatory sequential mixed method,

was done to double check the information provided by the participants and also collect qualitative data for analysis.

3.4.1 Questionnaire

Questionnaires are perhaps the most common means of eliciting sociolinguistic evidence in relation to language attitudes and language use. Several reasons may attest to this fact. Guerini (2008), gave two advantages for the use of questionnaires. According to her, a substantial amount of data, concerning a wide range of individuals, could be gathered using questionnaires, and this information could be well matched with the results of research carried out under similar conditions. Besides, a careful analysis of the data can provide many useful understandings into speakers' linguistic behaviour and also reveal insight into the relationship that exists among the various languages spoken within a given speech community.

However, the use of questionnaires comes with their own shortcomings. Guerini (2008), noted that participants may exaggerate or misrepresent their language competence. She explains that participants may overrate their linguistic choice in certain domains or underrate the use of their native languages in the attempt to emphasize their distance from traditional culture and demonstrate their adherence to a modern, educated elite. In addition, participants may describe their linguistic behaviour in a way that makes them appear more decent and socially respectable than they actually are, in a way that makes them appear, as they think, the researcher would like them to be. This is a situation Baker (1992, p. 19) termed as the "halo effect". These drawbacks notwithstanding, the questionnaire stands a very useful tool in collecting quantitative data in language studies.

The questionnaire used for the current study was adapted from Amuzu (2005). It consists of 26 open and close-ended items that have been categorized into four sections. The first section is composed of a set of 7 items designed to gather information on participants' demographic profile. This section is targeted at collecting information on the participants' age, gender, place of birth and residence, family background and level of education.

The second section of the questionnaire is made up of 14 items (question 8 – 21). This section aimed at gathering data on the participants' linguistic profile, i.e. participants' language repertoire, language proficiency and language use in various domains. Specifically, this section dwelt on the number of languages that participants speak and how they use their languages in various settings. For instance, the languages that participants speak at home with their families, friends at home and in their neighbourhood and outside their communities. This section is followed by the third which is aimed at testing participants' bilingual use of language, as in mixing expressions from two or more languages and their attitude towards such language use. The final section contains two items which are meant to test participants' general attitude towards their mother tongue.

One hundred and twenty-six (126) questionnaires (42 per community) were administered with the help of three field assistants from the research communities and collected for analysis. The participants were assured of anonymity and confidentiality as they were not asked of their names or anything that will identify them. The questionnaires were rather assigned numbers for the sake of analysis. The questionnaires were completed in the presence of the researcher or the field assistants and handed back. In the case of the non-literate participants, it took the form of an

interview where the items were translated into a language that is convenient to the participant.

3.4.2 Sociolinguistic Interview

McKenzie (2010) argues that attitudes to languages are not immediately observable but can be accessed by some sort of intrusion into the life of participants. Consequently, interviews may be thought of as one of the best ways of investigating language practices. Thus, the researcher conducted an up-close semi-structured interview based on participants' responses in the survey. This was to provide some insight into language practices which might have been inaccurately reported in the survey. Again, it was intended to gather qualitative data to help understand the consequences of contact on the speaking of Ewe among the Ewe in Adeiso.

Interviews, McKenzie's (2010) argument notwithstanding, have the tendency of being flawed as participants are likely to give desirable responses to save their faces, a situation Labov (1966) termed 'Observer's Paradox. To mitigate against this, follow-up questions were asked to further probe and dig out information that otherwise would not have been given. In addition, participants were not made aware of the specific objectives of the study at the beginning of the interview, which could have influenced their speaking of Ewe. However, after the interview, they were debriefed on the rationale behind the study.

In all, nine participants (3 from each community) were interviewed. The interview took place in the residences of the participants to create a more relaxed atmosphere for participants to freely express themselves. Further, for the purposes of gathering qualitative data, the interviews were conducted in Ewe. There were no challenges

with this since the researcher is a native speaker of Ewe. Though participants provided their names during the interviews, they remain known to the researcher alone. Pseudo-names were used for them during the analysis of the interviews. Thus, they were assured of anonymity and that their responses remain confidential.

The questions covered areas such as the participants' demographic information and language proficiency and choice, which included language use in the various domains, participants' bilingual use of languages in their repertoire and their attitude towards such bilingual language use. Another aspect of the interview covered general topics such as the state of the Ghanaian economy and how it affects citizens, their general experience living among speakers of other languages such as Akan and Ga, and finally, in the case of students, the problems they faced in their various schools. The interviews which lasted for about thirty to forty-five minutes were recorded, transcribed and translated manually, by the researcher. In cases involving participants' biographical data, linguistic repertoire and language use in the various domains, notes were taken for discussion.

3.5 Data Analysis

Language choices of the various participants across the various domains from the self-report questionnaire were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) analysis method. The results were calculated and figures compared to the responses from the interviews to identify the language situation in the three Ewe speaking communities. The recording from the focused-group discussion was transcribed and analysed for the consequences of the language use in the communities.

The result was interpreted using the Labov's (1966) Sociolinguistic Variationist Approach which correlate social variable such as age, gender and education with language use. Batibo's (1992, 1997) 'Marked Bilingualism Model' helped to establish the language practices of the members of the three communities and to identify the consequences that such language practices have on Ewe as a mother tongue of the members of the three communities.

3.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the methodology adopted in this research. It entailed the research design employed which is the sequential exploratory mixed design. The purposive stratified sampling technique was used in selecting participants. The study also made use of questionnaire, interview and focused-group discussion as methods of data collection. The chapter closed with a discussion of the mode of data analysis used in the study. The SPSS analysis method was used in analyzing responses from the questionnaire while the recorded focused-group discussion was transcribed and analysed to identify the consequences of language practices in the study communities. The result was interpreted using the Labov's (1966) Sociolinguistic Variationist Approach which correlate social variables such as age, gender and education with language use. Batibo's (1992, 1997) 'Marked Bilingualism Model' helped to establish the language practices of the members of the three communities and to identify the consequences that such language practices have on Ewe as a mother tongue of the members of the three communities.

CHAPTER FOUR

VARIATIONS IN LANGUAGE USE BY THE EWE IN ADEISO

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the findings of the research. As stated earlier, the explanatory sequential mixed method was employed in this study. The data was gathered using a 27 item questionnaire administered to 126 participants, and sociolinguistic interview with 9 participants sampled from the 126. The questionnaire covered participants' demographic information, linguistic repertoire and language use, and their attitude towards their mother tongue, Ewe, while the interview was conducted to verify the responses in the questionnaire. The interviews covered the same areas as the questionnaire, in addition to general issues such as the economy of Ghana. The chapter is presented in three broad sections. The first section focuses on answering the first research question while the second section focuses on the second research question, both using the Sociolinguistic Variationist Approach. The third

section seeks to situate the situation of Ewe in Adeiso in one of the clines proposed in the Marked Bilingualism Model. The data was explored to answer the research questions:

- 1) What languages are used in various domains by the Ewe in Adeiso?
- 2) What are the consequences of such language contact situation on the speaking of Ewe?

4.1 Language Choice Patterns

This section answers the first research question; ‘what languages are used in various domains by the Ewe in Adeiso’. The analysis was based on data collected from both the questionnaire and sociolinguistic interviews. The discussion of the variations in the language use patterns in the three research communities includes not only how participants employ the various languages across the domains but also how bilingual they are; i.e. what number of languages do participants have in their repertoire and how these languages were acquired.

4.1.1 Linguistic Repertoire

Batibo (2005) argues that Africans are multilingual because they are exposed to many languages. In relation to this, the study sought to find out the number of languages spoken by participants and the various language combinations of the speakers.

4.1.1.1 Participants’ Linguistic Repertoire

In the study of language use by bilinguals, the question of how many languages a bilingual is competent in is critical. As already discussed in chapter two of this thesis, bilingualism involves the alternate use of two or more languages. The bilingual then

decides where and when to use each of the languages they control. It is therefore important to take a look at the number of languages the participants speak. Table 4.1 shows the number of languages spoken by participants who were studied in the three communities. Data shown in Table 4.1 lends credence to the intensity of multilingualism among the Ewe in Adeiso. This is supported by data gathered from all the three communities, with participants reporting to speak up five languages.

Table 4.1 Frequency Table Showing the Cross Tabulation of Number of Languages Spoken by Participants

Community	No. of languages	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Ayigbe Town	One	2	4.8%
	Two	4	9.5%
	Three	15	35.7%
	Four	21	50.0%
Total		42	100%
Ndoda	One	2	4.8%
	Two	8	19.0%
	Three	18	42.9%
	Four	14	33.3%
Total		42	100%
Dzakpatra	One	1	2.4%
	Two	15	35.7%
	Three	16	38.1%
	Four	9	21.4%
	Five	1	2.4%
Total		42	100%

Source: Field Data 2019/2020

As shown in Table 4.1, Ayigbe Town recorded the highest of 35 representing (85.7%) of respondents who have knowledge in 3 or more languages while both Ndoda and

Dzakpatra recorded 32 (76.2%) and 26 (76.2%) respectively. Further, Ayigbe Town recorded 4 representing 9.5% of its participants who reported to have knowledge of 2 languages, while Ndoda and Dzakpatra recorded 8 (19.0%) and 15 (35.7%) respectively. 2 participants each from Ayigbe Town and Ndoda, representing 4.8% each, reported to be monolingual, while only 1 participant (2.4%) from Dzakpatra claimed to be monolingual.

Participants who speak three or more languages appear to be more dominant in Ayigbe Town as compared to those in Ndoda and Dzakpatra. This could be due to the fact that Ayigbe Town is surrounded by several communities with speakers of other languages as compared to their counterparts in Ndoda and Dzakpatra who were to a great extent secluded from speakers of other languages. Nonetheless, bilingualism is widespread among the study population, considering the high percentages of participants from the three communities who claimed to speak three or more languages. However, one participant from Dzakpatra claimed to have knowledge of five languages, which is the highest number of languages reported across the three communities. This may be due to the fact that this participant acquired these languages from communities he settled in before moving to Dzakpatra. Another reason may be that the participant works in a company called 'Fresh and Dry' which is situated in the Adeiso Township. Companies of this nature employ people from various linguistic backgrounds which makes it a fertile ground for bilingualism to thrive.

With regard to age, majority of the participants who claimed to speak more than three languages fell within the age groups of 30 years and below and 31 to 60 years. While 22 of the participants from all three communities who were 30 years and below

claimed to speak more than three languages, and 18 of those within 31 to 60 years claimed to speak four or more languages, only 4 who were above sixty years of age made such claim. Consequently, the younger generation were more multilingual than the older generation.

Furthermore, the data revealed individual participants' linguistic repertoire consisting various combinations of the languages in the three communities. The various language combinations, by aggregation, form the linguistic repertoire of the study population. Table 4.2 presents the various language combinations that were identified. The languages are arranged in a specific order, which made frequency count in SPSS possible. Ewe always comes first as it is the mother tongue of the population. It is followed by Akan which is the dominant Ghanaian language in the Adeiso speech community. Ga, Dangme and Leteh which are other minority languages, come after Akan (where applicable) and then English. Other languages, where applicable, come after English. The levels of proficiency of the participants in the languages were not considered in the arrangement of the languages in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Frequency Table Showing Language Combination of Participants from Ayigbe Town, Ndoda and Dzakpatra

No.	Language Combinations	Communities			Total
		AyigbeTown	Ndoda	Dzakpatra	
1	Ewe	2	2	1	5
2	Ewe, Akan	4	7	15	26
	Ewe, Yoruba	-	1	-	1
3	Ewe, Akan, Ga	5	7	12	24
	Ewe, Akan, English	10	9	3	22
	Ewe, Akan, Dangme	-	1	-	1
4	Ewe, Akan, Ga, English	19	13	8	40
	Ewe, Akan, English, French	-	2	-	2
	Ewe, Akan, Ga, Dangme	1	-	1	2
	Ewe, Akan, English, Yoruba	-	-	1	1
	Ewe, Akan, Leteh, English	1	-	-	1
5	Ewe, Akan, Ga, Dangme,	-	-	1	1

English				
Total	42	42	42	126

Source: Field Data 2019/2020

Ewe run through all the combinations with all the 126 participants reporting to speak Ewe. This is not surprising because Ewe is the mother tongue of the population under study. Akan comes second as 120 of the 126 participants listed Akan as one of the languages they speak. Particularly, all participants who claimed to speak more than two languages included Akan on their list of languages. Thus, it seems highly unlikely that speakers of Ewe in Adeiso could acquire several languages without acquiring Akan which is the dominant language in the area.

Ga is another language that seems to run through the three communities with as many as 64 participants including it in various combinations. This is also not surprising because as already stated in chapter one of this thesis, Upper West Akim District shares boundaries with Ga West and Ga South municipalities. In addition, as stated in chapter three of this thesis, Ayigbe Town in particular, shares boundary with Kwaohene, a Ga speaking community, while Danso which is another multilingual community with heavy presence of speakers of Ga, sets Ndoda and Dzakpatra apart, geographically. These could account for Ga being listed by the large number of participants.

4.1.1.2 Parents' First Language

It is a widely accepted view that parental language, for that matter first language, plays a crucial role in language maintenance or shift, as the older generation transmits their heritage language to the younger generation. Thus, the questionnaire asked participants to state their parents' first language. Table 4.3 shows that most parents across the three study communities have Ewe as their first language.

