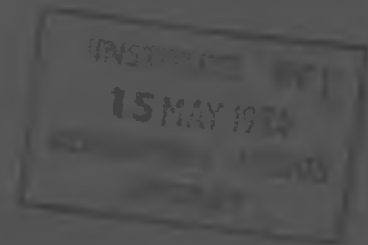


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EWE AS A SECOND LANGUAGE:  
A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY  
OF GHANA'S CENTRAL VOLTA REGION

by  
James Andrew Ring

1981

## Preface

This study of the language communities of the central Volta Region— their use of Ewe (their Major Regional Language) and factors relating to its use— was carried out under a co-operative agreement between the Institute of Linguistics and the Institute of African Studies of the University of Ghana at Legon, affiliate organizations.

Acknowledgments and thanks are most heartily given to the following:

Dr. Anthony J. Naden, Linguistics Consultant of the Institute of Linguistics, who initially introduced me to the rigors of survey work; and who, by example, showed me the value of a good sense of humor.

Prof. G. Ansre, former chairman of the Language Centre, University of Ghana, whose personal insight and observations stimulated in me a great interest in the area studied.

Dr. M. E. Kropp-Dakubu, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, for organizing a workshop on multilingualism in Ghana immediately preceding the genesis of this work, the discussions of which spawned many of the techniques and materials utilized in this survey.

Mr.'s Norman Price and Edward Hall, Director and Associate Director of the Institute of Linguistics, whose guidance and supervision during the initial stages of this work enabled its completion.

My co-workers from each language group whose hard work and diplomacy greatly facilitated the survey task.

The wonderful people of the central Volta Region who so tirelessly welcomed and aided our research, be they government officers or members of the public.

My wife, Kate, who spent hours discussing problems, typing stencils, substituting as survey leader during my sickness, and comforting our children in my absence.

All errors or inaccuracies in the text presented remain my own responsibility.

An introduction to the survey aims, language communities and methods (Section 1) begins the text. The main body is then broken into a section on comprehension tests (Section 2) and one on the sociolinguistic questionnaires (Section 3). Each of these two sections begins with a presentation of the methods and materials used, is followed by a summary of the results obtained, and ends with conclusions which can be drawn from the results of each section. The text ends with a discussion of the implications of the results from the entire study. Footnotes and Bibliography appear following the text.

This study is intended as an aid to educators, government officials, church and community leaders as well as others concerned with communication in the Central Volta Region. We hope to provide information that proper authorities can refer to as they face issues involving language planning decisions.

J. Andrew Ring  
May, 1981  
Accra

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

In May, 1979, my wife Kate and I established our residence in Hohoe, Volta Region. With the help of many local leaders we began a sociolinguistic survey of the ten non-Ewe language communities located between Have and Kedjebi, approximately. By the first of July we were underway; by the end of February, 1980, the field work was complete.

### 1.1 The Survey Aim

Linguists around the world are developing sociolinguistic survey materials and techniques which can give an inside picture of the language abilities, activities and attitudes of an area's communities.

Ghana's Prof. Gilbert Ansre (1975:68) with one of his colleagues said,

The major use of sociolinguistic surveys is to provide as accurate and as relevant a picture of the "situation" as possible to the many individuals or groups that have the task of making the decisions on matters related to language and to interpret the implications of their findings for the particular community under study in order that decisions may be based on sound information.

It is the aim of this survey to study the practical use of the standard variety of a major regional language in the environment of a minor regional language community and also the social ramifications of its use. For the mother-tongue speakers of the minor regional languages, familiarity with neighboring minor languages is explored as well as the comprehension of the most current examples of literature in the standard form of the major regional language, Standard Ewe.

We have approached this field with an "applied" rather than a "theoretical" linguistic viewpoint. The idea behind the project was to field test some methods in order to get some useful information. It is our desire to present data here which will be helpful to people in the area under study.

The survey is designed to help answer such questions as:

- a. How many (or what %) of native speakers of Language A understand Language B? To what level and for what purposes?
- b. Is bilingualism in B for speakers of A increasing, stabilized, or decreasing?
- c. What are the attitudes of speakers of A toward the use of B? Toward the use of A?

In the course of this study we found it possible to gather enough data in a reasonable length of time to answer these questions. Some of the reasons for this include the fact that the central Volta Region has many language groups in relatively close proximity. The settlement sites are both accessible by road as well as concentrated population centers. In places, for example, where settlement patterns are solitary in nature and scattered (as in a pastoral community) the time involved for visiting homesteads would certainly lengthen. Another factor contributing to the survey's completion was the number of formally educated people among the local town populations. The availability of such educated people allowed a high amount of local participation in the survey work, in areas such as translating the survey materials into the local language, making initial village contacts, gathering data, and interpreting during village visits. In environments where such help is not available, survey methods would need to be adjusted.

## 1.2 Setting and Background

A language map of the central Volta Region could neatly be overlaid onto a topographical map. Language boundaries coincide strikingly with changes in the geographical features of the area. Two diagonal mountain ranges run northeast to southwest in this 80 kilometer long by 40 kilometer wide strip. A 15 to 20 kilometer wide plain divides the two mountain ranges, as shown by the map of Figure 1. This plain is the territory of one of the Volta Region's two major language communities, the Ewes. Surrounding and south of the southern mountain range live more Ewes. North of the northern mountain range live indigenous Twi speakers, members of the other major regional language.

In the two mountain ranges of the central Volta Region live ten non-Ewe/non-Twi language communities. Historically, scholars have had difficulty classifying at least nine of these. Westermann (1927:96-120) put these nine and four others from central Togo into a class by themselves, calling them the Togo-Remnant Group. Recent studies have maintained this distinction (Mukarovsky 1977:26, Heine 1968:294), with the suggestion by Heine that they show their greatest similarities to the Guang language family. The tenth language of our study, called Nkonya, is in the Guang family. The other nine languages (listed from North to South) are traditionally known as Buem, Bowiri, Akpafu/Lolobi, Likpe, Santrokofi, Logba, Avatime, Tafi and Nyangbo. Though they each have other names for their own languages we shall refer to them by these more familiar names.

Population figures have been steadily rising for these groups, but as the figures show in Table 1 there is little increase in local resident populations. The explanation for this lies in the phenomenon of rural-urban migration, a factor which has been affecting all of Ghana's rural areas (Caldwell, 1969).

The largest of these ten groups is Buem with an estimated 25,000 total speakers. The smallest groups are Nyangbo and Tafi each with around 5,000 speakers. The figures for Traditional Area Residents include residents whose mother tongue is other than the local languages, thus, the number of local residents sometimes outnumbers the Group Totals (see Table 1 Likpe, 1960).

## 1.5 Sampling Methods

Throughout the survey we used quota sampling methods. We chose members of the local community in order to obtain results differentiated according to male/female distinctions as well as for five different age ranges. Two ranges were chosen above 50 years and three below. By using the quota sampling method we were able to (1) obtain balanced, comparable data from group to group, and (2) observe language learning patterns among the age groups.

Survey samples were taken at each separate settlement site in the ten language communities. Only Buem varied in this regard. In Buem we sampled the towns where, according to government policy<sup>1</sup>, Ewe has been used as a medium of instruction in the schools, i.e., Eastern Buem. The western section, where Twi is used in the schools, has been surveyed for Twi comprehension by Frempong and Leonhard (1978) using a simple narrative Twi text. (It was partially because of the low Twi averages reported by them that this Ewe study was undertaken.) One town was chosen from the western area and tested for Ewe comprehension for comparative purposes. The scores of this town, however, proved much lower than the corresponding "Ewe" side and would misleadingly lower the averages of the towns where Ewe has been used. These results are therefore not incorporated into the Buem survey results.

## 2. THE COMPREHENSION TESTS AND RESULTS

One of the main aims of the survey was to study the language comprehension skills of individuals from these ten language communities. We investigated two areas in this regard:

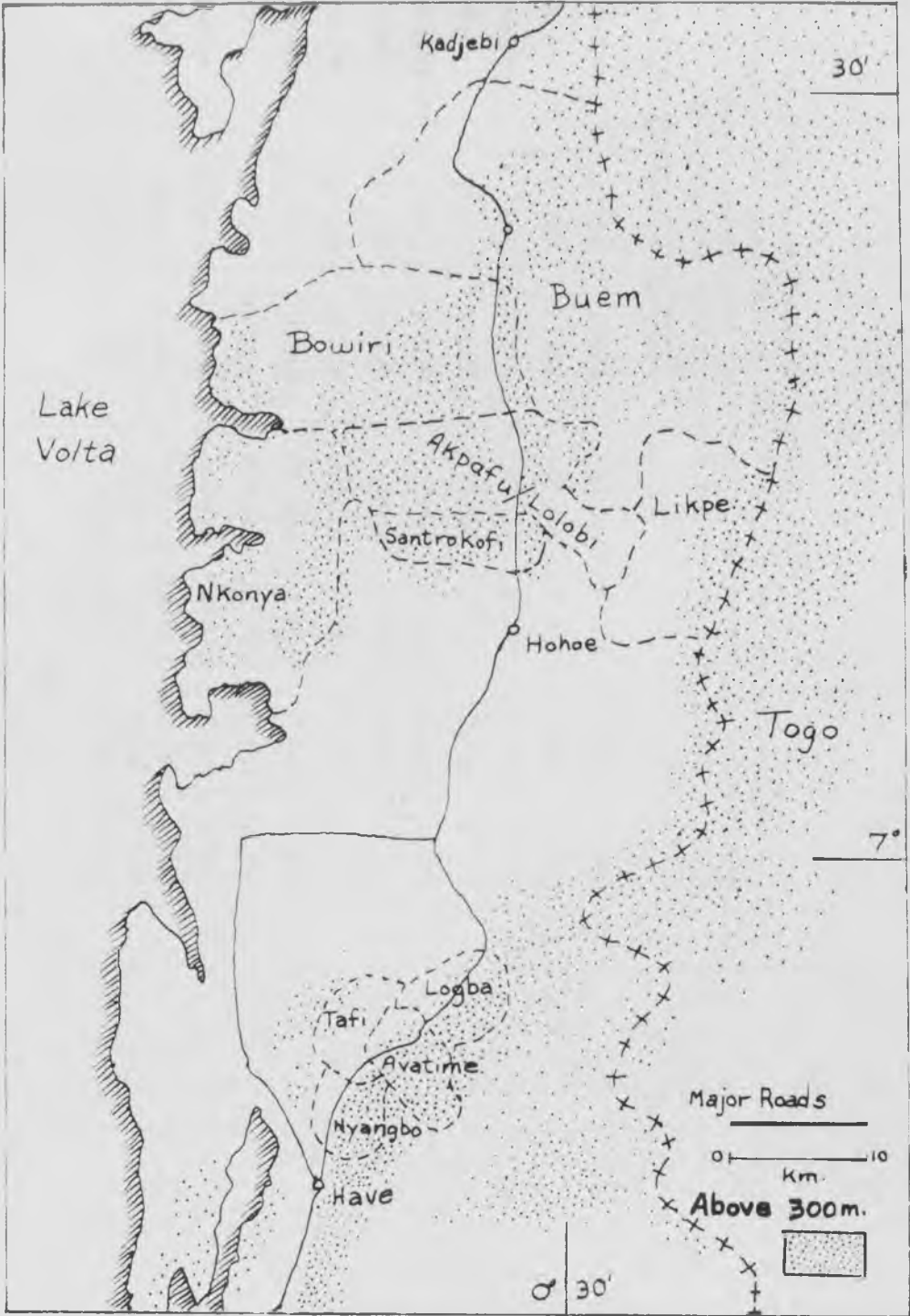


Figure 1. Language Groups of the Central Volta Region



	Group Totals		Traditional Area Residents			
	1980 (Est.)	1960 Census	1980 (Est.)	1970 Census	1960 Census	1948 Census
Nkonya	18,380	11,000	14,278	11,046	9,789	6,920
Buem	24,265	14,900	32,873	25,451	22,171	15,411
Bowiri	5,480	3,280	8,889	6,877	3,452	2,856
Akp/Lol	8,745	5,370	10,837	8,384	7,444	5,572
Likpe	11,628	7,140	11,803	9,131	9,484	4,759
Santrokofi	5,397	3,230	4,401	3,405	2,776	1,648
Logba	3,404	2,090	4,038	3,124	2,326	1,719
Avatime	11,562	6,920	8,211	6,352	5,340	4,558
Tafi	2,256	1,350	2,549	1,972	1,603	1,148
Nyangbo	3,241	1,940	3,220	2,491	1,926	898

Table 1. Population Totals

Traditional Area Resident totals in some cases do not reflect actual population increases, perhaps due to rural-urban migration. The 1980 population estimates are based on a projected 2.6% per year population growth rate.

- A. The familiarity of a community with the languages of the other nine communities and
- B. more significantly, the comprehension of Standard Ewe by the individuals from each of these non-Ewe language communities.

## 2.1 The Multilanguage Test

The first test developed was called the Multi-language Test. It consisted of ten brief, culturally-relevant action events<sup>2</sup> (one from each of the ten central Volta Region languages) spoken onto a tape recording by a member of each of the communities.

After playing one of the texts, the interviewer (a mother-tongue speaker of the language community being tested) stopped the tape to ask what the listener understood. Four levels were used for evaluation: 1) Understood All, where the listener could explain the episode; 2) Heard Some Detail, where parts of the event could be distinguished; 3) Name Only, where the listener could only identify the language; and 4) No Comprehension, where the language was totally unfamiliar to the listener.

## 2.2 Multilanguage Test Results

The Multi-language Test yielded the results found in Table 2. The scores shown in that table represent the percentage of those tested who exhibited one of three degrees of comprehension-- either 1.) Understood All, 2.) Heard Some Detail, or 3.) Name Only (could only identify the language.)

The language communities have been placed in the table according to their northern and southern geographical groupings. As the double lines indicate, their scores also group together according to geographical location. These groupings show that the people from the northern mountain range have little language learning contact with the southern language communities and vice-versa. Avatime is the only exception. A look at the horizontal Avatime axis shows that for each of the northern languages a portion of the Avatimes exhibited comprehension. A similar pattern can be seen vertically under the Avatime language comprehension column. Almost all of the northern language communities had individuals who knew Avatime. Admittedly the percentages are low and only from the lower levels of comprehension, but they could be indicative of a general involvement of Avatime people in personal contact situations such as trade, commerce, or education in the region.

Another interesting area of the table is the bottom right-hand corner. Of the ten languages, Tafi and Nyangbo have been described as the closest in language structure (Heine 1968:274). Our results show that 83% of the Tafi test group understood the Nyangbo text fully while another 8% heard some detail. This along with the Nyangbo's 67% full comprehension score on the Tafi text represented the highest scores in the table. Such scores indicate either an inherent similarity in what has become two separate dialects of the same language (as Heine suggests) or a high degree of bilingualism between the two groups resulting from extensive cultural contact and intermarriage. Whichever is the case, the higher scores among the Tafi suggest that they would be more at ease using language materials designed for Nyangbo speakers (should such materials prove desirable) than the Nyangbo would be with similar materials in the Tafi language form.

Tafi and Nyangbo people also demonstrated a high percentage of Avatime comprehension at 45% and 34% respectively. Logba had the next highest score for full comprehension of Avatime at 16%. Avatime scored 4% full comprehension for each of the above three languages.

TAPED LANGUAGES

LANGUAGE		NK	BU	BO	A/L	LI	SA	LO	AV	TA	NY
Nkonya	A		1	1	1						
	S		1								
	N		4	8	2	5	3	3			
Buem	A				7	9	1		1		
	S			?	4	1	1		1		
	N	4			15	18			3		
Bowiri	A	4	4		1	1	1				
	S	10	5		4		5		2		
	N	16	13		13	5	5		1		
Akpafu/Lol.	A	1	5	5		1			1		
	S	5	16	1		16	19	1	5		
	N	5	17	1		16	25	1	5		
Likpe	A	2	5		7		1				
	S		6	?	5		2		2		
	N	1	7		5		1				
Santrokofi	A	5	10		7						
	S	5	7		30	13			5	5	
	N		5		5	3					
Logba	A							16	1	1	
	S		1					4			
	N										
Avatime	A				1			4		4	4
	S	4	4	1	5	5	5	26		51	25
	N							1			
Tafi	A					5		5	45		85
	S							8	28		8
	N		5					5	10		
Nyangbo	A	4	4		1			1	54	67	
	S	1	1	1					11	8	
	N	1	4		1	1		9	17	4	

Table 2. Multilanguage Test Results

Three levels of comprehension are indicated: A: Understood all; S: Understood Some Detail; N: Could Name Language Heard. Scores stand for the percentages of the sampled population who qualified at each level. A question mark (?) signifies an untested area.

## 2.5 The Ewe Comprehension Test

The second part of the comprehension section, the Ewe Comprehension Test, was used to assess an individual's comprehension of the main regional language. Three texts were taken from draft forms of the modern language versions of the Ewe Bible. These are the two most current examples of Standard Ewe literature being produced by Ewe writers for public distribution at this time.

We felt we needed a more complex test than that used for the Multilanguage Test, so we included increasingly complex paragraph types-- a narrative, an expository, and a hortatory paragraph. The gradual increase in complexity allowed us to rate the individuals on their depth of comprehension.

The major portion of the tape, the narrative paragraph, was a five point description of a visual, concrete event. The expository paragraph, worth three points, presented an abstract idea with a concrete example. The hortatory paragraph contained an exhortation along abstract lines with the use of figurative language (worth two points). This tape was divided into nine natural segments. Each segment contained no more than two full sentences. As the interviewer (a local language speaker) stopped the tape after each segment, the listener was asked to narrate what he or she had understood. This narration was written on the answer sheet in English by the interviewer.

Individual scores varied from 100% (10 out of 10) to zero. If an individual scored 50% or less we found that all information understood was from the narrative paragraph. Those who encountered difficulty did so as the information became more abstract.<sup>4</sup> Scores of 70% or more suggest the presence of abstract comprehension skills and a good grasp of the Ewe language.

## 2.4 Ewe Test Results

The Ewe Comprehension Test produced the scores reported in Table 2.1. The first three columns report three types of overall averages for the ten language groups. The average of the total population sample is given in the first column-- "Raw Scores". The second and third columns, entitled "weighted" are the averages of town scores that have been adjusted in accordance with the proportion of the group's population which the town represents. Population figures for the "Weighted Estimate" were those suggested by local town members for the year 1980. The "weighted 1970 Census" column uses the 1970 census in adjusting the town scores.

Because of size variations we would expect the weighted averages to be the most accurate representation of actual Ewe comprehension. However, both the weighted columns and the raw scores column prove to be quite similar in Table 2.2. No single average for one language community varies more than 5% from the other two corresponding column scores. So, to be consistent with upcoming statements on the raw scores of the questionnaire results, we will quote the "Raw Scores" mean as the Ewe comprehension scores for the ten communities.

Figure 2, illustrates the Ewe Comprehension Averages of the central Volta Region language communities. Logba has the highest mean at 8.7 out of 10 (i.e., 87%) while Buem has the lowest, averaging 4.0 (40%). The other communities spread out rather evenly over the interval.<sup>5</sup>

When the Ewe comprehension scores are viewed in terms of age group averages (Table 2.2) there is a clear rise approaching the age range of 31 to 50. This occurs in each of the language communities with the exception of Santrokofi and Avatime (see Figure 2.1). The scores from Santrokofi drop markedly in the age range of 15 to 20, the present middle school age group. They then reach their height in the 21 to 50 year age group before tapering off in the upper ranges.