Table 4.3 Frequency Distribution table showing the First Language of Participants' Parents

		Father		Mother	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Ayigbe Town	Ewe	41	97.6%	39	92.9%
	Akan	-	-	-	-
	Ga	1	2.4%	3	7.1%
	Total	42	100%	42	100%
Ndoda	Ewe	42	100%	38	90.4%
	Akan	-	-	2	4.8%
	Ga	-	-	2	4.8%
	Total	42	100%	42	100%
Dzakpatra	Ewe	42	100%	37	88.1%
	Akan	-	-	1	2.4%
	Ga	-	-	4	9.5%
	Total	42	100%	42	100%

Source: Field Data 2019/2020

All the participants from Ndoda and Dzakpatra stated Ewe as their fathers' first language. 41 of them representing 97.6% from Ayigbe Town stated Ewe as their fathers' first language. Similarly, majority of the participants across the three communities stated Ewe as their mothers' first language; 39 (92.9%) from Ayigbe Town, 38 (90.4%) from Ndoda and 37 (88.1%) from Dzakpatra. The remaining languages, Akan and Ga, recorded very insignificant numbers in terms of parents' first language. For Ndoda and Dzakpatra, there was no record for Akan and Ga as fathers' first language. However, Ayigbe Town recorded only one representing (2.4%) who stated Ga as father's first language.

For mothers' first language, Ga recorded 4 representing 9.5%, 3 representing 7.1% and 2 representing 4.8% of the participant in Dzakpatra, Ayigbe Town and Ndoda respectively. Akan recorded the lowest figures with 2 (4.8%) in Ndoda, 1 (2.4%) of the participants in Dzakpatra. No participant listed Akan as mothers' first language in Ayigbe Town. This is surprising because considering the fact that the Ewe have lived

for a long time in this area, one would think of the possibility of inter-ethnic marriages between the Ewe and Akan. This however requires further studies, as stated in the recommendation section of this thesis, for a better understanding. From these figures, it may be presumed that endogamy is very common among the Ewe in Adeiso. Endogamy is listed among the proposed guidelines for language maintenance by Blench (1998), and is one of the major factors that account for language maintenance among the Ewe in Adeiso.

4.1.1.3 Participants' First Language

A comparison of the first language of the participants to that of their parents revealed an inter-generational transmission of Ewe. As shown in Table 4.4 below, majority of the participants across the three study communities stated Ewe as their first language.

Table 4.4 Frequency Distribution table showing Participants' First Language

	Ayigbe Town		Ndoda		Dzakpatra	
Ewe	37	88.1%	41	97.6%	40	95.2%
Akan	2	4.8%	1	2.4%	1	2.4%
Ga	3	7.1%	-	-	1	2.4%
Total	42	100%	42	100%	42	100%

Source: Field Data 2019/2020

Ndoda recorded the highest number of participants, 41 representing 97.6% who claimed that Ewe is their first language. Dzakpatra recorded the second highest, 40 participants representing 95.2%, while Ayigbe Town recorded 37 (88.1%) who recorded Ewe as their first language. As seen in the parents' first language discussed above, Akan and Ga recorded very insignificant figures. Akan recorded 2 (4.8%) in Ayigbe Town and 1 (2.4%) in Dzakpatra and Ndoda each, while Ga recorded 3 (7.1%) in Ayigbe Town and 1 (2.4%) in Dzakpatra. There was no record for Ga in Ndoda though two participants stated Ga as their mothers' first language.

The variations observed in the participants' first language can be attributed to the prevailing linguistic situations surrounding the various communities. While majority stated Ewe as their first language which they obviously acquired from the home, a few stated Akan and Ga which may be acquired from outside the home. Mackay (2000) argued that the language of the neighbourhood into which a child is born often takes the place of the home as the most important influence on his speech. This appears to be the case of participants who stated Akan and Ga as their first languages. As already stated, Ayigbe Town is surrounded mainly by speakers of Akan and Ga which forms the source of influence on the first language of those few participants who stated Akan and Ga while in the case of Ndoda and Dzakpatra, the same influence appears to come from Danso, a community which sets Ndoda and Dzakpatra apart, which according to my consultants, is made up mainly of speakers of Akan and Ga.

As stated already, the data shows that Ewe is being transmitted to the younger generation. This is in line with UNESCO's proposed nine major factors (UNESCO, 2003) to test the vitality and state of endangered languages. From this it may be presumed that there is language maintenance among the Ewe in Adeiso.

4.1.1.4 Comparison of Linguistic Repertoire of the Three Communities

Data on the linguistic repertoire of participants reveal some remarkable similarities across the three communities. In the first place, the data demonstrated that bilingualism is prevalent among the Ewe in Adeiso in support of Batibo's (2005) argument that Africans are highly bilingual. This is demonstrated by the number of languages listed in participants' linguistic repertoire; in all three communities under investigation, majority of participants acknowledged that they had varying degrees of

competence in two or more languages. Only a small fraction of the participants who were mostly the elderly, claimed to be monolingual.

The data also showed that the main languages in the communities that interact in varying degrees with Ewe, their heritage language, are Akan, Ga and English. Ewe, however, seems to be ranked highly among the population considering the fact that all participants claimed to be competent in it. Still, there are other languages such as Dangme, Leteh, French and Yoruba which are found in various combinations with the main languages in the participants' repertoire. It is however, clear that Akan has intense influence as it runs through most of the language combinations in the participants' repertoire.

Furthermore, a look at the data on parents' first language and participants' first language showed that parents are transmitting Ewe to their children. This is seen in the vast majority of the participants who recorded Ewe as their first language which corresponds with their parents' first language. This is a sign that Ewe is being maintained among its speakers in Adeiso. Interestingly, on the whole, there were no significant differences among the linguistic repertoire among the three communities.

4.1.2 Domains of Language Use

From the analysis of the linguistic repertoire of participants, Ewe, Akan, Ga and English seem to be the main languages among the Ewe in Adeiso. The question now is to find out how these languages are used. Specifically, 'who speaks what, to whom, under which circumstances and for what purpose? According to Romaine (2000, p. 35), "multilinguals" use languages available to them to serve their communicative needs just as monolinguals vary their "styles" to signal a choice. To answer this

question, language use by the Ewe in Adeiso in domains such as the home, community, place of worship, market and school was investigated.

4.1.2.1 Language Use at Home

Data from the three communities shown in Tables 4.5 provides language use patterns with five different kinsmen at home. The tables compare the use of the various languages by participants with their parents, siblings, spouses, children and friends at home across the three communities. The data mainly considered Ewe and Akan as the major languages, however, other languages such as Ga and English and several other language combinations were revealed in the data. Consider Table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5 Cross-Tabulation of Language Use at Home across the three Communities

Community	Kinship	Language Combinations						
		Ewe	Akan	E & A	E & G	E,A & En	E,A&G	NA
Ayigbe Town	Parents	31	-	7	2	2	-	-
	Siblings	18	-	6	12	3	3	-
	Spouse	16	6	6	2	-	2	10
	Children	10	7	9	4	1	1	10
	Friends	19	3	17	-	2	1	-
Ndoda	Parents	40	-	-	2	-	-	-
	Siblings	28	-	12	-	2	-	-
	Spouse	29	1	4	-	-	-	8
	Children	20	-	12	-	-	2	8
	Friends	28	-	9	-	2	3	-
Dzakpatra	Parents	37	-	2	3	-	-	-
	Siblings	28	-	11	1	2	2	-
	Spouse	27	-	6	-	1	-	8
	Children	19	-	12	-	1	2	8
	Friends	20	-	19	-	1	2	-

Source: Field Data 2019/2020 KEY: E=Ewe, A=Akan, G=Ga, En=English, NA=Not

Applicable

As shown in Table 4.5 above, Ayigbe Town recorded 31 participants forming 73.8% who claimed to speak Ewe monolingually with their parents which is the lowest compared to those from Ndoda and Dzakpatra. The data from Dzakpatra shows 37 participants (88.1%) who claimed to speak Ewe only with their parents. The figure increases to 40 making a total of 95.2% of the 42 participants in the data from Ndoda who claimed they speak Ewe only with their parents. Siblings is the next kinship tie that recorded, on average, high figures across the three communities. Ndoda and Dzakpatra recorded 28 participants each which forms 66.7% of participants who speak Ewe only with their siblings while Ayigbe Town recorded 18 participants representing 42.9% who reported speaking it with their siblings.

Apart from Siblings and parents, the use of Ewe with spouses recorded the next set of high figures across the communities. Ndoda recorded 29 participants representing 69.1% the highest in this regard. Dzakpatra recorded 27 participant representing 64.3%, the next highest, while Ayigbe Town recorded 19 (45.2%) of the participants who claimed to speak Ewe with their spouses. The situation then shifted to friends as the number of participants who claimed they speak Ewe with their friends are higher across the three communities, compared to that of children. Ndoda recorded 28 of the participants forming 66.7% who speak Ewe monolingual with friends, again the highest in this regard. Dzakpatra recorded 20 participants (47.6%) who said they speak Ewe only with their friends while Ayigbe Town recorded 19 (45.2%) of the participants who claimed they speak Ewe with their friends. While Ayigbe Town recorded the least, 10 (23.8%) of the participants who said they speak Ewe with their children Dzakpatra and Ndoda recorded 19 (45.2%) and 20 (47.6%).

The use of Akan only as home language across the communities was insignificant as no participant used it in Dzakpatra only one participant claimed to use it at Ndoda. Ayigbe Town however recorded some cases. 6, 7 and 3 participants claimed to speak Akan only to their spouses, children and friends respectively at Ayigbe Town. We see Akan to be more influential in Ayigbe Town since Ayigbe Town is a major contact point for the two languages. The remaining data from the tables reveal various combinations of Ewe and the other languages, with Ewe-Akan dominating across the three communities for all the five kinsmen. Ayigbe Town recorded 17 (40.5%) of the participants who speak a combination of Ewe and Akan with their friends, 9 (21.4%) with children, 7 (16.7%) with parents and 6 forming 14.3% speak this combination with siblings and spouses respectively. Ndoda recorded 12 participants representing 28.6% who speak this combination with siblings and children, 9 (21.4%) speak it with friends whereas 4 (9.5%) speak it with spouses. 19 (45.2%) of participants from Dzakpatra combine Ewe and Akan with their friends, 12 (28.6%) speak it with their children, 11 (26.2%) with their siblings, 6 (14.3%) with their spouses, while 2 use it with their parents. This revelation is not surprising given the position Akan occupies as the dominant language in relation to Ewe.

Another significant combination is Ewe and Ga which is mainly found among the participants from Ayigbe Town. 12 participants which forms 28.6% speak a combination of Ewe and Ga with their siblings as against 2 and 1 who speak this combination with their parents and children respectively. From Dzakpatra, 3 participants use Ewe-Ga combination with their parents while only 1 participant reported speaking this combination with his child. From Ndoda, only 2 participants speak Ewe and Ga with their parent. The variation in the use of Ewe-Ga combination where Ayigbe Town recorded the highest is due to the fact that Ayigbe Town shares

boundary with Kwaohene, a major Ga speaking community. And as already stated, members from the two communities, Ayigbe Town and Kwaohene, interact on daily basis, resulting in the people of Ayigbe Town acquiring Ga. The rest are combinations which made no significant impact.

Adams et al (2012) identifies the home domain as the centre of relative strength and an indicator of language vitality. A comparison of the data from the three communities reveals that Ewe appears to be the dominant language in the home as it is seen to record very high figures. In situations where other languages are used in the home, they are strictly used in combination with Ewe. This finding supports the claim by many researchers that the home remains the main domain for language maintenance.

In addition, the pattern of language use at home across the three communities depicts a trend that is common with other researches such as Kedrebeogo (1998), Adams et al. (2012) and Okpanachi and Abuh (2017) on language shift and maintenance which projects the elderly in the home and community as the transmitters of language. This is evident in the high figures recorded of participants who claimed to speak Ewe monolingually in all the three communities. This also supports the assumption that the Ewe in Adeiso are maintaining their heritage language in the home domain.

4.1.2.2 Language Use in the Community

According to Mackay (2000), community language includes languages used in the neighbourhood, church or religious gatherings and workplace (market). This section presents an analysis of the languages used in these domains.

4.1.2.2.1 Neighbourhood

Data from the three communities in Table 4.8 provides language use patterns with friends, the elderly and strangers in the neighbourhood.

Table 4.6 Table Showing Language Use in the Neighbourhood

		Languages					
		Ewe	Akan	Ewe & Akan	Ewe & Ga	Ewe & English	Akan & English
Ayigbe Town	Friends	20	3	-	4	13	2
	Elderly	39	2	-	1	-	-
	Strangers	8	32	1	1	-	-
Ndoda	Friends	28	-	-	3	6	5
	Elderly	41	-	-	-	1	-
	Strangers	18	23	1	-	-	-
Dzakpatra	Friends	20	-	9	-	10	3
	Elderly	42	-	-	-	-	-
	Strangers	18	23	1	-	-	-

Source: Field Data 2019/2020

A comparison of data from the three communities in Table 4.8 reveals a trend that makes Ewe the dominant language in the neighbourhood of the three communities. The use of Ewe with the elderly in the communities recorded the highest figures across the three communities. All the 42 participants from Dzakpatra claimed to speak Ewe monolingual with their elders, while 41 representing 97.6% from Ndoda claimed to speak Ewe monolingually with their elders. Ayigbe Town recorded the least in this regard with 39 participants representing 92.9% who claimed to speak Ewe monolingually with their elders. This also, supports the fact that the elderly, as

reported by Kedrebeogo (1998), are the transmitters of languages towards language maintenance as they are found to strictly enforce the speaking of their heritage language, in this case, Ewe.