Level of Ewe  
Comprehension

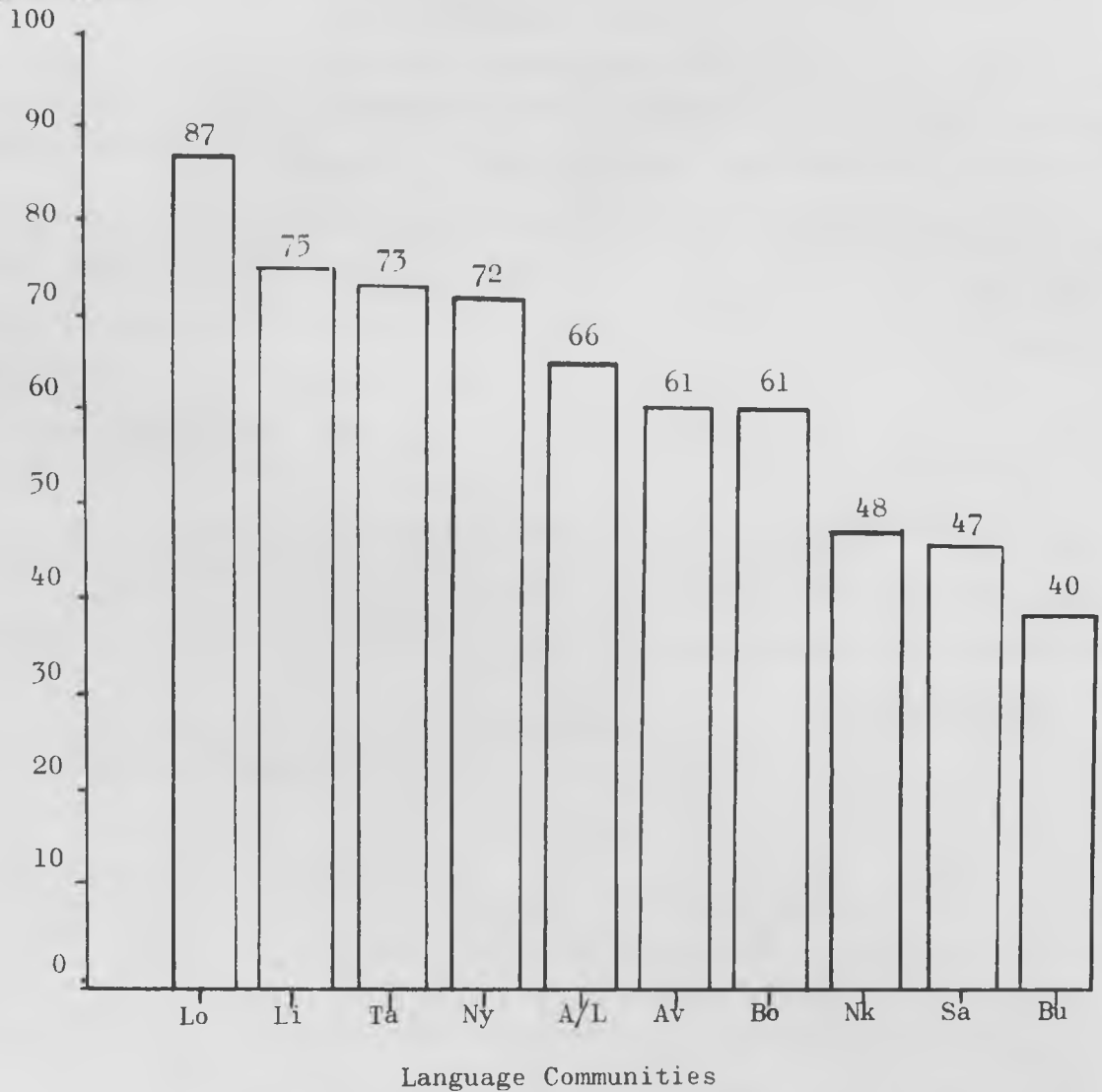


Figure 2 Average Levels of Ewe Comprehension (%)

	Raw Scores	OVERAGE AVERAGE		AGE GROUPS (RAW SCORES)					31 - 50	
		Weighted Estimate	Weighted 1970 Census	9-15	15-20	21-30	31-50	50+	Male	Female
Nkonya	4.8	5.5	5.2	3.2	4.5	5.6	6.5	4.1	7.5	5.7
Buem	4.0	3.5	5.8	2.5	4.0	4.3	5.7	3.5	7.1	4.3
Bowiri	6.1	6.4	6.5	5.6	6.0	6.4	7.3	7.5	8.1	6.5
Akp/Lol.	6.6	6.9	6.9	5.8	6.8	7.0	8.4	6.9	9.4	7.4
Likpe	7.5	7.1	7.2	5.9	6.8	7.8	8.8	8.0	8.5	9.2
Santrokofi	4.7	5.1	5.0	4.8	3.1	6.4	4.8	4.5	5.0	4.7
Logba	8.7	8.7	8.5	7.9	8.1	9.5	9.6	8.6	9.9	9.4
Avatime	6.1	6.5	6.4	5.5	6.4	7.3	6.5	7.1	7.4	5.6
Tafi	7.3	7.4	7.4	6.5	7.3	7.6	7.6	7.8	8.0	7.1
Nyangbo	7.2	7.0	6.8	5.2	7.2	8.0	8.5	6.9	8.7	8.3

Table 2.1 Ewe Comprehension Test Results

The scores represent an average achieved out of ten (10) possible points. "Raw Scores" represent the average of the total population sample. "Weighted" scores were determined by increasing or decreasing the value of one town's results in proportion with the percentage of the total population that the town represents.

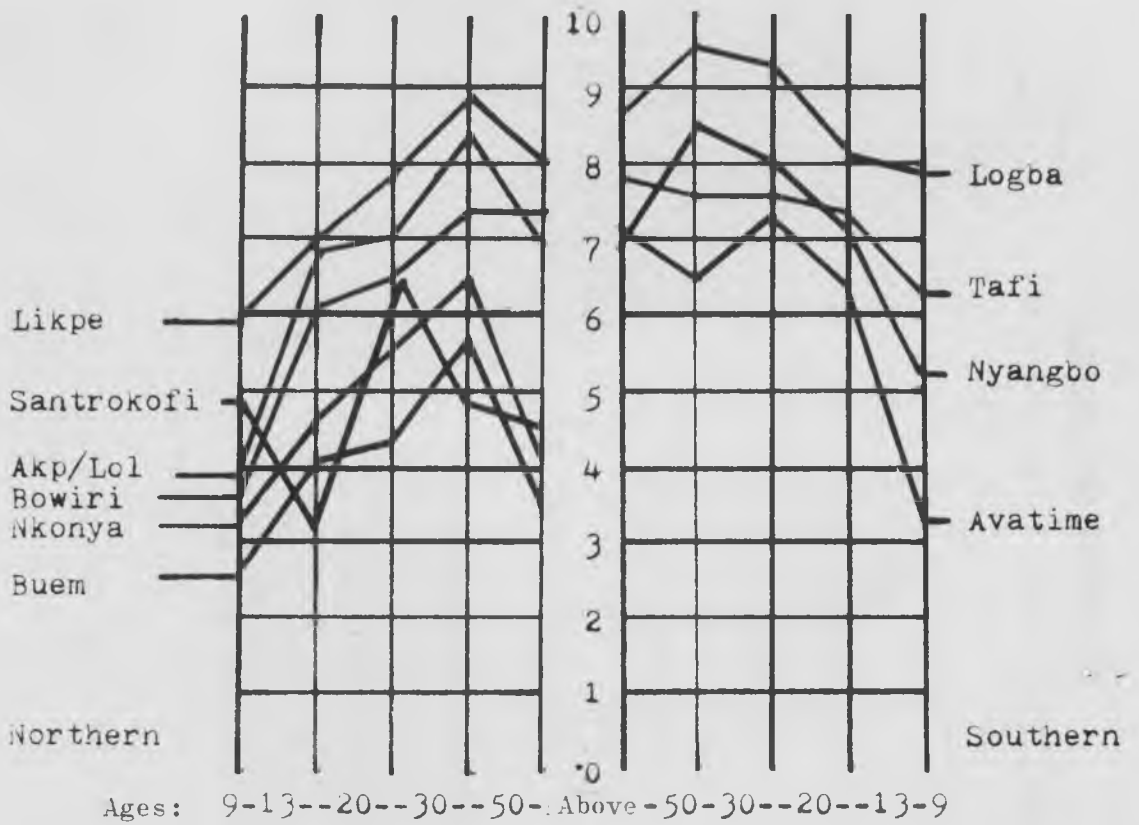


Figure 2.1 Ewe Comprehension Averages (According to Age)

The Avatime scores peak among 21-30 year-olds and then drop before rising again in the last category. Tafi also shows a rise in the oldest category.

With reference to the sharp drop in the scores of 15 to 20 year-olds in Santrokofi, it is interesting to note that an "immersion" English program was undertaken in the three Santrokofi towns during the late 1960's and early 1970's. In the program first, second, and third year primary school children were exposed to English as the medium of instruction. I was told that the students who participated in this early English program are now middle school age and find Ewe difficult. Currently, however, Ewe is being used in primary classes one, two, and three.

The last two columns in Table 2.2 differentiate the averages of male and female scores in the 31 to 50 age range. In many of the language communities, especially those with low overall averages, this breakdown shows that the men performed better on the Ewe Comprehension Test than the women. In one group, Likpe, the women topped the men with 9.2 versus 8.3. This may indicate a dominant role for women in activities like marketing or trading where contact with Ewes is high.

While women of this age group tend to be within a point (10%) of the Group Raw score mean, it is interesting that among the communities that peak in the 30-50 year age range, men average a two point (20%) increase over the group mean in their Ewe comprehension. This suggests a greater involvement for men in affairs requiring Ewe usage.

## 2.5 Summary of Comprehension Test Results

In summary, the following results are apparent from the comprehension studies.

1. Members of a language community from the northern mountain range (i.e., Nkonya, Buem, Bowiri, Akpafu/Lolobi, Likpe or Santrokofi) registered very little recognition of languages in the southern mountain range (i.e., Logba, Avatime, Tafi and Nyangbo). The same was true of these surveyed from southern communities concerning the languages of the north. Only Avatime people exhibited any consistent familiarity with the languages from the north. An average of 4% of those tested understood at least one of the northern languages. Interestingly enough, five out of the six northern language communities exhibited similar averages of people recognizing the Avatime language.
2. Tafi and Nyangbo language communities exhibited the highest degrees of mutual language comprehension. It was shown that 83% of the Tafi people tested registered full comprehension of the Nyangbo text, while 67% of the Nyangbo people showed full comprehension of the Tafi text.
3. On a percentage basis, the Ewe Comprehension Test averages were:
  - 81 to 90% --- Logba
  - 71 to 80% --- Likpe, Tafi, Nyangbo
  - 61 to 70% --- Akpafu/Lolobi, Bowiri, Avatime
  - 41 to 50% --- Nkonya, Santrokofi
  - 31 to 40% --- Buem
4. In all but three language communities the Comprehension Means peaked in the 31 to 50 year age range. Two of the groups -- Avatime and Santrokofi -- peaked in the 21 to 30 range, while Tafi rose to a peak in the 50 and above age range.



5. In the 31 to 50 age range men performed better than women on the Ewe test in all language communities except Likpe. There the women averaged 92%, a score among women in this age range second only to Logba.
6. Of the language communities whose Ewe scores peaked in the 31-50 range, the 31-50 year old males had scores of an average of 20% higher than the Overall Raw Scores (e.g., the 31-50 year old Bowiri men averaged 8.1 while the overall mean for the group was 6.1).

## 2.6 Conclusions from Test Results

From the results of the comprehension tests we have answers to the first part of question one, "How well do native speakers of language A (central Volta Region language communities) understand language B (other central Volta Region languages or Ewe)?" The second part, "To what level?", has also been assessed, though it has not taken into account the ability which the people themselves feel they have. The third part of question one, "And for what purposes?" is a question we still have to address.

## 5. SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRES

Our remaining questions about the language picture in these Volta Region communities requires information other than comprehension test results. To determine whether bilingualism is increasing, stabilized, or decreasing, we must look at the activities for which people are using their second language. For instance, we have said there is an overall increase in Ewe comprehension approaching the 31-50 age range, yet the low peak levels for some of the language communities may mean that Ewe plays only an auxiliary role in those communities. Communication in Ewe may be limited to surface levels such as greetings or business transactions. Attitudes toward the languages of the area are also an indicator of future language use in a community. For example, where the younger age groups show high levels of Ewe comprehension we expect a good deal of Ewe use in the future. Negative feelings toward Ewe or a local language preference could, however, change this.

Two questionnaires were developed for this part of the survey. The first was administered to the sample of ten individuals whose language comprehension was tested in each town (called the Individual Interview Form) and was used to gather personal data, opinions, and attitudes. The second questionnaire was administered to an assembly of community leaders in a discussion-response format (the "Community Interview Form") to gather information on public language use and language community interaction.

We drew our ideas for the questionnaires from a combination of sources. We incorporated questions used among the Hill Guang by Mary Esther Kropp-Dakubu (1977) and questions used in the Sabon Zongo of Accra by Rex Moser (1979). By doing this we tried to facilitate any future comparisons of data or analyses. For the same reasons we tried to incorporate appropriate aspects of John Bendor-Samuel's survey outline entitled "A Sociolinguistic Profile" (1979) being used throughout Africa in general.

### 5.1 The Individual Interview Form

The Individual Interview Form covered four areas of information:

Section A, Personal Data, included common demographic information such as sex, age, church membership, education and occupation. (Church membership was included because of churches' high degree of involvement in this area.)

Section B, Travel Experience, contained questions about how often the individual made trips 1) to a larger market town, 2) to a regional commercial center, 3) to another region, and 4) outside the country. This section proved helpful in explaining unusual claims of language competence. We assumed that the farther a person travels from his or her home town the more likely he or she is to need a second language.

Section C, Language Skills, was developed to give us an idea of the individual's opinions of or attitudes toward his or her language abilities. Topics covered included 1) languages spoken with some fluency (self-evaluated as 'very good', 'fairly good' or 'small') 2) languages of recognition and 3) languages used to a. settle arguments, b. write letters, c. count money/goods, and d. dream. One might say this section indicated areas of linguistic confidence rather than linguistic competence.

Section D, Language Learning Environment, was designed to help us know more about the learner's view of social interactions during the language learning experience. The questions covered the following points:

1. Of the languages spoken, a. where they were learned, b. with whom they are spoken.
2. The activities that can be carried out using a. only the local language, b. only the major regional language.
3. The frequency of daily or weekly use of the major regional language.
4. Whether or not the major regional language (Ewe) is replacing the local language, and why.
5. Would local language speakers financially support a literature program using their own language.

Questions No. 3, 4, and 5 explore the attitudes of the individuals toward the relationships between the local language and the major regional language. Such specificity was only possible because we had a basically bilingual situation. These questions could be modified for use elsewhere. When we found a trilingual situation involving the local language, Ewe and Twi, we focused on the individual's use of Ewe. The use of Twi was noted on the Community Questionnaire.

## 5.2 Results of the Individual Interview Form

Results from the ten language groups, for comparative purposes, are presented here simultaneously. A selective picture of some of the results for each language group is summarized briefly at the end of the text in section 4.1, Correlating Factors.

### 5.2.1 Personal Data

Section A of the Individual Interview Form, dealt with personal information about the individuals of the survey sample. "Sex" and "age" were pre-established by our quota sampling technique. Also a prerequisite for being chosen for a sample was that the individual have had parents who were both native speakers of the local language. Percentages of Ewe families and mixed-marriages were recorded or estimated on the community questionnaire. This first form focused on the local, non-Ewe population.<sup>6</sup>

The percentages in Table 3 for "Church Membership" indicate the dominant church groups of the areas. Most of the people interviewed claimed some church affiliation. This does not mean, however, that local cultural rituals and beliefs are being lost. As will be seen later, nearly everyone including the self-designated non-church members indicated their participation in local customary rites as a language community member.

CHURCH  
MEMBERSHIP

EWE COMP. RANK		CHURCH MEMBERSHIP			
		RC	EP	OTH	NO
8	Nkonya	53	33	3	11
10	Buem	68	29	1	2
6.5	Bowiri	7	80	3	10
5	Akp/Lol.	43	57	-	-
2	Likpe	67	20	11	3
9	Santrokofi	3	80	3	13
1	Logba	42	50	5	3
6.5	Avatime	10	78	6	6
3	Tafi	60	38	-	3
4	Nyangbo	23	51	19	7

KEY: RC: Roman Catholic  
 EP: Evangelical  
 Presbyterian  
 OTH: Other  
 NO: No church  
 membership

EDUCATIONAL STANDARD						OCCUPATION					
NO	P	M	$\frac{S}{T}$	$\frac{PS}{TT}$	UN	F	St	GW	SK	CM	NO
30	12	49	7	2	1	41	37	3	13	4	2
27	22	46	5	-	-	48	39	2	3	2	6
31	19	46	2	2	-	58	29	2	6	2	3
15	31	44	6	4	-	43	41	3	7	4	1
13	25	41	12	1	-	37	47	4	4	4	4
27	20	47	3	3	-	53	30	3	-	3	7
15	23	57	5	-	-	48	33	5	5	8	2
11	40	39	9	-	1	36	33	8	13	6	4
40	18	35	8	-	-	40	40	3	5	-	3
31	23	40	6	-	-	39	44	-	9	6	3

NO: No schooling

P: Primary

M: Middle

$\frac{S}{T}$

T: Secondary/Technical

$\frac{PS}{TT}$ : Post-secondary

TT: Teacher, Training

UN: University

F: Farmer or Farm/Fish

St: Student

GW: Govt. worker (CMB, Teacher, Agric Off., etc.)

SK: Skilled (Tailor, mason, factory worker, driver)

CM: Commerce (Business, Trading)

NO: Unemployed

Table 3. Personal Data Results

The percentages show that three of the five language communities with the highest levels of church membership are also the three high-scorers on the Ewe Comprehension Test--Logba, Likpe and Tafi. The other two communities, Akpafu/Lolobi and Buem, were fifth and last respectively in the Ewe Comprehension Rankings.<sup>7</sup>

In the "Educational Standard" columns, Logba, with the highest percentage of Middle School attendance (at 57%) also had the highest group average in Ewe comprehension. Likpe, with the highest percentage of secondary school attendance had the second highest Ewe comprehension. In fact, all but two of the ten groups had 40% or more at the level of middle school attendance. This, along with the next set of columns (occupation) shows the strong emphasis laid on education in these areas.

The "Occupation" columns divide primarily into two categories: farmers and students. Students seem to be an inordinately large part of the survey sample in this rural area; however, throughout our time of field work we found practically no children out of school in the morning time. In order to fill the two age categories 9-15 and 15-20 we often had to select children from the classrooms. This does not reflect an overbalance of students in the sample group, but rather the actual proportion of young students in the group population which the age group categories were designed to display.

Seven of the ten groups also had at least 40% who classified themselves as farmers. (Included in this group are three young women who gave their occupation as housewife/farmer.) Occupation categories show little correlation with the Ewe comprehension scores. For instance, the highest and lowest scorers in Ewe, Logba, and Buem, have the same farming percentage of 48%. Bowiri and Avatime had the highest and lowest farming percentages in the sample and yet scored exactly the same in Ewe comprehension. Thus, being a farmer does not affect one's ability to speak Ewe.

Similarly, the percentages of students is equally unpredictable. Buem showed the fourth highest percentage of students while Logba tied for second to last. Only the student percentages of Likpe and Santrokofi seem to reflect any similarity to the Ewe Comprehension Rank found on the left side of the chart.

One occupational column shows a statistically significant Rank Correlation with Ewe scores and that is the column designated "Commerce". Here, with the exception of Tafi, the Ewe Comprehension Scores and the percentage of the population sample involved in commerce indicate that there is a relationship between trade and the learning of Ewe in the central Volta Region. The absence of any mention of involvement in commerce among the Tafi group is perhaps indicative of either the role that immigrant Ewes play in Tafi communities (as traders) or possibly a minor focus on business ventures other than farm projects in the Tafi area. Their high Ewe scores, however, do suggest that they are involved with Ewe in other aspects of their life.

### 5.2.2 Travel Experience

The results of Section B, Travel Experience, are compiled in Table 5.1. Our intention in developing this section was to find out where and how often an individual goes when he/she leaves his/her town. We assumed, as we said before, that the farther and more often an individual travels, the more he/she would be exposed to Ewe as a medium of communication. Thus, by assigning graduated values to the percentages of people who travel, according to distance and frequency, we can plot the pattern for travel and compare it to Ewe comprehension scores. This is done in Figure 5.1.

The percentages for travel experience parallel quite closely the Ewe comprehension scores except in three language communities, Buem, Likpe, and Logba.

	Market Town			Commercial Center			Another Region			Outside Ghana			Adjusted Percentage Of People Who Travel
	2/M	2/Y	2/4Y	2/M	2/Y	2/4Y	2/M	2/Y	2/4Y	2/M	2/Y	2/4Y	
Nkonya	26	6	-	28	21	3	13	27	11	2	4	2	29
Buem	64	16	3	39	38	13	1	19	18	10	20	18	49
Bowiri	64	17	2	26	25	12	7	15	14	1	1	3	36
Akp/Lol.	57	19	1	41	31	7	3	31	19	1	11	9	43
Likpe	55	17	2	1	7	3	3	11	6	-	-	-	17
Santrokofi	65	25	-	7	20	-	-	10	10	-	3	3	23
Logba	77	1	-	14	29	10	3	17	20	1	1	27	37
Avatime	54	26	1	27	40	4	15	14	11	4	5	15	39
Tafi	38	25	3	30	28	15	15	13	20	3	3	25	39
Nyangbo	47	26	4	26	34	14	10	17	20	1	-	16	38
Language Learning Value	3	2	1	4	3	2	5	4	3	6	5	4	

Table 3.1. Travel Experience (%)

key: 2/M: Two times per month.  
 2/Y: Two times per year.  
 2/4Y: Two times per 4 years.