In the case of friends in the neighbourhood, Ndoda recorded 28 participants forming 66.7% who claimed to speak Ewe with their friends while Ayigbe Town and Dzakpatra recorded 20 participants (47.6%) each in this regard. For strangers, Ewe recorded 18 (42.9%) each in Ndoda and Dzakpatra, with only 8 (19%) in Ayigbe Town. The relatively low figures recorded for strangers in the three communities alludes to Ewe being used as in-group language. Akan is spoken mostly with strangers in the communities. As many as 32 (76.2%) of the participants from Ayigbe Town claimed to speak Akan with strangers, whereas 23 (54.8%) from Ndoda and Dzakpatra each claimed to speak Akan with strangers. 2 participants from Ayigbe Town speak Akan with the elderly while 3 from the same community claimed to speak Akan with friends.

A combination of Ewe and Akan seems insignificant except in Dzakpatra where 9 participants reported to speak such a combination with friends. Of the language combinations, Ewe with English appears most important, especially, when interacting with friends. 13 participants representing 31% from Ayigbe Town, 6 (14.3%) from Ndoda and 10 (23.8%) from Dzakpatra reported in this regard. Akan and English is also spoken among friends across the three communities but with relatively lower frequency as compared to Ewe and English. Ewe and Ga is used mostly in Ayigbe Town also with lower frequency. It is worthy of note that language combinations across the three communities is mostly found among participants up to sixty years and

among friends. This may be because this age group are exposed to more languages than the elderly.

4.1.2.2.2 Religious Gatherings

Kedrebeogo (1998) argues that apart from the home, religion is another domain where heritage language is maintained. Ritual practices such as customary rites and pouring of libation require the use of native languages in their performances. However, language use in the church may vary depending largely on the general linguistic background of the congregants and the dominant language in the area. In line with this, participants were asked to state the languages they use during religious gathering. None of the participants reported to be a Muslim. Table 4.12 below presents the data on this question.

Table 4.7 Table Showing Language Use at Religious Gatherings

Communities	Languages					NA
	Ewe	Akan	English	Ewe & Akan	Akan & English	
Ayigbe Town	5	36	-	-	-	1
Ndoda	33	7	2	-	-	-
Dzakpatra	36	3	1	1	-	1

Source: Field Data 2019/2020

A comparison of the data from the three communities reveals some striking variations in language use at religious gatherings. While Akan seems to dominate religious activities in Ayigbe Town, Ewe takes turn in Ndoda and Dzakpatra. 85.7% making a total of 36 participants from Ayigbe Town indicated that they use Akan during church activities and other religious gatherings with only 5 (11.9%) who claimed to use Ewe in this regard. The situation does not apply to one participant.

Ndoda recorded 33 participants forming 78.6% who indicated that they speak Ewe during religious gatherings, while 7 (16.7%) of the participants reported to use Akan in this situation. Surprisingly, 2 participants from Ndoda claimed they speak English during religious gatherings which is highly unlikely given the linguistic situation in this community. Dzakpatra in the same manner recorded 36 representing 85.7% of the participants indicated they use Ewe during religious gatherings, 3 (7.1%) claimed they speak Akan, while English and a combination of Ewe and Akan recorded 1 each. Again, the situation does not apply to 1 of the participants from Dzakpatra.

The situation at Ayigbe Town is not surprising because, as already stated in chapter three of this thesis, speakers of other languages such as Ga and Akan are resident in this community. Consequently, church services are conducted in Akan, which seems to be a common language. Again, there are those who attend church services outside the community which may account partly for the use of Akan. The remaining 5 who claimed to speak Ewe may fall within those who visit Ewe-speaking shrines where the only choice of language is Ewe. Ndoda's situation may be so because it is secluded Ewe community. Thus, religious activities such as church services and ritual practices are invariably conducted in Ewe. The rest may be those who attend church services in the adjoining community, Danso where Akan and or English are used during church services.

Blench (1998) includes maintenance of traditional religion in his list of proposed guidelines for language maintenance. This is the situation at Dzakpatra as the community is knit around the shrine of the deity named 'Alafia', whose practices demand the use of Ewe. This outcome also supports Kedrebeogo's (1998) finding

where ritual performances demanded strictly the use of Koronfe which is a sign of language maintenance.

4.1.2.2.3 Market

According to Kedrebeogo (1998), the market is an interesting setting for the observation of multilingualism because it is the place where people from diverse linguistic backgrounds interact with one another. This shows the economic importance of the various languages used in various speech communities. As stated earlier, Adeiso has a central market to which various ethnic groups and communities converge which makes it linguistically rich. Table 4.13 below shows the language use in the market by the Ewe in Adeiso.

Table 4.8 Table Showing Language Use in the Market

Communities	Languages					
	Ewe	Akan	English	Ewe & Akan	Akan & English	NA
Ayigbe Town	3	39	-	-	-	-
Ndoda	5	37	-	-	-	-
Dzakpatra	4	36	1	1	-	-

Source: Field Data 2019/2020

From the data, 39 which represents 92.9% of the participants from Ayigbe Town, 37 (88.1%) from Ndoda and 36 (85.7%) from Dzakpatra claimed to speak Akan at the market. This indicates that Akan, the dominant language, also remains the language of economic importance in the linguistic repertoire of participants across the three study communities, and by extension, the Adeiso speech community. Ewe on the other hand, recorded very low figures with the highest being 5 (11.9%) from Ndoda. 3 (7.1%) of the participants from Ayigbe Town and 4 which represents 9.5% of those from Dzakpatra claimed they speak Ewe at the market.

In as much as Akan is expected to dominate this domain, other languages cannot be completely ruled out as seen from the data. This is because those participants who claimed to be monolinguals in Ewe have no other option than to use Ewe in the market. Again, there are those who may have specific people, who may be speakers of Ewe, with whom they trade which make them resort to Ewe. Other options such as English and a combination of Ewe and Akan recorded figures which are insignificant to this study.

4.1.2.3 Language use outside the community

The data on participants' language use in the neighbourhood sharply contrast with language use outside participants' communities of residence. The data in table 4.9 below is in response to what languages participants use when they move out of their neighbourhood into the wider speech community of Adeiso. The data show that Akan is the dominant language in this case.

Table 4.9 Participants' Language Use Outside their Communities of Residence

	Communities			Total
	Ayigbe Town	Ndoda	Dzakpatra	
Ewe	3	4	4	11
Akan	38	37	36	111
Ga	1	1	-	2
English	-	-	2	2
Total	42	42	42	126

Source: Field Data 2019/2020

From table 4.9, 38 participants (90.5%) from Ayigbe Town claimed that Akan is the language they use outside their community. 37 participants representing 88.1% from Ndoda and 36 forming 85.7% of those from Dzakpatra also claimed to speak Akan when they move out of their community. This is not surprising because it reflects the fact that Akan is the dominant language of the area and, thus, it is the language of

wider communication and inter-ethnic interaction. In addition, the situation demonstrates that the Ewe in Adeiso are highly bilingual.

Ewe on the other hand recorded extremely low figures. For instance, only 3 participants from Ayigbe Town would speak Ewe when outside their community, while 4 each from Ndoda and Dzakpatra reported to speak Ewe in the wider speech community of Adeiso. Many of those in this category are without doubt those who reported to be monolinguals in Ewe. Ga recorded 1 each from Ayigbe Town and Ndoda depicting that Ga is also a minority language in the area, notwithstanding the fact that Upper West Akim shares boundaries with two great municipalities of Ga origin, i.e. Ga West and South. So far, English has consistently recorded very low figures which shows that majority of the people in the three communities have not had formal education.

4.1.2.4 Language Use in School

This question was intended for students and teachers and aimed to find out the language practices in the school domain. Table 4.10 presents the data on the responses from participants, showing the general language use in the school.

Table 4.10 Frequency Table Showing Language Use in School

Communities	Language					
	Ewe	Akan	English	Ewe & Akan	Akan & English	NA
Ayigbe Town	-	-	-	-	10	32
Ndoda	-	-	-	4	6	32
Dzakpatra	-	-	-	5	5	32

Source: Field Data 2019/2020

From the data, a total of 30 participants (comprising students and teachers) from the three communities responded to the questionnaire. All 10 participants from Ayigbe

Town claimed they speak a combination of Akan and English which demonstrates a strict adherence to the language policy at school. 6 participants from Ndoda stated that they speak a combination of Akan and English while 4 participants claimed they speak a combination of Ewe and Akan at school. Dzakpatra recorded 5 participants who claimed they speak Akan and English while 5 claimed they speak Ewe and Akan. The similarity between the data from Ndoda and Dzakpatra is due to the fact that most of the students from Dzakpatra school at Ndoda because there is no school at Dzakpatra.

The use of Ewe in the school setting at Ndoda and Dzakpatra is marked because it does not reflect the language policy at school with regard to the region where these communities are located. The language policy at school requires the use and study of English and the dominant Ghanaian language of the region at school. It was therefore expected that Akan and English would be the main languages used at school, as seen in the case of Ayigbe Town. The researcher, therefore, included the reason for the use of Ewe in the school domain in the Adeiso area as one of the factors in the conduct of the up-close interviews with selected participants who were made up of students and teachers, in order to better understand the language situation in the school domain. The details of the interviews are presented in section 4.1.4 of this chapter.

The researcher is of the opinion that the outcome establishes the fact that the school is an institution which, though physically part of the community, has a language pattern that makes it different from other domains in the community. These different patterns of language use in the school environment give a clue of the restrictions in the use of Ghanaian languages in the school. This can be considered a threat to the Ghanaian

languages as reported by Ansah (2014). However, suffice now to state that there is a correlation between one's educational background and patterns of language use

4.1.3 Comparison of Language Use in Domain across the Three Communities

Comparatively, the data on language use across the three communities revealed many similar patterns. Generally, Ewe dominates as the home language in varying degrees in all three communities. This is seen in the numbers recorded by the three communities for language use with parents, siblings, children and friends at home. It is, however, noteworthy that participants' language behaviour towards their kinsmen at home vary. Majority of the respondents stated that they use Ewe only with their parents at home but when it comes to siblings, children and friends, there is a reduction in favour of Akan and various combinations such as Ewe and Akan, and Ewe and Ga.

A similar pattern is observed with regard to language use in the neighbourhood in all three communities. Majority of the participants speak Ewe only with the elderly in the community. The numbers reduce in the case of friends with a shift to a combination of Ewe-English and Ewe-Ga with Ewe-English dominating. Surprisingly, Akan was on the lower side with regard to the numbers in this domain across the three communities. However, majority of the participants speak Akan with strangers in their neighbourhood and beyond the boundaries of the various communities, though a few, mainly the elderly, would rather go for Ewe. The outcome from these domains in all three communities, reinforces the point that the aged are conservative and lean towards Ewe monolingual while the younger generations favour the use of Akan and other languages in addition to Ewe. Besides, Akan and English serve as languages of wider communication.

Language use during religious gathering depended on two factors; the type of religion as in African Traditional Religion and Christianity, and the location of the place of worship in the case of Christianity. Whereas participants from Dzakpatra would use Ewe, a strict language requirement, in the shrine during worship, those from Ndoda would use Ewe not because of religious affiliation, but the location of the place of worship. The participants from Ndoda resort to Ewe because church services are held in the community which is already Ewe dominant. The case of Ayigbe Town is different in the use of language during religious gathering. Since majority of the participants attend church services outside their community, they adopt the language culture of the churches which is Akan dominated. Therefore, language choice during religious gathering differ from community to community depending on these factors.

Although the school physically belongs to the community it has a language pattern different from that of the community: this is in line with the language policy. The language pattern in the school restricts the use of Ewe with respect to the communities under study. This constitutes a potential threat to the maintenance of Ewe. This is seen in the data as majority of the participants from all three communities who responded to this question claimed they speak Akan and English. This is a reflection of the fact that Akan is the regional language which is required by the language policy to be studied as a subject and English, the official, used as a medium of instruction.

Language use in the market bears semblance to language use outside the various communities under study. Akan dominates as the language used in the market as majority of the participants from all three communities claimed to speak Akan in the market. This is because the Adeiso central market is what serves all the communities around, hence the use of Akan. Again, since Akan serves as a language of wider

communication, it is easier communicating in it in the market where many unfamiliar people from different ethnic backgrounds converge. Thus, Akan proves to have economic importance over the other languages in this domain.

In sum, language use in the three communities, Ayigbe Town, Ndoda and Dzakpatra does not differ significantly across the domains in exception of religious gatherings. This demonstrates that though Ewe has not gained any additional domain, it has also not lost any of its domains to the dominant language, Akan. It remains the home language and language of intra-ethnic interaction which shows that the Ewe in Adeiso are maintaining their language. However, participants have reported to mix languages in their conversations which is a consequence of language contact. Language mixing is analysed and discussed under section 4.2 of this chapter.

4.1.4 Findings from the Interview

This section presents in-depth sociolinguistic accounts of nine participants who were selected from the three communities. The selection was founded on the result of analysis of the survey with the aim of providing an up-close and personal insight into the sociolinguistic life of the Ewe in Adeiso. Specifically, it gives a detailed profile of the language practices that go beyond the general perspective that was presented in the earlier sections of this chapter. The selection was done taking into account the community of residence, ages of the participants, and their linguistic abilities. The use of the various languages across the domains was also considered in the selection of the participant for the interview.

The analysis of the sociolinguistic accounts of the participants is crucial in determining the linguistic status of individual speakers of Ewe in Adeiso and helps in

establishing the linguistic variations existing among speakers from the three communities. It will also help in determining the implications such as language shift or maintenance and language mixing of these linguistic situations on the speaking of Ewe in Adeiso.

4.1.4.1 Interview Cases

The sociolinguistic histories of the nine individuals are presented in the next section in the form of case studies, arranged from community to community. For the purposes of anonymity and confidentiality, the participants were identified with pseudo names.

4.1.4.1.1 Case One, James

James is a 16-year-old basic school student. James was born at Danso but currently lives with his paternal uncle together with his cousins at Ayigbe Town. However, he regularly visits his parents at Danso. James is proficient in Ewe, Akan, Ga and English.

At home, James usually speaks Ewe with every member of the household as every member of the household speaks Ewe fluently. However, he switches frequently to Akan especially, with his uncle's wife who also responds accordingly. This is same with his cousins and friends both in and outside his home. James stated that his alternation between Ewe and Akan is because his uncle is not that strict on the use of Ewe at home as compared to some other elderly people. Usually, James speaks Ewe with the elderly in the neighbourhood because these elderly people frown upon the use of other languages in the community. With regard to strangers, James uses Akan both within and outside his neighbourhood, but would also speak Ewe when approached with it.

In school, James claimed that he speaks English with his teachers both in and outside the classroom. However, when he was probed further, he added that Akan is also sometimes used in the classroom, especially when the teacher wants to explain any concept that seems challenging to the students. On the other hand, when interacting with his colleagues, James stated that he speaks Akan, both in and outside the classroom. James stated that he has no difficulty studying Akan (Akuapem Twi) as a subject since he is relatively fluent in it. He added that it is the language of the area and he believes it would open opportunities for him. The use of English and Akan is a reflection of the language policy in Ghana.

When asked why he switches between his languages, James stated that his competence in Ewe is limited so he switches in order to better express himself. This, he said, makes him comfortable. He was, however, uncertain as to whether mixing of languages further impedes his speaking of Ewe. James has a positive attitude towards Ewe as he is of the view that people should be proud of their native language. He claimed he is comfortable speaking Ewe everywhere and would encourage other speakers of Ewe to do the same. However, he believes that being proficient in only one language may not be helpful since one does not interact with only the speakers of his native language, so people should be encouraged to also learn to speak and use other languages.

4.1.4.1.2 Case Two, Kodzo

Kodzo is a forty-one-year-old graduate teacher who comes from a family of seven. His parents hail from Dzodze in the Volta region. He together with his siblings were born and bred at Ndoda. He holds a degree in Basic Education. Currently, he lives

with his spouse and children at Ayigbe Town but he teaches at Ndoda DA Basic School.

Kodzo acquired Ewe as his first language with high competence as it is the native language of his parents and the major language at Ndoda. Other languages in his repertoire include Akan which he acquired from the larger community, and English as a result of formal education. He also understands Dangme, his spouse's mother tongue, to a limited extent.

At home, Kodzo speaks Akan and English with his family. This he said was because his spouse did not speak Ewe so they needed a common language, which obviously, was Akan since it is the dominant language of the area. English becomes a second option since both are educated. Consequently, there has been a shift from Ewe to Akan and English. However, in the neighbourhood, Kodzo speaks Ewe with his friends and the elderly which reveals his ethnic identity and solidarity. Kodzo claimed he speaks Akan both within and outside his community, especially, with known persons of other ethnic orientation since majority of the people are fluent in it.

At work (school), Kodzo speaks English and Akan both with fellow teachers and students. This reflects the Language of Education Policy in Ghana which makes English the medium of instruction at higher levels of education. He explained that many of the students have very little competence in English and Akan which makes it challenging when explaining concepts to them. Consequently, many of the teachers resort to Ewe which helps better at explaining concepts. He concedes that this is in contravention of the language policy which requires the use of English as the medium of instruction. However, given the circumstances, they have no choice since students must understand the lessons and Ewe seems to be the best option in this case. When

asked to share his opinion on what could be done to help the situation, he stated that students from the school face serious challenges when they move to Adeiso to continue their basic education because the medium of instruction over there is strictly English with some Akan. He further stated that these students face bigger challenges writing Akuapem Twi during the BECE. Therefore, he believes that the officially recognized Ghanaian languages should be made optional irrespective of the region.

In the market which he seldom visits, Kodzo speaks Akan, the dominant language of the area and uses same at church. However, he speaks English with friends and other educated persons at church. Though Kodzo switches between Ewe and Akan frequently, he claimed he could speak only Ewe, especially when interacting with the elderly in his neighbourhood. To him, code switching is normal with anybody who can speak more than one language and that it identifies you with those other languages. He explains that it saves time and effort, especially, when mentioning a big number. He is of the view that code switching cannot pollute one's mother tongue if the mother tongue is well acquired.

Kodzo has a positive attitude towards his heritage language, Ewe. He claimed he speaks Ewe everywhere and is comfortable with it. Further, he would encourage other speakers of Ewe to use the language wherever they find themselves interacting with fellow speakers of Ewe. According to him, this identifies them and helps project the language in a positive way.

4.1.4.1.3 Case Three, Connie

Connie is a sixty-seven-year-old trader who resides with her husband at Ayigbe Town. She was born at Alafia, an Ewe community in the Adeiso area but later moved

to Kwamekrom in the Afram Plains where she was introduced to trading in foodstuffs. She then moved back to settle with her spouse at Ayigbe Town where she continued with her trade. Together, they make a family of seven; her four younger children, her husband and her mother. Her two older children both live in Accra but visit occasionally. Her business involves moving to the neighbouring communities and villages to buy foodstuffs wholesale from farmers which she retails at the Adeiso market.

Notwithstanding her exposure to languages such as Anum, Dangme, Akan and Ga, Connie is still very proficient in Ewe. This is because her youthful days were mostly spent at Alafia which is a community dominated by Ewe speakers. Besides, her immediate family are all native speakers of Ewe. She can thus be described as a multilingual as she speaks Anum, Dangme, Akan, Ga and Ewe at varying levels of proficiency. Connie, speaks Ewe at home with her mother and spouse because both are native speakers of Ewe. But with her children, she switches between Ewe and Akan most of the time, disregarding mother's caution to speak only Ewe with her children.

Connie has a strong tie with people in her neighbourhood and this is expressed in the use of Ewe among the members. However, with some particular people such as very close friends, Connie prefers to alternate among Ewe, Akan and Ga. Ga because Ayigbe Town, as already stated shares boundary with a Ga speaking community called Kwahene, making some members of Ayigbe Town learn to speak Ga. However, Akan is reserved for strangers in the community. On her many business trips, the language she uses depends on the language background of the individual since farmers in the locality are mostly natives of Ewe, Akan, Dangme or Ga. Connie

fellowships with a church which is Akan dominated. Consequently, activities are done in Akan with Ga and English sometimes chipped in. Being a member of the Women's Fellowship in her church, their meetings and activities are mostly held in Akan. Thus, Connie freely speaks Akan with her fellow members.

Code switching was a frequent phenomenon identified in Connie's conversation to which she conceded. According to her, alternating languages enables her communicate effectively wherever she finds herself. She explained that given her kind of business, she is able to mingle and interact well with speakers of other languages that she could speak, and that she sees nothing wrong with it. She was however, of the view that language mixing could hinder the speaking of her mother tongue because sometimes she loses control over the switches. In other words, she unconsciously switches to other languages when she does not intend to. Notwithstanding that she speaks Akan, Dangme, Anum and Ga extensively, Connie showed a strong attachment to Ewe. She stated that Ewe identifies her with her ethnicity and that she speaks it comfortably everywhere.

4.1.4.1.4 Case Four, Ami

Ami is a 31-year-old beautician who hails from Penyi in the Volta region of Ghana. She moved to Ndoda with her mother when she was about ten years old and has been living in this community since. Ami is a JHS graduate and proceeded to learn a trade in hairdressing. She currently lives with her mother at Ndoda but operates a saloon around the Adeiso central market. Ami is competent in two languages in addition to Ewe, her native language. She learned Akan and to some extent, English, both during school and from the community

At home, Ami speaks Ewe with her mother and friends who visit her because her mother insists on the speaking of Ewe. According to her, she speaks Ewe with other elderly people who visit her mother at home. In her neighbourhood, Ami speaks Ewe alone with the elderly but switches between Ewe and Akan with her friends. With strangers in her neighbourhood, Ami speaks Akan with the reason that Akan is the widely spoken language in the area. At work, Ami speaks Akan with little or no Ewe. She stated that though many of her customers are speakers of Ewe, she prefers to speak Akan with them because Akan is dominant compared to Ewe. It also helps her to avoid some kind of stigmatization from other ethnic groups and possible loss of prospective Akan customers. In other words, Akan helps her to attract more customers. Thus, Ami speaks Akan when she finds herself outside her community regardless of the nativity of the others she interacts with.

When in the market, a place she frequents to purchase supplies for her work and groceries for the family, Ami claims she speaks Akan. This reflects the economic importance and dominance of Akan in the area. Another domain where Ami speaks Akan extensively is the church. This is obvious because she fellowships with the Church of Pentecost which is located at Danso where church services are usually conducted in Akan. In addition, she is a member of 'Mmaa Kuo' (Women Fellowship), where their meetings are usually held in Akan. Thus, Ami adopts the language pattern of her church.

Ami responded in the affirmative to mixing languages. She sees code switching as useful because it helps her express herself better. She explained that sometimes it is difficult finding the right word when speaking a language so she switches into other languages to fill the gap. Ami is of the view that code switching may impede the

speaking of her mother tongue. Generally, Ami has a negative attitude towards Ewe which is evidenced in her general language choice across the various domains. To add to that, she explicitly stated that but for her mother's insistence, she would prefer to use Akan even at home. She stated again that she is not comfortable speaking Ewe everywhere and would not encourage others to do so. This, she said, would enable her avoid being stigmatized by other people from other ethnic groups.

4.1.4.1.5 Case Five, Janet

Janet is an 18-year-old Senior High School student from a family of seven. She was born at Ndoda but spent most part of her childhood at Adeiso with a maternal aunt. She currently lives with her parents at Ndoda. Actually, Janet has an only sibling and two step-siblings. Her step-mother is a native speaker of Ga. However, they all live in the same house and have daily interactions with one another. Janet is highly multilingual which is reflected in her use of the various languages in her repertoire in different linguistic setting. She has varying degrees of knowledge in Akan, which is the first language she acquired, Ewe, English and Ga. These languages are distributed to suit her communicative needs. Janet acquired Ewe as a result of her father's insistence on speaking it with her.

At home, Janet speaks Ewe with her father as he strictly insists on it. She, however, switches between Ewe and Akan with her mother since her mother also speaks Akan to some extent. Janet speaks Ga with her step-mother who has very little competence in Ewe, but tries to stick to Ewe only whenever her father is around. Ewe and Akan are the main languages she uses with all her siblings. Further, she speaks Ewe and Akan with her friends who visit her at home. Janet tries to stick to Ewe when she

addresses the elderly who visit her parents at home to avoid being chastised by her father.

In the neighbourhood, Janet speaks Ewe with the elderly though she seldom strays into Akan while she alternates between Ewe and Akan when interacting with her friends. In the case of strangers, Janet uses Akan. Janet's main language when she finds herself outside her community irrespective of the others interacting with her is Akan. However, since church services are conducted in Ewe, Janet adopts that culture but she shifts to Akan often. Finally, at the market, Janet uses Akan as it is the dominant language.

In school, Janet claims she speaks English with her teachers but switches between English and Akan with her colleagues. This, again, is a reflection of the Language in Education policy in Ghana. It may also be due to the prestige associated with the speaking of English. Janet's language use in the Senior High School is not very different from that of her basic school days. She stated that she had her primary education at Ndoda L. A. Basic School and proceeded to the Methodist Junior High School at Adesio.

Back at the basic school at Ndoda, Janet stated that the main language used was Ewe. She explains that since many of the students were not competent in English and Akan, they tend to speak Ewe most of the time. Again, in the classroom, when teachers wanted to explain concepts which are difficult to understand in English, they often switched to Ewe. She blamed it on the insistence on the speaking of Ewe in the community by the elderly to the disadvantage of other possible languages, even Akan. This situation, she stated, made them face challenges when they finally proceeded to the JHS which is at Adeiso. She, in particular, faced serious challenges with Akan

(Akuapem Twi) as a subject of study though she claimed Akan was her first language. This also points to the question of quality in her acquisition of Akan.