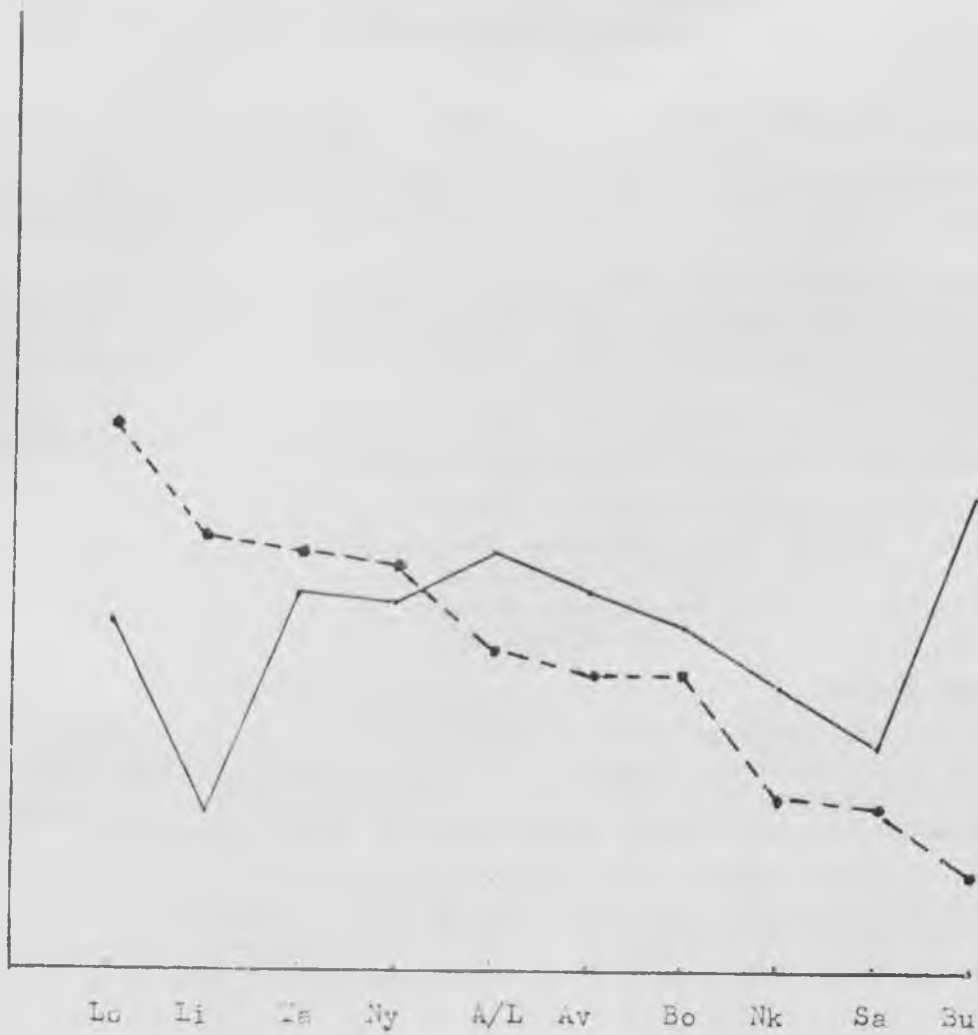


Figure 5. Travel Experience

When the language communities' actual travel levels are plotted against a line correlating with the Ewe comprehension scores there is a strong relationship except in three communities: Logba, Likpe, and Buem.

Key: — % of people who travel  
 ●—●—● Hypothetical Ewe Comprehension Correlation Line

Buems is at the top in nearly all of the four distance columns (Table 5.1) and yet scored lowest in Ewe comprehension. Likpe and Logba, on the other hand, showed very little travel beyond their traditional boundaries (on the whole) and yet scored quite high in Ewe comprehension.

Results for the Buems suggest that either the Buems do not use Ewe in traveling, or if they do, the language used (perhaps a marketing type) is not as complex as the Ewe Comprehension Test. In quite the opposite vein, the Likpes and Logbas on the average have been able to learn Ewe thoroughly without moving from their home towns.

A possible explanation for these occurrences may lie in the fact that the main towns of Likpe and Logba (i.e. Mate and Alakpeti) are also main market centers. And as shall be seen later, comparatively large groups of Ewes reside there on a permanent basis.

English is also an alternative for those traveling to different regions, especially so for those who have reached middle school.

In this area traveling outside the country usually means going to Togo where Ewe is dominant. For the Buems, however, two non-Ewe language communities lie right over the local Togo border - The Akposor and the Ahlor. A number of Buems mentioned traveling to visit relatives and farms in these areas as well as citing these languages as ones they could understand.

### 5.2.5 Language Skills

Results from the Language Skills Section, Section C, help us evaluate people's opinions about their own language abilities. Four additional areas of functional competency were also investigated. These included the languages used to settle arguments, write letters, count money or goods, and dream.

Those interviewed claimed their highest degrees of speaking ability in the two main regional languages - Ewe and Twi - as well as English. People also indicated varying degrees of familiarity with 32 other languages, 12 of which are indigenous to the Volta Region and 10 of which have their origins outside of Ghana.

Regarding the claims of speaking ability in Ewe, Twi, and English, Tables 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4 respectively, contain the group averages for the men and women, subdivided according to their age groups. The percentages represent the average level of ability claimed by the people in each age group. For example, Likpe males above the age of fifty-one claimed 100% proficiency in speaking Ewe while the same men claimed an average of 64% speaking ability in Twi. Young men from Likpe in the 21 to 30 age range claimed higher ability in English than Ewe.

Group averages in the three languages are lined up in Table 5.5. From these group averages we can see that an Akpafu/Lolobi person or an individual from Logba claims more speaking ability, on the average, in English than Twi. Whereas a person from Bowiri or Nkonya claims more average ability in Twi than English. (A higher Twi ability would most likely have been claimed in the western side of Buem also.) For all the language communities except Nkonya, claims of Ewe ability exceeded claims for either Twi or English.

The question that arises here is, "Do the claims of Ewe competence correlate with the performances on the Ewe Comprehension Test?" The answer is "yes". The figures from a Statistical Rank Correlation of the Ewe claims and the Comprehension Test Results (weighted 1970 Census column) fall within the range of statistical significance for correlating data. The similarities may also be seen in the pattern of Figure 5.1 where Ewe Ability Claims are plotted against Ewe Comprehension scores.



	9-15		15-20		21-30		31-50		51-75		Gr. Av.
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Nkonya	42	22	51	39	56	58	61	72	50	47	48
Buem	25	67	58	65	46	67	75	54	71	58	56
Bowiri	80	60	87	75	95	77	97	77	60	70	77
Akp/Lol	52	67	76	86	76	81	81	81	90	45	75
Likpe	59	67	78	78	61	78	80	75	100	72	75
Santrokofi	77	77	89	67	77	100	77	54	77	67	77
Logba	72	100	100	85	100	100	100	85	100	85	92
Avufime	57	67	62	67	67	92	79	75	79	75	70
Tafi	75	92	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	97
Nyangbo	76	48	90	81	90	86	100	76	95	81	82

Table 3.2 Average Ewe Ability Claims (%)

	9-13		15-20	
	M	F	M	F
Nkonya	55	67	58	44
Buem	15	--	4	--
Bowiri	30	37	60	47
Akp/Lol	9	5	5	19
Likpe	8	--	--	8
Santrokofi	--	11	11	33
Logba	22	17	11	--
Avatime	4	--	8	--
Tafi	--	--	--	17
Nyangbo	--	14	--	--

Table 3.3 Average

21-30		31-50		51---		Gr. Av.
M	F	M	F	M	F	
67	75	72	67	75	55	65
--	4	46	17	29	4	12
70	70	90	60	100	85	65
28	19	48	45	67	24	27
5	25	22	28	64	42	20
44	77	22	67	77	77	42
22	61	50	50	59	11	28
57	21	17	25	25	12	15
50	50	100	35	35	8	29
29	--	24	29	48	14	16

Two Ability Claims (%)

	9-15		15-20		21
	M	F	M	F	M
Nkonya	58	42	67	58	64
Buem	29	17	67	65	85
Bowiri	13	23	47	70	65
Akp/Lol	28	24	71	52	86
Likpe	19	17	47	42	72
Santrokofi	-	22	67	55	77
Logba	33	50	89	72	94
Avatime	25	29	50	50	71
Tafi	42	67	83	75	100
Nyangbo	14	33	76	48	81

Table 3.4 Average Engl

-50	51-50		51----		Gr. Av.
	F	M	F	M	
36	44	6	17	5	59
67	75	15	17	-	45
30	37	20	-	-	50
67	86	9	19	-	44
72	64	5	58	8	40
77	89	-	53	-	42
89	55	44	22	5	56
67	50	8	29	17	40
35	50	8	42	1	52
52	57	14	-	-	58

ish Ability Claims (%)

	<u>Ewe</u>	<u>Twi</u>	<u>Eng.</u>
Nkonya	48	65	59
Buem	56	42	45
Bowiri	77	65	50
Akp/Lol	73	27	44
Likpe	73	20	40
Santrokofi	77	42	42
Logba	92	28	56
Ava time	70	15	40
Tafi	97	29	52
Nyangbo	82	16	58

Table 3.5 Averages for  
for Language Ability Claims (out of 100).