Janet believes that language mixing hinders her speaking of Ewe because of the ease in replacing Ewe expressions with their equivalents from Akan and English. She however, stated that when she switches to other languages, it makes her feel accepted and she comfortably interacts with speakers of those other languages. Particularly, speaking English makes people consider her educated. Janet expressed mixed feelings towards Ewe. Though she claimed she was comfortable speaking Ewe everywhere, she would not push for other speakers of Ewe if they do not want to. She is of the view that people should be allowed to speak whatever language they want to speak regardless of where they find themselves.

4.1.4.1.6 Case Six, Efo Dodzi

Efo Dodzi (pseudo name) is a 64-year-old farmer resident in Ndoda. He is a father of six. He was born at Ndoda but spent part of his youthful years at Alafia, an Ewe speaking community in the same area. He has been living in the current community for close to fifty years. His parents hail from Akatsi in the Volta region of Ghana. He is currently resident in Ndoda with his spouse as all his children are grown and thus, moved out. He has no formal education. Efo Dodzi is highly proficient in Ewe, and claims to have varying degrees of proficiency in Akan and Ga.

Efo Dodzi speaks Ewe at home since he is married to a native speaker of Ewe. Usually, in the community, he speaks Ewe to everyone, including strangers. At the shrine, which is the only place of worship, he speaks Ewe as expected. However, he uses Akan whenever, he moves out of the community. He claims that he does not mix

languages and is even opposed to other people who alternate between languages. In his opinion, mixing languages pollutes one's mother tongue and makes one lose his identity. To Efo Dodzi, everyone must identify well with his/her heritage language which is a sure way of projecting the language. He further stated that people must learn to be proud of their language and speak it everywhere, adding that it would be a welcome news if their children were allowed to even study Ewe in the basic school regardless of their community of residence. This will help transmit the language to the younger generation.

4.1.4.1.7 Case Seven, Adzo

Moving to Dzakpatra, we meet Adzo, a 55-year-old single mother. She spent most of her youthful years at Adeiso but moved to settle with her spouse, who passed on later, at Dzakpatra. Adzo and her spouse were peasant farmers but she sold some of their produce at the Adeiso market. Her parents are both native speakers of Ewe back home at Atsiavi in the Keta District in the Volta Region of Ghana whom she visits occasionally, especially, during funerals. According to her, she migrated at a very tender age to Adeiso in the company of a relative and attended school there but dropped out at primary three.

Adzo is proficient in three languages; Ewe, Akan and Ga. Her stay in Adeiso over the years equipped her with Akan and Ga. She uses Ewe at home with her children as it is the dominant language in the community. However, she switches to Akan, though less frequently, since her children are also proficient in Akan. Akan and Ga are mostly reserved for her friends, most of whom she made at Adeiso, who visit her at home or when they meet at church or the market. According to her, she shifts to other languages in order to make people understand her clearly. She explained that she is

sometimes not sure whether people, especially, her children understand her well enough in Ewe, so she restates her message in the other language to clear her doubts. Adzo thinks that mixing language could pollute her mother tongue because she is sometimes tempted to stick to the other language even when she is sure her addressee can understand her clearly in Ewe.

Interestingly, Adzo sees nothing wrong with speaking other languages in addition to one's heritage language, particularly, when it enables one get across to people from other ethnicities. This is contrary to the belief that the elderly have strong affinity to their heritage language and can do everything possible to maintain it. This deviation may be due to the fact that Adzo was exposed to and acquired more languages, though at different points in time, in her formative years. These languages have helped her in various ways, from friendship to trade, which may have been difficult with only one language. Surprisingly, although Adzo acquired some formal education, she does not consider English as a language in her linguistic repertoire.

4.1.4.1.8 Case Eight, Afi

Afi (pseudo name) is a 16-year old student resident at Dzakpatra. She comes from a family of eight. She was born and bred at Dzakpatra but she regularly visits her elder brother at Asamankese, the capital of West Akim Municipality. Afi is a student at the Ndoda basic school just like other children from her community since there is no school at Dzakpatra. She is proficient in Ewe, her mother tongue, and Akan. However, she claimed some competence in Ga and English. Just like Janet, Afi comes from a polygamous family with the whole family living in the same compound. Though Afi's mother is a native speaker of Ga, she is also proficient in Ewe.

At home, Afi speaks Ewe with her father and step-mother, but switches between Ewe and Ga when interacting with her mother. Compared to Janet, Afi's father is more liberal on the use of Ewe which allows Afi to alternate languages with her siblings and friends and, sometimes, even with her father. But the situation is not the same with other elderly people who visit her parents at home. Though it is claimed that Ewe is the dominant language in the community, children of Afi's age usually shift from Ewe to Akan occasionally among themselves and with strangers but not with the elderly. She fellowships with a local church at Danso, about four kilometers from Dzakpatra, where Akan is mainly used during service, with Ga to a limited degree. Thus, Afi adapts to this language pattern.

At school, Afi claimed she speaks English with her teachers. However, when probed further, she stated that Ewe is mainly use in the school, even in the classroom when the teacher wants to further explain a concept. This was confirmed by one of the teachers who explained that majority of the students are handicapped in English and Akan, therefore, the teachers have no choice than to switch to Ewe. According to the teacher, though it contradicts the language policy in the area, they have no other choice since students must understand the concept. Afi confirmed that she is truly handicapped in Akan and English and wished she could do better, especially in English.

With the issue of language mixing, Afi stated that she frequently shifts from Ewe to Akan. According to her, she finds it difficult to say some things in Ewe, and so shifts to Akan. She believes that mixing language could hamper her mother tongue but could not help it. Overall, Afi is shy speaking Ewe, especially in school. According to her, she always receives a reproachful stare from her colleagues, even Ewe-speaking

ones, anytime she speaks Ewe. So to avoid such responses she would rather not speak Ewe, particularly outside her home and neighbourhood.

4.1.4.1.9 Case Nine, Efo Atsu

Finally, we meet Efo Atsu at Dzakpatra who stays with his family of four. He is a 65-year-old traditional priest. His father was a traditional priest who was also engaged farming. His mother was also a farmer and trader. They migrated from Voga in Togo and settled in this community where they plied their various trades. Efo Atsu has no formal education as his father introduced him to ‘voodoo’ practice and farming at a very tender age. He expressed regret not to have been given the opportunity to get formal education.

Efo is proficient in two languages, Ewe and Akan, but seems to be more proficient in Ewe since that is his mother tongue. His use of Ewe during traditional worship, funerals, meetings and other traditional ceremonies, according to him, is remarkable. At home, no other language apart from Ewe is used since all his household members are proficient in Ewe. He speaks Ewe with whoever visits him at home. He only switches to Akan when he meets a stranger in the community but would switch back to Ewe upon realizing the stranger is after all a speaker of Ewe.

Efo Atsu is of the opinion that language mixing is a major setback in their children’s acquisition of Ewe. He explained that the availability of the equivalents in the other language(s) makes them not strive to perfect their speaking of Ewe. However, as it stands now, they are helpless in trying to correct it. According to him, Ewe identifies him with his tribe and culture. He expresses strong reservations to choosing a

different language over his ethnic language, as one's ethnic language helps to better understand and appreciate one's culture, without which one is lost to his own people.

4.1.4.2 Discussion on the Outcome of the Interviews

The cases presented reinforce the view by linguists such as Batibo (2005) that Africans are highly multilingual as a result of their exposure to many languages. Evidence of the cogency of this claim is seen in the number of languages that participants claimed to be competent in. All the participants reported to be competent in two or more languages with none being monolingual. The language choice of all nine participants in the various domains under study reflects their responses in the questionnaire.

All participants except *case two* (Kodzo) speak Ewe with their families at home with some degree of switch into Akan. For instance, in the case of Janet (*case five*) and Ami (*case four*), their father and mother strictly insist on the speaking of Ewe at home which aided in Janet's (*case five*) acquisition of Ewe. These two cases (*Ami and Janet*) corroborate the assertion that the elderly are the transmitters of ethnic language of its speakers. This assertion is further strengthened by *case six* (*Efo Dodzi*) who speaks Ewe with everyone including strangers at home and the neighbourhood.

The case is however, not the same with *James* (*case one*) and *Afi* (*case eight*). The elderly in the homes of these two cases were not strict on the speaking of Ewe at home. Though *James* (*case one*) speaks Ewe monolingually with his uncle, he is allowed to switch to Akan with his aunt and cousin. *Afi's* (*case eight*) case is even more liberal as she switches between Ewe and Akan even with her father. This extends also to the elderly in the community whom she approached most of the time

with Ewe. These revelations support other studies such as Abtahian (2009) which reveal the efforts of the older generation at Hopkins, a village in Belize, Central America, in maintaining Garifuna, their heritage language.

Concerning *Kodzo (case two)*, language use at home is in sharp contrast to the rest of the cases. Since this is the case of an exogamous marriage, there is the need to find a common language of communication which is Akan, the dominant language in the area, in addition to English since they are both educated. Kedreboego (1998) reported that exogamy is a major factor that advances language shift as it hinders the inter-generational transmission of the native language at home. This is supported by the case of Kodzo.

Language use in the school domain reveals very interesting situations in this speech community, especially Ndoda and Dzakpatra. According to Mackey (2000), a person's language contact in school may be with language taught as a subject or with a language use as a medium of instruction. In this vein, the current language policy of education in Ghana requires the use of English as the medium of instruction right from primary one while the officially recognized Ghanaian languages are studied as subjects throughout all levels of education in the country (Owu-Ewie, 2006).

Mackey (2000) argues that language in education policies in bilingual areas may be based on four principles namely nationality, territoriality, religious affiliation and ethnic origin. The principle of nationality is where a child receives his schooling in the language of the country, in the case of Ghana, the official language, English. The principle of territoriality on the other hand, is where a child gets his schooling in the language of the community in which he happens to be living. The current language in education policy of Ghana, 2002 appears to be reflective of these two principles.

Furthermore, Arabic, the religious language of Islam, is used in the Islamic schools, 'Makaranta' which is also in line with the principle of religious affiliation.

The difficulty, however, lies in the neglect of the principle of ethnic origin which proposes the use of the native language of the child in schooling him. This is evidenced in the responses from the interview as seen in *cases two (Kodzo), five (Janet), six (Efo Dodzi) and eight (Afi)*. To them, since students from Ndoda and Dzakpatra, were less fluent in Akan, they were of the opinion that Ewe should be introduced as an option, both as a medium of instruction and a subject of study. This, according to them, will aid enhance their academic achievement.

This is in line with Baker's (2001) argument that the use of the child's first language enhances the academic, linguistic and cognitive achievement of learners. However, Owu-Ewie (2006) added that simply using the child's L1 does not guarantee the above-named benefits but depends on a carefully planned programme in which proficiency in the first language is developed and attained. Either ways, there is a call for the development and use of the indigenous Ghanaian languages in education.

By implication, the continuous use of a minority language in all domains of life enhances its vitality and general performance in the face of competition from dominant languages in the same speech community. Subsequently, Ewe is being maintained among its speakers in Adeiso speech community in domains such as the home, neighbourhood and in intra-ethnic interaction. There is, however, the need for its introduction into the school domain in situations where it is the minority language to enhance its maintenance. Again, majority of the participants stated that they mix languages during conversations which is evident in their language use during the

interview. Participants' language mixing behaviour is discussed under section 4.2 of this chapter.

4.1.5 Attitude of the Ewe in Adeiso to Ewe

Speakers' attitude towards their language is principal to the future of the language. This is because they hold the key to the survival or demise of the language; whether or not they transmit the language to the younger generation, and whether the language gains or loses domain (Batibo, 2005). Based on this, the attitude of the participants towards Ewe, their heritage language was tested. It was demonstrated in the data that majority of the participants across the three communities show positive attitude towards Ewe. The first question was whether participants feel comfortable speaking Ewe everywhere. 40 (95.2%) of the 42 participants from Ayigbe Town responded *yes*, followed by Ndoda and Dzakpatra recording 38 representing 90.5% and 37 representing 88.1% of the participants respectively.

The second question asked whether participants could encourage other speakers of Ewe to speak their heritage language everywhere. Again, the data revealed an overwhelming support for the language by participants across the three communities. Specifically, 39 representing 92.9% of the participants from Ndoda responded *Yes* to the question, followed by Ayigbe Town and Dzakpatra with 37 (88.1%) and 35 representing 83.3% respectively. Participants gave several reasons why they would encourage other speakers to speak Ewe at all places. Among these, participants claimed that people must identify with their heritage language and project it to maintain their ethnic identity. Others claimed that there was the need to speak Ewe so the younger generation can learn it since they live outside their homeland. These findings were corroborated in the interviews.

Participants in the interview differ in their attitude towards the speaking of Ewe. While majority have positive attitude towards the speaking of Ewe, a few who were mostly below 60 years see it in a negative light. This variation in attitude may be due to the fact that many of the elderly have poor accent when it comes to speaking the other languages and thus are more comfortable with Ewe. The reasons given by those participants who have negative attitude towards speaking Ewe included to avoid being stigmatized by speakers of other languages. *Afi (case eight)* for instance, stated that she receives disapproving responses even from Ewe-speaking colleagues whenever she speaks Ewe. *Ami (case four)* on the other hand, prefer to speak Akan for the economic power Akan wields in the Adeiso speech community. This is expressed in her fear of losing prospective customers in case she speaks Ewe.