100%

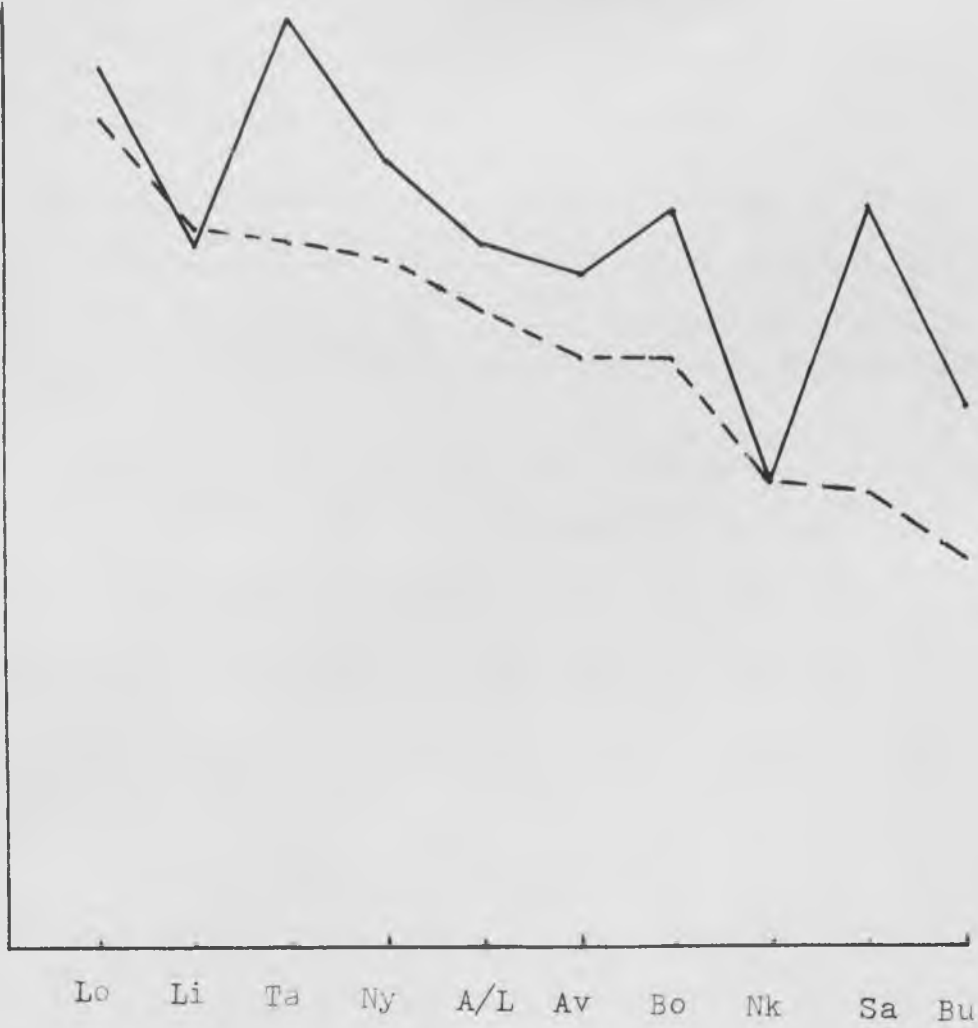


Figure 5.1 Ewe Ability Claims vs. Comprehension Scores

Ewe ability claims (though higher than test scores) closely resemble the Ewe comprehension scores in all communities except three: Tafi, Bowiri, and Santrokofi.

Key: ————— Ewe Ability Claims  
----- Ewe Comprehension Scores

The three peaks on the graph of Figure 5.1 show that the people of Tafi, Bowiri, and Santrokofi claim more speaking ability in Ewe than evidenced by their results on the Ewe Comprehension Test. The difference, however, is probably not a matter of quantity of Ewe use but rather quality. Speakers of these three languages may well use Ewe every day (and we will see if they claimed so in an upcoming section), but their knowledge of its use in the Ewe Test proved more limited.

Though much could be suggested from the claims for Ewe, Twi, and English concerning language preference we will leave these scores and go on. The last comment we will make regarding Tables 5.2-5 is that from the correlation of Ewe scores and Ewe ability claims we can assume a general accuracy in the people's ability to estimate their own language skills. Our tests show, however, that, when depth of understanding is a consideration, people's opinions - taken alone - can be misleading.

The actual distribution of the individuals at the levels of speaking ability that they claimed can be seen in Table 5.6. Besides Ewe, Twi, and English, the two languages most frequently claimed were Gã - the major language of Accra - and Hausa - the trade language of northern Ghana.

Of the 780 individuals surveyed, lesser competencies were claimed by 21 in French; 15 in Dangme; 15 in Dagbani; 10 in Fanti (in addition to Twi); 9 in Kabiye; 7 in Kotokoli; 4 in Nzema; 3 each in Krachi, Yoruba and Ahlõ; 2 each in Late and Akpessor; and 1 each in Konkomba, Basare, Frafra, Wala, Chokosi, Dagati, Moore, and German.

People's claims for ability in their neighboring Central Volta Region languages (as seen in Table 5.7) followed a pattern similar to that disclosed by the Multilanguage Test.

Table 5.7 shows the claims grouped into northern and southern blocks. Avatime was the southern language in which the most northern people claimed ability. Avatime people also stood out among southern communities as claiming the most competency in northern languages. (These claims, it should be stated, were made prior to the actual testing or exposure to the Multilanguage Texts.)

The last four areas of interest in the Language Skills Section included languages used to 1. settle arguments, 2. write letters, 3. count money or goods, and 4. dream. The resulting percentages in these areas for the three major languages (Ewe, Twi, and English) plus the local language are set out in Tables 5.8, 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11 respectively.

In Table 5.8 there does not seem to be any correlation between the languages people use to settle arguments and any previous data we've collected. The figures may be an indicator, however, of the number of "strangers" or other non-local language speakers resident in the different areas - something we will look at later in our population studies.

Akpafu/Lolobi, Logba, and Likpe had the three highest claims for using Ewe to settle arguments. Nkonya had the highest claims for Twi usage.

Table 5.9 shows the dominant role of English in letter writing among five of the six northern language communities. Ewe, however, is used more than English by the southern communities as well as in Bowiri from the North. The Eastern Buems use their own language nearly as much as English in writing letters. They practically stand alone in this respect among the other nine languages.

Table 5.10 shows that these ten language communities still retain their individual counting systems. It also shows that four of the six northern communities rate English as the most popular second system. Bowiri people use Twi more than



	Ewe			Twi			English			Ga			Hausa		
	x	/	.	x	/	.	x	/	.	x	/	.	x	/	.
Nkonya	9	39	(2) 37	14	71	(1) 12	4	47	(1) 14	3	(6) 2	1	2	(2) 1	
Buem	34	24	(11) 17	7	4	(27) 6	21	25	(5) 15	4	(1) 2				
Bowiri	45	49	6	36	34	18	6	31	11	1	(1) 1		2	1	
Akp/Lol	40	43	(6) 11	7	20	(26) 19	19	31	(11) 19		(10) 1		1	(3)	
Likpe	42	37	17	9	14	(6) 5	18	20	(2) 24	2	(2) 1		1		
Santro	33	63	3	23	23	10	20	30	7	3	(3)		3	3	
Logba	91	3	2	13	12	(1) 23	43	8	(1) 22	3	3		2	(2) 2	
Avatime	31	50	16	5	9	(49) 12	9	34	(11) 25	5	(46)			(34) 4	
Tafi	90	10		25	2	7	32	22	12		7				
Nyangbo	54	40		13	4	40	16	21	21	1	(13) 3			(4)	

Table 3.6 Distribution of Claimants at Ability Levels  
(Number represent the percentage of the sample taken).

Key: x Very Good  
 / Fairly Good  
 . Small Bit  
 () Heard only

TESTED  
COMMUNITY

CLAIMED LANGUAGES

		NK	BU	BO	A/L	LI	SA	LO	AV	TA	NY
Nkonya	X / .										
			(1)		(1)						
Buem	X / .					10 5 (4)	(1)				
					(2)						
Bowiri	X / .	3 4 5(1)	2 9 5(3)		1 4(2)		1 (1)		1		
Akp/Lo	X / .					1 1 (2)	(4)		1 (1)		
		(1)	(10)	1(6)							
Likpe	X / .	1 1	2 2 2(2)		3 2 1(4)			(1)	1		
Santro	X / .		3 (7)		3 (10)					(5)	
Logba	X / .		1						13 7 11(1)	3 (1)	
Avati	X / .							1 1 (40)		1	1 1 1(16)
		(2)	(4)			(1)	(1)			1(21)	
Iafi	X / .								2 (2)		
Nyang	X / .								4 (1)	3 (5)	
			(5)								

Table 5.7

Language Claims for Neighboring Languages

Four levels of claimed language ability are represented:

X - Very Good; / - Fairly Good; . - Small Bit;

( ) - Identify Only. The figures stand for the percentages of the sample population who claimed competence at each level.

	E	T	En	LL
NK	24	37	23	100
BU	31	4	14	100
BO	3	3	1	100
A/L	70	24	30	100
LI	41	4	19	100
SA	3	-	-	100
LO	49	4	9	100
AV	6	-	2	100
TA	-	-	-	100
NY	6	-	-	100

	E	T	En	LL
NK	7	9	63	2
BU	36	-	64	59
BO	74	7	52	4
A/L	54	3	63	-
LI	40	-	51	-
SA	53	7	67	-
LO	80	-	51	-
AV	57	1	50	5
TA	52	-	42	2
NY	64	-	34	-

Table 3.8 Settle Arguments

Table 3.9 Write Letters

	E	T	En	LL
NK	17	22	59	61
BU	19	2	31	100
BO	12	49	10	91
A/L	67	20	67	81
LI	31	-	46	71
SA	10	-	43	63
LO	53	2	47	89
AV	17	1	31	78
TA	27	-	17	87
NY	41	1	23	71

	E	T	En	LL
NK	1	1	2	91
BU	2	-	-	100
BO	-	-	-	97
A/L	7	2	-	93
LI	7	1	4	94
SA	-	-	-	97
LO	2	-	-	98
AV	-	-	1	100
TA	-	-	-	100
NY	-	-	-	100

Table 3.10 Count money/goods

Table 3.11 Dream

either Ewe or English, while most Akpafu/Lolobi people prefer both Ewe and English equally over Twi.

Except for the Avatimes, the southern communities rated Ewe as their dominant second counting system. The Avatimes claimed English as second to their own.

These figures suggest that Ewe is the dominant language at markets among the southern language communities with English and Twi used mainly among the northern communities.

Some of our data so far gives cause for some interesting speculation about the social activity of the Avatime people. Avatimes, with their counting preferences, would seem more suited for the northern markets - especially Nkonya and Buem. Their Commerce and Travel figures are high according to Tables 3 and 3.1. (We find Avatime tied for second and third respectively among the population groups.) And though they prefer Ewe to Twi, their Ewe comprehension scores and claims were comparatively low - a negative factor for trading in southern markets. If Avatimes do in fact trade in northern markets, it would explain why Avatimes displayed language ability in understanding the northern languages and why a knowledge of the Avatime language was complementarily found in most northern language communities.