Besides, as reported by Kedrebeogo (1998) and Michieka (2012), young people seem to be attracted to the more prestigious language. In this instance, *Afi (case eight)* stated that she shifts to English so as to be seen as educated since English is mostly the language of the educated in Ghana. However, the general positive attitude is indicative of the willingness to maintain their language. Language maintenance among the Ewe in Adeiso is discussed in detail under section 4.2 of this chapter.

4.2 Consequences of Language Practices on the speaking of Ewe in Adeiso

This section which is the second major section of this chapter, answers the second research question; ‘What are the consequences of such language contact situation on the speaking of Ewe?’. The analysis was based on the data from both the questionnaire and the interviews. Contact between people speaking different languages can have a wide variety of consequences. These include language shift, language maintenance and language mixing as in code switching and interference.

Bilinguals' languages have been influenced at one time or another, with resultant varying degrees of transfer of features from one to the other. In the same vein, the use of Ewe together with other languages by the Ewe in Adeiso has been found to influence the speaking of Ewe by its speakers in Adeiso.

Consequently, in addition to finding out the ultimate consequences, i.e. language shift or maintenance, of bilingual language use, the second research question also investigated the influence of the other languages, Akan and English, on the speaking of Ewe by its speakers in Adeiso. To answer this question, qualitative data was collected from nine participants who were sampled from the 126. The data revealed several instances of language mixing which corroborates responses by participants in the questionnaire as majority of the participants across the three communities claimed that they mixed languages in their conversations.

4.2.1 Language mixing by the Ewe in Adeiso

In addition to finding out whether or not the Ewe are shifting, the second research question also investigated the influence of the other language, Akan and English on the speaking of Ewe by its speakers in Adeiso. Interviews were conducted on nine participants who were sampled from the 126. The data revealed several instances of language mixing from the interviews which validates the responses by participants in the questionnaire. Majority of the participants across the three communities claimed that they mixed languages in their conversations.

Table 11: Table Showing the Regularity of Language Mixing in the Three Communities

Kinship	Regularity of mixing language	Communities			Total
		Ayigbe Town	Ndoda	Dzakpatra	
Family	Often	27	20	20	67
	Rarely	2	5	8	15
	I don't	13	17	14	44
Friends	Often	26	20	21	67
	Rarely	2	5	7	14
	I don't	14	17	14	45
Elderly	Often	8	5	7	20
	Rarely	14	14	16	44
	I don't	20	23	19	62

Source: Field Data 2019/2020

Cumulatively, 82 participants forming 65.1% out of the total 126 reported that they switch languages with varying degrees when conversing with their family members while 44 (34.9%) claimed they do not. Similarly, 81 (64.3%) of the participant across the communities stated that they switch codes when conversing with their friends with 45 (35.7%) who claimed they do not. The situation however, changes slightly with regard to the elderly. While 64 of the participant from the three communities representing 50.8% claimed they switch languages in conversations with the elderly, 62 (49.2%) stated they do not. Comparatively, Ayigbe Town recorded slightly higher figures of participants who claimed to switch codes compared to Ndoda and Dzakpatra.

Again, it must be noted that those who claimed to switch codes during conversation, whether with members of their household, friends or the elderly, do so in varying degrees. In other words, while some seldom switch codes, others do it more frequently. Furthermore, the number of people who alternate between languages during conversation decreases as we move from their informal in-group settings

towards more formal settings. This is evidenced in the reduction in the numbers as the situation moves from the family through friends to the elderly in the communities and the reverse is true as the number of people who do switch codes decreases as the situation moves towards the informal setting. This corroborates other studies that code mixing is not the usual means of communication in most formal settings. In addition, the findings showed that the person involved in an interaction determined whether or not the participant would switch codes.

The participants were again requested to share their opinions on which generation of speakers most regularly mixed codes. The idea in this question was to find out which of the current generations were affected most by this contact situation. To this, 75 of the participants from all three communities which form 59.5% stated that those between the ages of 31 and 60 switched code most regularly whereas 50 (39.7%) stated that those who were 30 years and below most regularly switch codes. Only one participant stated that those above 60 years switched codes. This lends credence to the finding in this study that those below sixty years were more multilingual since they were exposed to many more languages than those above sixty years of age.

Finally, participants were requested to share their opinions on whether language mixing pollutes their mother tongue. This item also was aimed at finding out participants' general attitude to language mixing. The data shows that as many 116 of the participants representing 92.1% stated 'Yes' while 10 (7.9%) stated 'No'. This reveals a situation described by Forson (1978, as cited in Amuzu, 2012) as Ghanaian's "love-hate affair" with code switching. Amuzu (2012) explained that Ghanaians hate code switching because they are aware of its negative effect on their competence in their native languages but love it for its usefulness in serving socio-

pragmatic functions. This revelation therefore necessitated an investigation into the speaking of Ewe among the study population to find out the motivations behind code switching behaviour among speakers of Ewe in the Adeiso speech community. Again, these findings on language mixing were substantiated in the interviews.

With the issue of code switching, majority of the participants in the interviews stated that they alternate their languages, particularly from Ewe to Akan, except cases *six* and *nine* (*Dodzi and Atsu*). This corroborates the responses in the survey that majority of the participants switch codes. Several reasons were put forward by participants in the interviews as their motivation for mixing languages. In the first place, participants claimed that shifting to other languages enables them identify with speakers of the other language as seen in cases *two*, *three* and *five* (*Kodzo, Connie and Janet*). For instance, in the case of Janet (*case five*), she claimed she feels belonged and comfortable in the company of speakers of the other language. She also stated that the prestige associated with the speaker of English is what motivates her to shift accordingly.

Another motivation for code switching is to compensate for limitations in the speaking of Ewe. This is more profound among the younger generation as seen in the case of *James* (*case one*), *Ami* (*case four*) and *Afi* (*case eight*). *Afi* and *Ami* specifically stated that it was sometimes difficult expressing some ideas such as large numbers as reported by *Kodzo* (*case two*), and also the frustration in searching for the right word in Ewe during online speech, so they switch to Akan or English. Thus, code switching serves to compensate for limitations in the speaking of Ewe in this sense.

Apart from speakers identifying with speakers of other languages and also compensating for language limitations through code switching, it also makes speech more economical. *Kodzo (case two)* reports that it saves time and effort expressing concepts such as large numbers in English than it is in Ewe. Ahlidja (2017) reported that expressing large numbers in the Ghanaian languages is more stressful as it is lengthy and demands more linguistic effort. This assertion is confirmed by *Kodzo's* motivation to code switch. Code switching again is seen as a way of ensuring that an intended message is well understood by the addressee. This is seen in *Adzo's* (case seven) situation where she stated that in order to be sure that her message was understood, she switches to Akan. This is similar to Ahlidja (2017) who reported that code switching can be employed in an interaction as a means of emphasis.

All participants, except *Kodzo (case two)*, agreed that language mixing could pollute their mother tongue. In a situation where the mother tongue is well acquired, code switching may have little or no effect on the mother tongue. This is demonstrated in the case of *Kodzo (case two)* who claimed he could speak Ewe monolingually. Though majority of the participants in the interview agreed that code switching could impede their speaking of Ewe, they have favourable attitudes towards it. Accordingly, they employ it to enable them communicate effectively in various situations. This situation is reflective of the mixed feelings most Ghanaians have towards code switching.

4.2.2. Language Maintenance among the Ewe in Adeiso

Language maintenance refers to the linguistic contact situations whereby speakers of a minority language continue to use their language in their daily interactions in the face of competition from a more dominant language. Consequently, speakers of the

minority language put in measures of retaining it, transmitting it to the next generation, and using it in all areas of life. So far, from the analysis of the data from the study, it is apparent that the speakers of Ewe in Adeiso are maintaining their heritage language, in spite of the variations in language use across domains in the three communities. This was seen in the data as Ewe appears to dominate the lives of the participants in the home, neighbourhood and intra-ethnic interactions. It is also evidenced in their desire to have Ewe introduced into the basic school setting although in Akan dominated setting. Several factors were identified to account for this.

4.2.2.1 Factors that Account for Language Maintenance among the Ewe in Adeiso

For a minority group to maintain their language, they must demonstrate a sense of maintaining their linguistic and cultural identity within a multilingual context. This is seen in the use of the language in their daily interactions. The use and maintenance of a language is usually determined by certain factors which were identified in the data in this study.

Endogamy was identified as one of the major factors that enhances the maintenance of Ewe in Adeiso. Majority of the 126 participants were from parents who were both native speakers of Ewe and so enforce the speaking of Ewe, especially at home. This is demonstrated in the large number of participants who stated Ewe as their first language. Thus, the first language of the parents is mirrored in the first language of the participants. This finding supports Okpanachi and Abuh (2017) who reported that intra-ethnic marriage was common among the people of Olowa which aided in the maintenance of the three languages. In addition, Kedrebeogo (1998) reported that

exogamous marriages were partly responsible for language shift among the Koronfe speakers of Koromba in Burkina Faso.

Closely related to the issue of endogamy in the above paragraph is intergenerational transmission of a native language. UNESCO (2003), in its efforts to safeguard the endangered languages of the world, proposed a nine-factor guideline to gauge the vitality of a minority language. Number one on the list is intergenerational transmission of language. UNESCO (2003) explained that the more transmission there is from one generation to another, the stronger the language is. It is observed from the data that the elderly in the research communities insisted on the use of Ewe both at home and in the neighbourhood. Accordingly, majority of the participants reported that they speak only Ewe with the elders in the communities. This is also in support of Kedrebeogo (1998) who reported a strong resistance among the elders of the speakers of Koronfe against linguistic assimilation of Moore. Thus, the elderly are seen as the transmitters of Ewe among its speakers in Adeiso.

Blench (1998) listed maintenance of traditional religion and cultural identity in his guidelines for language maintenance. Batibo (2005) explains that language maintenance still prevails in Africa where the speakers are strongly attached to their culture and traditions. It is observed from the data that the majority of the participants, especially from Ndoda and Dzakpatra, reported that they use Ewe during religious gatherings, i.e. the church and the shrine. It has been stated that the people of Dzakpatra are mainly traditional worshippers, a domain that demands the strict use of Ewe. In the case of Ndoda, Ewe is used during church service and also traditional performances since it is the dominant language in this community. Participants from Ayigbe Town attend church service outside the community, thus adopt the language

of the wider community, Akan. However, in traditional activities, Ewe is used. Consequently, religion, as reported by Kedrebeogo (1998) accounts for language maintenance among the Ewe in Adeiso.

Finally, the speakers of Ewe in Adeiso have a strong attachment to their ethnic language. This reflected in their positive attitude to the language. Majority of the participants claimed they were comfortable speaking Ewe irrespective of where they found themselves. They explained that it made them identify with the language, help project the language positively and maintain their ethnic identity. UNESCO (2003) stated among others that the community members' attitude towards their language determines whether they maintain the language or shift to a dominant one. In other words, the more positive their attitude is towards the language, the more pride they take in it and the stronger the language is. The results in this study support this claim as majority of the participants demonstrate positive attitudes towards Ewe.

4.3 Testing the Findings against Batibo's Marked Bilingualism Model

As stated earlier, the ultimate result of any language contact situation is either a shift to the more prestigious language or a maintenance of one's heritage language. This results from the imbalanced relationship between the languages. According to Batibo (2005), there is, most of the time, an unequal relationship between languages in contact. This is because one of the languages, mostly the dominant language, will have an edge over the other, mostly the minority language.

A shift to a dominant language or maintaining one's heritage language depends largely on the degree of pressure from the dominant language and the degree of resistance from the minority language (Batibo, 2005). The Marked Bilingualism Model seeks to explain the stages a language goes through, from the time of contact to

extinction. This five-phased model is one of the theoretical frameworks used in this study to explain language use and its consequences on the speaking of Ewe by the Ewe in Adeiso. These five phases, as stated earlier in chapter two are, a state of relative monolingualism, bilingualism with L1 predominance, bilingualism with L2 predominance, the restricted use of and competence in L1, and the situation where L1 is used as a substratum.

Findings from this work point to the fact that Ewe in Adeiso has passed the stage of relative monolingualism because majority of the speakers are bilinguals. However, in phase two, it predominates in the state of bilingualism and is used as the primary language. From the study, Akan is the second language of the Ewe in Adeiso and is used in secondary domains. It forms a diglossic situation with Ewe where it occupies the higher status and is used for wider communication such as local administration, inter-ethnic interaction and trade. Though it appears to be more prestigious as it holds socio-economic power in the Adeiso speech community, it has been unable to encroach on the domains of Ewe.

The data from both the survey and interview showed that majority of the participants use Ewe with their kinsmen and friends at home and also with the elderly in all three communities. Again, Ewe dominates the religious circles, especially, the traditional religious practices as is seen in the case of Dzakpatra. It also takes eminence in the Christian religious practices as evidenced in the case of Ndoda. It is interesting that Ewe is again seen pushing its way into the school system in the community as teachers in the Ndoda basic school resort to Ewe to enhance students' comprehension of concepts, while students speak it widely in the school.