Table 3.11 shows that very few individuals (of those who could remember) claimed to dream in a language other than their own. This question was included to give us an idea of the depth to which the second languages have entered the subconscious areas of the people's minds.

#### 3.2.4 Language Learning Environment

Section D of the Individual Interview Form, the Language Learning Environment, dealt with the language learners perspective of the language interaction situation around him/her.

The results from the first point of this section (i.e., of the languages spoken, a. where they were learned and, b. with whom they are spoken) basically gave us three language learning environments with variations for (a) the place and (b) the participants.

The first environment was (a) the home or hometown and (b) the family or townspeople. This was the environment where the local language was learned.

The second environment was (a) school and (b) schoolmates, teacher, or native speakers. This environment was where both the major regional language (Ewe) and the national language (English) were learned.

The third environment was (a) market (either a town name to which the individual had traveled for business or the local town market) and (b) friends or native speakers of the language. This environment included the many other languages in which people claimed competence including, sometimes, the major regional language. Each language was thus designated as having been learned in one of the three environments which we will refer to as 1. home/family, 2. school/mates, and 3. market/native speakers.

The context most relevant to our study here is the environment in which Ewe was learned. The percentages of the ten group samples which learned Ewe in each of the last two environments is presented in Table 3.12. The Ewe comprehension level is also presented at the right of the chart for comparative purposes.

No correlations are apparent according to the ranks designated in Table 3.12. A pattern does, however, emerge when the language communities are divided along a northern/southern parameter. As was done with the Multilanguage Test results in Table 3.7, A new set of ranks for the two groups and their comparative Ewe Test ranking (within their new grouping) are displayed in Table 3.15.

	Age Groups										Average		Rank		Ewe Test Rank
	9-13		15-20		21-30		31-50		51						
	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	S	M	
Nkonya	29	42	29	54	33	62	12	87	17	79	24	65	10	2	8
Buem	56	19	81	-	44	37	37	31	19	62	47	30	8	7	10
Bowiri	65	35	75	25	65	35	50	50	15	85	54	46	7	3	7
Akp/Lol	93	-	100	-	93	-	71	29	14	71	74	20	3	9	5
Likpe	96	4	100	-	87	12	67	33	54	42	81	18	1	10	2
Santro	83	17	67	33	83	17	33	50	17	83	57	40	5	5	9
Logba	50	50	33	67	42	58	33	67	8	92	33	67	9	1	1
Avatime	69	25	94	6	87	12	81	19	50	44	76	21	2	8	6
Tafi	100	-	100	-	62	37	25	75	50	50	67	32	4	6	3
Nyangbo	79	7	86	14	79	21	29	71	7	93	56	41	6	4	4

Table 3.12 Language Learning Environment (Ewe)

Percentages of the sample are given under the environment in which Ewe was learned (S=school/mates, M=market/native speakers).

		Language Community				Ewe Test
		Average		Rank		Rank
		S	M	S	M	
N O R T H E R N	Nkonya	24	65	6	1	4
	Buem	47	30	5	4	6
	Bowiri	54	46	4	2	3
	Akp/Lol	74	20	2	5	2
	Likpe	81	18	1	6	1
	Santro	57	40	3	3	5
S O U T H E R N	Logba	33	67	4	1	1
	Avatime	76	21	1	4	4
	Tafi	67	32	2	3	2
	Nyangbo	56	41	3	2	3

Table 3.13 Language Learning Environment  
(North/South Grouping)

When divided along a northern/southern parameter, the ten language communities show a marked similarity between where they learned Ewe (in the north at school and in the south at the market) and how well they learned it.

S = School/mates

M = Market/Native speakers

In the northern division where Ewe proves to be learned best in the schools the correlation would be even closer if Nkonya were left out. Since many of the schools in Nkonya towns use Twi as the vernacular language of instruction they do not fit well on a table which isolates the school environment column. The southern division shows that Ewe is learned best at the market place. Logba leads the southern communities, and those with mainly the school environment (Avatime in particular) trail.

The second point of section D, "activities that can be carried out using (a) only the local language and (b) only major regional language", helps us see the different activities through which the individual is exposed to Ewe and the local language in the community. Table 3.14 is a compilation of all of the activities mentioned by individuals interviewed. Often people from the same language community mentioned the same activity but cited different languages which they used in order to participate. This points to an activity where either both local speech and Ewe speech are separately used (such as "Singing"), or where different individuals use one or the other languages exclusively (as in "Praying"). The activities in Table 3.14 proceed down the chart, from the uniform use of the local language to the total use of Ewe.

The activities can be grouped into three categories: Traditional Rites (1-10), Public Cultural Expression (11-20), and Externally Introduced Activities (21-29). A few of the activities, marketing (21) and prayer (15)-public or private was not specified- for example, might be better included elsewhere. But most of the items are so clearly similar and follow the gradual language change pattern of the table that they've been left where they stand.

The exclusive use of the local language is largely confined to activities in the first category, Traditional Rites. The third category, Externally Introduced Activities, is dominated primarily by the use of Ewe. Most of the groups use both languages for Public Cultural Expression, category two.

The third point of the Language Environment section, "the frequency of daily or weekly use of the major regional language", produced the results displayed in Table 3.15. The table shows the distribution of individual claims over the range of six possible answers. The numbers in each column represent the percentage of the population that was sampled.

Value points were given in this table for the frequency of Ewe use which the individuals claimed. The highest score was 6 where the person claimed to use Ewe several times a day. The average answer for all the individuals tested appears in the column third from the right. Converted to a percentage figure, out of a possible 6 points, this score compares significantly to the claims of Ewe Ability reported earlier for the same people in Table 3.5 (see the two right-hand columns of Table 3.15). In the same manner, these scores show Bowiri, Santrokofi, and Tafi as rating themselves nearly 20% higher than their Ewe Test scores. This, therefore, gives some veracity to the results gathered by the Individual Interview Form, since two unconnected but related questions have given correlating information.

Opinions on the fourth point, "whether or not the major regional language (Ewe) is displacing the local language", are presented in Table 3.16.

Two interesting results stand out on this table: one, that the highest percentage in the "yes" column belongs to one of the lowest scorers on the Ewe Test (i.e., Santrokofi); and two, the second highest percentage in the "yes" column is from the highest scorer on the Ewe Test (i.e., Logba). The second result mentioned is understandable: Logba people have proven quite bilingual, using the local language exclusively in only four speech events in Table 3.14.

	Li	Bu	A/L	Sa	Bo	Nk	Lo	Av	Ta	Ny
1 For Privacy (advice)								L		
2 Traditional Meetings			L							
3 Funerals/Festivals			L		L				L	L
4 Culture	L	L			L		L			
5 Traditions	L		L		L					L
6 Enstooling			L		L				L	L
7 Marriage	L	L	L		L			L		
8 Customary Rites (libation)	L	L	L/E	L	L/E		L	L	L	L
9 Fetish Worship			L/E	L			L			
10 Teach Children			L					L/E		
11 Plays	L		L/E	L/E	L/E	L		L/E	L/E	
12 Games			L			L/E			L/E	
13 Arbitration			L		L/E	L	L	L/E	L	L/E
14 Dances/Drumming			L/E	L/E					L/E	
15 Prayer	L/E	L/E			E	L/E	L/E	L/E		
16 Storytelling	L/E	L	L/E				E	L/E	L	L
17 Proverbs/Riddles	L	L	L/E				E			
18 Singing	L/E	L/E	L/E	E	L/E	L/E		L/E	L/E	L/E
19 Talking		L/E	L/E			L/E	L/E	L/E		L/E
20 Public Gatherings	E	L	L/E		L/E		L	L/E	E	
21 Marketing		L	L/E		E	L/E	L/E	L/E		L/E
22 Write		L/E	E			L	E	E		E
23 Greeting Strangers		L/E					E			
24 Preach		E	E	E	E	L/E		L/E		
25 Church	E	L	E	E	E	E	E		L/E	
26 Read	E	L/E	E	E			E	E		E
27 School	E		E	E	E	E	E		E	E
28 Catholic Youth Groups (CYO)									E	
29 Circumcision Rites				E						

Table 3.14 Language Use Activities (Individual claims for the Local language or Ewe.)

- 1-10 Traditional Rites
- 11-20 Public Cultural Expressions
- 21-29 Externally Introduced Activities



	6
	SD
Nkonya	19
buem	24
Bowiri	75
Akp/1.01	49
likpe	58
Santrokofi	53
Logba	73
Avatime	32
Tafi	81
Nyangbo	32

Tabl

Key:

5 ID	4 SW	3 IW	2 SM	1 IM	0 Never	Point Aver.	Average Answer	% out of six	Ewe claims
24	16	18	4	3	14	3.6	SW	60	48
12	9	22	2	17	14	3.3	IW	55	56
-	14	-	5	-	6	5.2	ID	86	77
9	31	7	-	-	4	4.8	ID	80	73
1	25	7	5	1	3	4.8	ID	81	73
10	23	3	-	-	11	4.7	ID	78	77
5	13	-	8	-	0	5.3	ID	88	92
22	7	22	6	1	10	4.6	ID	77	70
16	-	3	-	-	0	5.8	SD	97	97
51	12	4	-	-	0	5.0	ID	83	82

e 3.15 Frequency of Ewe Use among Individuals (%)

SD - several times a day

ID - once a day

SW - several times a week

IW - once a week

SM - several times a month

IM - once a month



Is Ewe replacing 1?  
 Yes No Undecided

Nkonya	11	87	2
Buem	24	76	-
Bowiri	32	65	3
Akp/Lol	19	81	-
Likpe	35	61	4
Santrokofi	63	30	7
Logba	50	48	2
Avatime	6	92	1
Tafi	2	95	2
Nyangbo	1	89	10

Table 3.16 Opinions on Replacement  
of the Local Language by Ewe (%)

One would expect the major regional language to be taking a forefront position here. But in the case of the first result, Santrokofi, where 63% of the sample felt Ewe was replacing their local language, it is surprising that their Ewe comprehension scores were low with a 47% average. Their claims from Table 3.5 were higher at a 77% average and so were their claims for frequency of Ewe use in Table 3.15 (at 78%).

The explanation for this discrepancy may lie in the fact that the sample size was too small to accurately assess this smallest of the groups (smallest, that is, if Tafi and Nyangbo were to be put together and considered dialects of each other). There are only three Santrokofi towns from which we took a 30 person sample. The next smallest group with six towns was Logba with a 60 person sampling.