Thus, Ewe and Akan have well defined domains in the Adeiso speech community as Ewe remains the primary language and Akan the secondary language and used only in specific situations. Though, the situation slightly shifts in favour of Akan in Ayigbe Town, and also with instances of code switching and interference from Akan into Ewe were observed, Ewe largely, remains the predominant language in the lives of the Ewe bilinguals in Adeiso as captured in the phase two of the Marked Bilingualism Model.

However, it must be stated that the findings in this study do not completely rule out the possibility of a shift. The data revealed that some participants showed negative attitudes towards Ewe. They stated that they were uncomfortable speaking Ewe, especially, outside their home and neighbourhood, thus resorting to the use of Akan, the more dominant language in the area. Again, they claimed they were unable to encourage other speakers of Ewe to speak it wherever they found themselves. This group of participants, mainly, belonged to the first generation i.e. aged thirty years and below. This situation has the tendency to interrupt the intergenerational transmission of the language in the future.

Another important issue is the language use in mixed-marriage home, where the father may be Ewe and the mother from another ethnicity, with the mother unable to speak Ewe. In such situations, it was observed that children tend to speak the language of the mother to the neglect of Ewe (father's language). This situation has the tendency to interrupt the intergenerational transmission of the language in the future, thus, resulting in a possible shift from Ewe.

4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the analysis of the data based on participants' linguistic repertoire, domains of language use and attitude towards Ewe in all three communities. It is seen from the data that majority of participants in all the three communities were bilinguals as they reported to be proficient in two languages or more. The data also revealed that Ewe dominates the primary domains such as the home and intra-ethnic interaction, and also in the religious circles. Ewe is also seen pushing its way into the school setting. Instances of code switching between Ewe and Akan were also observed. From the data, Ewe may be safely placed in phase two of the Marked Bilingualism Model as it predominates the lives of the Ewe bilinguals in Adeiso.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter concludes the study by presenting a summary of the study and its key findings. Specifically, the chapter begins with a summary of the study, i.e. the aim and methodology, followed by a summary of the major findings. The chapter also presents conclusions that were drawn from the study and recommends areas for future studies.

5.1 Summary of Study and Findings

The study investigated language practices by the speakers of Ewe in Adeiso. The study specifically examined language choices across domains by the Ewe in Adeiso speech community and identified some consequences of such language use pattern on the speaking of Ewe in Adeiso. The study was descriptive in nature and employed the explanatory sequential mixed method in collecting and analyzing data. All native speakers of Ewe in the Adeiso speech community form the population of the study from which one hundred and twenty six participants were purposively sampled. The sample was taken from three Ewe communities (Ayigbe Town, Ndoda and Dzakpatra) in and around the Adeiso Township. These communities were selected based on their relative distance from the main Adeiso Township.

Two sets of data (quantitative and qualitative) were collected for the study. The quantitative data was collected through questionnaire on participants' bio-data, linguistic repertoire, language choice in the various domains, and bilingual language mixing. The quantitative data was analysed using the SPSS to compute frequencies and percentages which were presented on frequency distribution tables. This was done

to correlate participants' language behaviour to social factors such as occupation and place of residence. Consequently, a comparison of language practices among the three communities was made to ascertain which of the communities is most affected by the contact situation.

The qualitative data was gathered through sociolinguistic interviews with six of the participants. The interview was intended for two purposes; first to crosscheck the responses from the questionnaire and to build a body of recorded data for analysis. The interviews centered on participants' bio-data, linguistic repertoire and language use. It continued with general topics. Notes were taken from the interview to produce a sociolinguistic profile of the participants. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and translated manually, by the researcher. The recorded data was analysed using Matrix Language Framework model to explain instances of code switching and interference in the data. The whole study was then situated within the framework of the Marked Bilingualism Model, to identify the current state of Ewe in the Adeiso speech community.

5.2 Summary of Major Findings

The results from the study showed that the Ewe in Adeiso are highly bilingual. This is evident in the fact that majority of the participants speak more than two languages. The participants demonstrated varying competencies in Ewe which is their mother tongue, Akan the dominant language in the area, English and other Ghanaian languages. While Ewe was mostly acquired directly from their parents and the elderly in the communities, their ability in speaking the other Ghanaian languages was as a result of their contact and daily interaction with the speakers of such languages.

The findings also showed that the Ewe in Adeiso employ these languages in their repertoire in various domains such as home, community and school, to meet their communicative needs. From the results, Ewe remained the language of the home, the neighbourhood and is also used during religious gatherings. Ewe is also used to some extent in the school which is evident in the results from Ndoda. It remains the main language of intra-ethnic communication.

Akan on the other hand is used mainly outside the home and community. It dominates places such as the market, school and some religious gatherings that were found in Akan dominant areas. Akan is the language of inter-ethnic communication and local administration. To this extent, Akan may be seen as the language of wider communication and wields economic power in the area. English remains used in more formal settings such as the school and, to some extent, in informal settings such as the home. This supports Agyakwa (2018) who found a significant correlation between one's educational background and his competence in English. The other Ghanaian languages remain in the minority as far as the Ewe in Adeiso are concerned. They are used generally in combination with Ewe and /or Akan.

The study again found that code switching was a pervasive phenomenon among the Ewe bilinguals in Adeiso. Their use of the languages in their conversation revealed several forms of code switching which included Ewe-Akan, Ewe-English and Ewe-Akan-English switches. The reasons that accounted for this code switching behaviour include compensation for limitation in speaking Ewe, identifying with the speakers of the other languages, inability to find the right word during online speech, economy of speech and emphasis. Though the findings showed that participants believed that code

switching could impede their speaking of Ewe, they showed a positive attitude towards it since it served their communicative needs.

The study further revealed that the Ewe in Adeiso were strongly attached to their native language, Ewe. This is evident in the fact that majority of the participants said they could speak Ewe regardless of where they were and who was present. The findings again showed conditions that favour the maintenance of Ewe in the Adeiso speech community. These conditions include endogamy where both parents of majority of the participants were native speakers of Ewe, inter-generational transmission of Ewe where the elderly insisted on the speaking of Ewe in the community, the use of Ewe in traditional religious practices, the speakers' strong attachment to the language and the push for Ewe to be included in the school system in the community.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings from the study, the following recommendations are made.

Language contact research in Ghana focuses mainly on dominant Ghanaian languages against English and dominant Ghanaian languages against minority ones. Contact situations involving majority Ghanaian languages becoming minority ones in migration is not being researched enough. This posed challenges in finding literature for this study. Attention should thus be directed to such contact situations in order to provide more insight to bilingual language use in such situations. In addition, there is the need to study each individual bilingual community in order to better understand the specific dynamics in such speech communities and how languages in such situations are impacted.

This study focused only on native speakers of Ewe. However, there is the possibility that speakers of the other languages such as Ga and Akan may at a point in time acquire Ewe as they interact with its speakers. These non-native speakers of Ewe in the Adeiso area should therefore be taken into consideration in future studies so as to have a broader understanding of the situation of Ewe in the Area. Furthermore, an ethnolinguistic study of language use in the area is recommended in order to access the totality of language situation in the area. This will also bring to light the state of other minority languages such as Ga, Dangme and some Gur languages.

It is noted from previous studies cited in this thesis that a person's proficiency in his first language directly influences his academic growth. This position is further strengthened in this study which is evident in the fact that some participants in the interview claimed that they revert to the use of Ewe in order to better explain concepts to students to enhance their understanding. Again some students also wish they were allowed the option of choosing Ewe in which they would have performed better. Based on these findings, further studies in language use in schools in settings such as Ndoda, one of the research communities in this study, is recommended to enable policy makers consider allowing students to choose which of the Ghanaian languages they wish to study, and which is more appropriate, per the teacher's assessment, as a medium of instruction regardless, of the geographical location.

Code switching pervades the speech of the bilingual and has also been argued to be a mechanism to language change or a language change in itself. According to Myers-Scotton (2002), composite code switching occurs in such phenomena as language attrition and shift. However, Amuzu (2005) observes that this assertion has not been further elaborated. Auer (1998) similarly proposed a continuum with code switching

and fused lects (stabilized mixed language varieties) on the extreme ends, with language mixing in the middle. He argues that the transition from code switching to fused lects is a matter of sociolinguistic and grammatical motivations. As already mentioned, several interesting instances of code switching have been identified in the study which include switches into three languages in the same sentence. Consequently, to further determine the state of Ewe in Adeiso with regard to code switching, a structural analysis of corpus data is recommended. Below is an illustration of code switching instance involving Ewe, Akan and English. Ewe being the base language is in regular fonts, Akan is in bold while English is in italics.

<p>Aban a <i>epromise</i> mi be ne <i>yeva yeareduce</i> <i>taxes on petrol</i> kple <i>import duty on spare</i> <i>parts</i>. Gake nu ma wo kat7a, me te' woe o. Xema w4e be <i>driverswo chargena high</i> <i>fare</i>. Ta ne aban a ate' <i>areduce taxes kple</i> <i>import duty</i> mawo a, anka 1b1 boa y1n pa ara.</p>	<p>The government promised to reduce taxes on petrol and import duties on spare parts. But they couldn't do that. So drivers capitalize on it and charge high fares. So if government could reduce taxes and import duties, it would help.</p>
---	--

From the extract above, it is observed that Ewe, Akan and English were put together into single sentences. From the construct, Ewe appears to be the base language into which items from Akan and English were inserted. The switches ranged from singly occurring items such as **aban** 'government' and 'promise' to larger constructions such as 'reduce taxes on petrol', 'import duties on spare parts' and **anka εβε boa yen pa ara** 'it would be helpful'. These revelations, though interesting, are critical and need further investigation to unravel their impact on Ewe in Adeiso; whether or not it may develop into a mixed variety in the future.

5.4 Conclusion

This thesis investigated language practices of the Ewe in Adeiso. It was found that the Ewe in Adeiso are highly bilingual which is evident in their use of more than two languages which include Ewe, Akan, English, Ga and Dangme. They employ these languages in different domains to serve their communicative needs. Ewe which is the mother tongue of the population remains the language of the home, religion and intra-ethnic communication. Akan being the dominant Ghanaian language in the area remains the language of inter-ethnic communication local administration and economic power. While English and Akan remain the school languages by virtue of the language policy in education of Ghana, Ewe seems to be pushing its way into the school system. This shows that one's level of education correlates with the use of English. The other Ghanaian languages were however used in limited degrees, mostly in combination with Ewe and/or Akan.

Findings from the study also underscore the fact that code switching is a prevalent phenomenon in bilingual speech. A number of instances of code switching were identified in the study with several reasons found in the study which accentuate the fact that code switching is a communicative strategy instead of language deficiency. In addition, bilinguals' mixed attitude towards code switching was confirmed in the study. Though bilinguals are aware of the possibility that code switching may impede their use of their mother tongue, they love it anyway.

Relating these findings to the Marked Bilingualism Model, Ewe in Adeiso may be placed in phase two. This is because, Ewe dominates the language behaviour of its speakers in Adeiso and it is expected that Ewe in Adeiso can remain in this phase for a long time because of the general positive attitude its speakers have towards it.

Again, as predicted in Amuzu (2012), Ewe bilinguals have the capacity to keep their languages apart as codes with separate identities, and that code switching is a strategy of language maintenance. With these findings, it may be concluded that the Ewe in Adeiso are maintaining their native language.



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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LANGUAGE PRACTICES

DEPARTMENT OF APPLIED LINGUISTICS

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

This questionnaire is aimed at investigating language practices and its impact on Ewe in the Adeiso speech community. The outcome of this study depends largely on your response to this questionnaire. This questionnaire is purely an academic exercise and any information given will be treated confidential.

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Please tick (✓), where applicable, the response that is most appropriate to you.

1. Gender: () Male () Female
2. Age : () 20 and below () 21 – 40 () 41 – 60 () 60 and above
3. Where were you born?
.....
4. Where do you live presently?
.....
5. For how long have you been living in this community?
.....
6. What is your occupation?
.....
7. What is your level of education? () None () Basic () Sec./Voc./Tech.
() Tertiary

SECTION B

8. What is your mother's mother tongue?

.....

9. What is your father's mother tongue?

.....

10. (If applicable) what is your spouse's mother tongue?

.....

11. How many languages do you speak?

.....

12. List the languages you speak in order of confidence/fluency.

(1st)..... (2nd).....

(3rd)..... (4th).....

(5th)..... (6th).....

13. What is the *first language* you learnt to speak as a child?

.....

14. What is your *mother tongue*?

.....

15. Do you think that your mother tongue is *the Ghanaian language* you speak *most confidently*?

() Yes () No () I don't know

16. If "No", what is the Ghanaian language you speak most confidently?

.....

.....

17. What language(s) do you speak with the following people at the following places? Tick where applicable. If you speak more than one language, kindly rank them 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc. according to the most frequent.

a. Your family at home?

i. Father

Ewe Akan Ga Dangme English Other

.....

ii. Mother

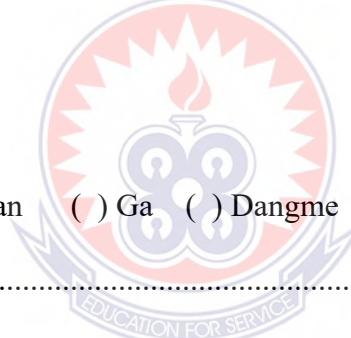
Ewe Akan Ga Dangme English Other

.....

Siblings

Ewe Akan Ga Dangme English Other

.....



Spouse (where applicable)

Ewe Akan Ga Dangme English Other

.....

Child(ren) (where applicable)

Ewe Akan Ga Dangme English Other

.....

Other members of the family

Ewe Akan Ga Dangme English Other

.....

Ewe-speaking Friends

Ewe Akan Ga Dangme English Other

.....

b. Your Ewe-speaking friends in their homes and your neighbourhood.

Ewe Akan Ga Dangme English Other

.....

c. The elderly in your **community**?

Ewe Akan Ga Dangme English Other

.....

d. A stranger in your **community**?

Ewe Akan Ga Dangme English Other

.....

In your opinion, which **ONE** language is *usually spoken* by the *majority* of members of your family during conversations *at home*?

Ewe Akan Ga Dangme English Other

.....

In your opinion, which **ONE** language is *usually spoken* by the *majority* of members of your **community**?

Ewe Akan Ga Dangme English Other

.....

Which *ONE* language do you speak *most regularly* in the following places in the community in which you currently live?

a. At school:

.....

b. At church/shrine/mosque:

.....

c. At

work:.....

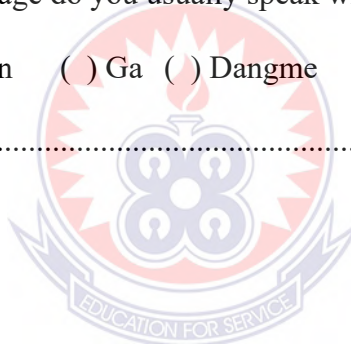
d. At the market place:

.....

What **ONE** language do you usually speak when you leave your community?

() Ewe () Akan () Ga () Dangme () English () Other

.....



SECTION C

NOTE: Some people sometimes **mix** expressions from two or more languages when they converse. In this section, we are interested in your personal experience with this kind of bilingual language use.

18. How regularly do you mix expressions from two or more languages when *you* speak to *each of the following* (groups of) individuals?

a. Your family at home?

() Very often () Often () Rarely () I don't

b. Your friends at your home, in their homes and your neighbourhood.

Very often Often Rarely I don't

c. The elderly in your community?

Very often Often Rarely I don't

d. A stranger in your community?

Very often Often Rarely I don't

19. In your opinion, which group of speakers of your mother tongue *most regularly* mix expressions from your mother tongue and other languages?

Young people Middle-aged Old people

20. In your opinion, does mixing expressions from your mother tongue and other languages pollute your mother tongue?

Yes No I don't know



SECTION D

21. Do you feel comfortable speaking Ewe everywhere?

Yes No I don't know

22. Would you encourage speakers of Ewe to speak Ewe everywhere?

Yes No I don't know

Kindly give a reason for your 'yes' or 'no' answer:

.....
.....
.....

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW

An interview with a forty year old male senior high school teacher, with a first degree in Geography. He was born and bred at Adeiso. He speaks three languages; Ewe, English and Twi. He is married to Krobo woman with three children. He usually speak Twi and English with his wife and children. He has a negative attitude towards Ewe/Akan CS and wishes to speak monolingual Ewe. However, he is helpless because the linguistic situation does not seem to help.

ORIGINAL

TRANSLATION

INTERVIEWER: Lekee ne kp4 agbea fifia le duk4a me?

What do you see about life in Ghana now?

INTERVIEWEE: Hmm. Nekp4 bena 2e ame yiwo ne n4 anyi ts7 vayi a, yike nye miat4wo kple mia5e ametsitsiwo a, enya yike wogbl4 mise, ne *ecompare* fifia t4wo a, nakp4 bena fifia xexeame me ga li si be ts7 ene o.

Hmm. You see, comparing what we heard from our fathers and our old people, the world is no longer as it used to be.

INTERVIEWER: Ateʼ a21 eme nam vie a?

Are you saying things are getting hard or what?

INTERVIEWEE: Ye koe nye be xexeame le s1s0m paa. Mhummm.

Exactly. Things are getting really hard. Mhummm

INTERVIEWER: Le m4 kawo nu?

In what ways?

INTERVIEWEE: Oh nu2u2u kuraa **mpo** a, ezu d4. Ga a2ewo me nu a2ewo abe *common* agbeli, ebli, gali kple et4mawo **keke mpo** a, mele *easy* o. Ame a2ewo a, eblut4wo bena **se ne nsa be k4 n' ano no, 1y1 din**. Mmm. Wo `ut4 nekp4 fifia **mmom** be *cost of living* a, mele *easy* o. Eye xexeame h7, mia 5etee me nye d4 2eka w4m miele o.)h00. Es1s0 na ame a2ewo `ut4. Nye `ut4 yike nye *salary worker* **mpo** ne e2o ga a2ewo me a,

Oh Even feeding has become a big problem for many. At times, common foodstuffs like cassava, corm and the like are not easy to come by. For some, as the Akan would say, it's really difficult for them to put food on the table. I don't find it easy even though I earn a salary. I have to remit to my external relatives. After all these, you

Es1s0na nam **paa**. *Because, you have external relatives yike at the end of the month wo le be ma2o nane 2e afimawo kat7. Ta at the end of the month wo yi wei, yi wei nyinaa ko a, you come back to square zero. Ta enna fam kuraa.*

INTERVIEWER: Ta dzi2egbekani gome h7 2e, nukae ate `u agbl4 atso xema h7 `uti?

INTERVIEWEE: Ei. *Electricity nya ne be yeagbl4 fifia? Ekp4 afii mele fifia? First time miconnect light a, eky1 ky1 kafi bill a va. Ex4 l'abe four years. Eyi wo va, three thousand Ghana cedis. Eyi mecomplain a, wobe nenema koe. Ta last three months yee mexee v4. Ta fifia la ew4 normal. I'm paying around fifty to sixty Ghana cedis. Anka mele be woayi dzi nenema hafi o. Because, eyi mi kat7 midzo le a5eame fia 2e, mitsi gadgetswo kat7. Ne mitr4 yi kafi mi ga sina a wo. Ta anka elebe bill a, eer it should come down.*

INTERVIEWER: Ke lekee nye l7mes8 nyawo h7?

INTERVIEWEE: Oo ne necompare ga a2e me va yi a, mia gbl4 be enyo fifia. Ga a2e me va yi a, ne ek4 ame a2e yi hospital a, *because se sika nni h4 nti na ese se wo san di nipa no ba fie. But w'ahu se health insurance no eyi sa ade1 no efiri h4 kakraa. Ta at least, ne eyi hospital a, anidaso4 li. Ta to ema me ya a, anka enyo mmom. Because anka ne me nye yee o a, Ei, ebe ye din ama ebinom paa.*

INTERVIEWER: Ta 2e ed4 w4m fifia ale yike dze a?

INTERVIEWEE: Aa. **W'ani be b4 na 1t1 esi so.** Wo `ut4 enya be amegbet4 5e dzi2u2ue, ta alea ko woan4 ye ma. Ta... **1y1 nipa aban nti y1 rennya no p1p11p1.** Ale yi ne wogbl4e le *campaign promiseswo* me a, meli nenema o. Gake

come back to square zero. So it isn't easy.

Ok. What about utility, especially, electricity. What can you say about that too?

Is it electricity you want to talk about. You see my new residence, when we first connected to the grid, it took a long time before I was served the bill. It took about four years for me to be served the first bill. I had to pay as much as three thousand Ghana cedis, which I finished paying three months ago. So it has normalize. Now I pay around fifty to sixty Ghana cedis monthly. However, I think it shouldn't have been that high because we do not waste power.

What about health?

Oh. Comparatively, I'd say it's better now. Some time ago, if you take a sick person to the hospital, without money, you'd have to bring the sick person back home. But you see, that the health insurance has taken that burden away. So there's some hope at least. So with that I would say it is better. Without it, it would have been really difficult for some.

So would you say now that it is working to expectation?

Well it's still better. You know you

h7, **se anka eni h4** kuraa nso a, **ennye**. *But, to me a, ed4 w4m 3131. Though not to expectation.*

INTERVIEWER: Ke 3u2o2o menyawo 2e, nuka nagbl4 atso ema `u?

INTERVIEWEE:). Kp4 mia 5e m4 yea 2a. Egb18 menyegbe o lo. **Ampa oo, 1ny1 nn1 na saa kwan no s1ie o. Aban aba k4 nanso still.** *Ta with a short distance abe ten to fifteen minutes journey a, three cedis fifty pesewas. Ta ne aban ate` aw4 nane atso e`u a, anka anyo. They all depend on fuel kple spare parts yike ne x4 asi dzi. Petro ne spare parts bo4 aye den. Ad1n nti a? Aban a epromise mi be ne yeva `yeaduce taxes on petrol kple import duty on spare parts`. Gake nu ma, wo me te` woe o. Xema w4e be driverswo chargena high fare. Ta ne aban a ate` areduce taxes kple import duty mawo a, anka 1b1 boa y1n paaa.*

INTERVIEWER: Yoo ke miyi 2e sukuudenyawo h7 2e, abe nufiala 2e, nuka nagbl4 tso e`u?

INTERVIEWEE: Ekp4 be *problemswo* sugb4, ye **aban** a me te` wo kat7 solve ge o. Ev4a, **nea w4 b1 y1 b1aa dea erenye nipa f1 nti** 1h11. *For instance, nekp4 Free SHS yea, programme fine a2e wonye hafi lo. El`abe e2e 4haw yike nye sikas1m a, e2e xema le awofa4 ge2eewo dzi. Gake h7, ena 2eviwo moga sr-na nu o. Ta grade yike 2eviwo k4 va SHS a menyog kuraa o. Xema w4e be ed4 a eses8m. E. Adwuma no ay1 den ama nufiala yiwo nele SHS a. Afima ko mekp4 sint4 a2e le. Ta ne aban de cut off bi to h4 a, anka ana 2eviwo nasr- nu apass BECE a nyuie kafi ava SHS. Gake no matter what a, problemswo vava ge. Se aban a, ame ko wo h7 wonye, wo m`ate` asolve mia 5e problemswo kat7 o. Ah77. Wo rennya no to your expectation da. Nti mele be miadi awer1kyekye f[[*

can't expect a perfect system from human leaders. It isn't like it was promised during the campaign. But without it too, it would have been hard. So to me it's working somehow. Though not to expectation.

About transportation, what would you say about that?

Yes. Look at our road. It has been in this bad shape for a long time now. Governments have been in and out of power but it is still the same. So with a short distance of about ten to fifteen minutes, you pay three Ghana cedis, fifty pesewas. So it'll be better if government did something about it. It all depends on high prices of fuel and spare parts. The government promised to reduce taxes on petrol and import duties on spare parts. But they couldn't do that. So drivers capitalize on it and charge high fares. So if government could reduce taxes and import duties, it would help.

So as a teacher, what would you say about education?

You see, the issues are numerous and government cannot solve all of them. Again, not all people would be impressed with what the government does. For instance, you see the Free SHS policy, it's good because it has freed parents of the financial burden. But with it, pupils have refused to learn hard and enter senior high with poor grades, placing much burden on senior high school tutors. That is where I see a problem. So if government could introduce a cut-off point, it'd be better.

atso wogb4 o.

INTERVIEWER: Yoo. Ke nanya be yetsakana gbeawo a?

INTERVIEWEE: E menya.

INTERVIEWER: Ke enu wonye ne2ona w4na a?

INTERVIEWEE: Ao. Ale yi wole a, afii wodzi mi 2o. Ta gbeawo kat7 va tsaka na mi. ta eyi ne va ko midon1. Menye enu wo nye mi2o w4na o.

INTERVIEWER: Ke nukae nebu be enana nu ma dz4na?

INTERVIEWEE: Oo ekp4 nya a2ewo li a, nyemete ʹ y4 n1 2e E3egbe me o. Ta nedz4 nenema, elebe ma tr4e 2e Blugbe alo Yevugbe me. E2ewo h7 li a, ele *easy* le Blugbe me awu E3egbe.

INTERVIEWER: Ke lekee nekp4 n4n4me ma? Enyo na wo nenema a?

INTERVIEWEE: Ao. Menyo nam nenema o. Elabe amewo konam. Ta medina be madzudz4e v4a eses8. *But I'm afraid my children may be worse. Because we don't speak Ewe with them at all.* Ta nekp4e a? Ame yiwo nemixn1 paa enye *young ones*wo.

INTERVIEWER: Yoo ke akpe na wo. Enye dzidz4 g77 a2e nam le kpekpe2e`u yike nenam la ta.

But no matter what, there'd be challenges and we can't get everything to our expectation.

Ok. So are you aware you do mix languages?

Yes, I'm aware.

Is it deliberate?

No. You see we were born into situation where different languages are used in the same place. So had no choice. Whichever comes we speak.

What do you think could account for that?

Oh. You see, I'm unable to utter some expressions in Ewe. So in that situation, I have to shift to Akan. At times too, it is easier saying it in Akan than Ewe.

In this case, what do you think about it? Are you okay with it?

No. I'm not okay. When I meet with people who speak monolingual Ewe, they make fun of me. So I wish I could stop. But it's difficult. But I'm afraid my children will be worse because we don't speak Ewe with them at all. So you see, those who mix them most are the young ones.

Okay. Thank you so much for the opportunity. You've been of tremendous help.