This attitude was, however, supported with valid reasons by the individuals during their interviews. Table 3.17 shows the reasons given for the "yes" or "no" answers in Santrokofi as well as in the other language areas. Education (in Ewe) and the adoption of Ewe vocabulary were the two factors most commonly cited on the affirmative side. That Santrokofi has its own mother tongue was given as the main reason against.

The general pattern shows that these ten language communities recognize their own languages (mother tongues) as being different from Ewe. The majority of the people except in Santrokofi and Logba, feel their language will not be replaced in the years to come.

The fifth question of this section - the last question of the Individual Interview Form - "would local language speakers financially support a literature program using their own language?" produced the results recorded in Table 3.18.

Tafi (at 67%) recorded the lowest percentage in the affirmative or "yes" column. It is followed by the two communities whose majority felt Ewe was replacing their local language, Logba and Santrokofi.

Tafi, however, led the list in Table 3.16 with the feeling that Ewe would not replace its mother tongue. This indicates a general satisfaction among Tafis with the use of Ewe in the realm of written materials, while at the same time showing a predominance and preference for their own mother tongue in local affairs. In fact, the results of Table 3.17 have a strong negative correlation with the Ewe Claim Scores (see Table 3.5) where Tafi also leads. In other words, those communities who feel most confident in their use of spoken Ewe feel the lowest need for a literature program in their own language.

### 3.3 The Community Interview Form

The Community Interview contained two sections-- A. Language Use During Public Functions and B. Language Contact Environment.

Section A, Language Use During Public Functions was used to determine which languages are used in the community at different public gatherings or gathering places. The list of speech activities covered is as follows: 1) government offices, 2) political rallies, 3) shops or stores, 4) market, 5) hospital or clinic, 6) church a. liturgy b. readings c. sermon d. announcements e. public prayer f. singing, 7) school a. primary 1-3 b. primary 4-6 through middle 8) customary ceremonies, 9) local council of leaders 10) town meeting. The results should give us a picture of the extent to which, and the lines along which, a second language has entered the local community.

Section B, Language Contact Environment, provided estimates for 1) local-language residents, 2) major-regional language residents, and 3) other-language residents. Estimates for categories 2 and 3 (the non-local language speakers) were qualified according to three parameters: residency duration (either per-

Yes:

- Education is in Ewe 2
- Ewe is commonly used 2
- Ewe vocab. creeping in 7
- Ewe is widely spoken 7
- Near to Ewe town
- People say so
- It is trying
- Intermarriage
- Everyone travels
- Ewe number system is more complete
- Church uses Ewe
- Our town is mostly Ewe people 1
- I don't know 1

No:

- It is our Mother Tongue 46
- They have separate roles 6
- Ewe is not spoken well here 6
- We are growing
- Local language used more 2
- Local language used with children 1
- I dream in my local language
- Arbitration is done in the local l.
- We use it for privacy
- I don't know 6
- We are proud of ours--we want it 7
- Ewes are learning our language 2
- Social activities are in our language 7
- Few Ewes live here 7
- The Ewes will move from our land 9
- We are many
- Maybe Ewe will replace it 1

Table 3.17 "Is Ewe Replacing (Percent of Population Sample)"

Bu Bo A/L Li Sa Lo Av Ta Ny

17 10 6 6 29 2 2 1  
 1 3 3 4 43  
 1 3 1 3 21 1  
 2 1 7 24 7 2  
 7  
 1 7

1 1  
 1  
 1  
 8  
 2 4

1

2

11 58 46 53 18 45 57 67 56  
 1 1 7 3 6 5 1  
 1 1 4 7 1  
 5 9 2 11 17 4  
 2 1  
 1 5 1  
 24 5 3 3 4 4 1  
 1 1 1 21  
 4  
 10  
 19 17  
 1

	Yes	No	?
Nkonya	98	2	-
Ihem	100	-	-
Bowiri	92	2	6
Akp/Lol	84	9	7
Likpe	90	-	10
Santrokofi	80	10	10
Logba	78	15	7
Avatime	90	2	7
Tafi	67	2	30
Nyangbo	91	-	9

Table 3.18 Opinions on Local Support for  
Local Language Literature Program. (%)



manent or temporary), integration (either mixed or isolated, and location (either town or farm). Each of the factors chosen for this section gave us insight into the social interaction of the community. Out of this section we hoped to develop an indicator of the amount of interaction a local language speaker can be expected to have with speakers of non-local languages (and Ewe in particular).

### 3.4 Results of the Community Interview Form

The settlement pattern in this central Volta Region area, where families and clans are gathered in clusters around a village nucleus, enable each town site in a language community to exhibit its own pattern of Public Language Use as well as its own particular Language Contact Environment. For our purposes, the results from each town will be combined to represent the "average" town site within each language community. It would require a second treatise to present the language groups as individual case studies.

#### 3.4.1 Language Use During Public Functions

Results from Section A of the Community Interview Form are presented in Table 5.19.

In this section the chief of a town and his elders were asked to list the languages used locally during a particular public function. After discussing the matter among themselves, a spokesman gave the answer to the interviewer. The answers were recorded for each town and then compiled onto a matrix of the entire language community.

Some of the speech events were broken down into their readily recognizable sub-units - church activities in particular, where different aspects of the service have different functions. The amount of time spent using the different languages mentioned was not assessed, though it may be relevant in some cases (e.g. where summary-translations are given).

Because of governmental policy there is a natural break, too, in the use of vernacular languages in primary school. Though all schools throughout Ghana are encouraged (where possible) to use the child's mother tongue in the first three years of education, these ten groups have no literacy materials to be used. The teachers have the sometimes difficult task of teaching the young child in another vernacular language (mainly Ewe) before introducing the national language, English, as the medium of instruction from Primary 4 onward. The scores on line 7a. of Table 5.19 show the frequency (or infrequency) with which a teacher has to resort to using the local language - not Ewe - to assist the children in these early stages. (Similarities can also be noted between this line and the general pattern of Ewe Comprehension Scores.)

The breakdown of events under line 6, "Church", of Table 5.19 show us that when the content of the message is in focus, rather than the form of worship, many of the language communities resort to the use of their own mother tongues. The percentages for lines 6c,d, and e (i.e., the sermon, announcements, and prayer) are considerably lower in most cases than lines a,b, and f (i.e., the liturgy, readings, and singing). Customary Ceremonies (line 8) could probably have been broken down into similar events except for the overwhelming evidence that all such activities are carried out solely in the local language.

	Nk	Bu	Bo	A/L	Ti	Sa	Lo	Av	Ta	Ny
1. Government Offices	<u>50</u>	25	<u>59</u>	71	45	<u>55</u>	17	94	100	100
2. Political Rallies	<u>54</u>	51	<u>70</u>	<u>86</u>	78	<u>50</u>	92	87	100	93
3. Shops or Stores	<u>50</u>	44	<u>50</u>	8	44	0	60	62	50	86
4. Market	<u>42</u>	50	<u>50</u>	86	44	<u>67</u>	92	75	87	95
5. Hospital or Clinic	<u>85</u>	57	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	94	<u>100</u>	0	81	100	100
6. Church - a. liturgy	<u>92</u>	51	100	100	94	100	100	100	100	100
b. readings	<u>100</u>	56	100	100	94	100	100	100	100	100
c. sermon	<u>62</u>	57	67	76	78	50	100	56	100	71
d. announcements	<u>55</u>	51	50	71	55	50	75	50	62	57
e. public prayer	<u>58</u>	51	50	64	78	0	92	75	87	79
f. singing	<u>71</u>	57	100	<u>95</u>	67	100	100	100	87	86
7. School - a. primary 1-5	<u>79</u>	62	89	64	94	66	100	81	75	79
b. primary 4-mid.*	<u>100</u>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
8. Customary Ceremonies	<u>8</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9. Local Council of Leaders	<u>12</u>	0	11	7	11	0	8	6	0	0
10. Town Meeting	<u>29</u>	19	<u>50</u>	50	59	0	50	19	12	7

\*The medium of instruction gradually changes from Ewe to English.

Table 3.19 Ewe Usage During Public Functions

The numbers represent the percentage of towns in each community which claimed to use Ewe as a means of communication during Public functions. A score of 50 could denote either the simultaneous use of Ewe and the local language through translation during a function, or that either language is used with equal frequency. Numbers that are underlined denote activities in which at least one-third of the towns claimed to use Twi as well as Ewe.

Two irregularities under line 5, Hospital or Clinic, occurred because both of the low scorers, Buem and Logba, have clinics staffed by local language speakers.

The use of translation among these communities is most clearly seen in the statistics recorded for line 2, Political Rallies. In this event the people themselves determine whether or not they understand the people addressing them and they obtain translators accordingly. There is a strong positive correlation between these scores and the Ewe Ability Claims of Table 3.5. Tafi claimed a complete use of Ewe (100%) while Buem (at 51%) claimed a major dependance on its own language.

#### 5.4.2 Language Contact Environment

Our study of the different language populations resident among these ten central Volta Region communities was aimed at determining the amount of potential interaction a local language speaker would have with an Ewe speaking person or populace resident in the local area. It was with this in mind that three parameters were set up to grade the quality of contact one could expect from non-local-language-speaking residents.

The ratios of the language populations in these areas are presented in Table 5.20.

Five ratios are presented in Table 5.20. The first shows the number of Ewe speakers as a whole compared to the number of local-language speakers. The second adjusts the ratio according to the type of residence duration pattern kept by the Ewe speakers, i.e., whether they are permanent residents year-around or whether they are transitory and will move or come and go irregularly. The third ratio represents Ewe speakers who live in either mixed (among local-language speakers) or isolated (as in a zongo) integration patterns. The fourth ratio weighs the Ewe speakers according to whether they live within the town nucleus or outside its boundaries in farm cottages. The fifth line combines all three parameters to determine their total effect on the contact which local-language speakers can be expected to have with Ewe speakers.

The ratios show that on a straight percentage basis Logba, Bowiri, and Tafi have the most Ewe speakers living on their land per hundred local-language speakers. These communities lead the others until the ratios are adjusted according to "Residence Integration." Here Tafi shows that the Ewes there live predominantly apart from the local townsfolk in their own groupings.

The next line "Residence Location" shows that the Ewes on Tafi land also live in farm villages outside Tafi towns. On the whole, however, Tafi rises again to its place just above Nyangbo in the final adjusted ratio.

Bowiri drops, as Tafi did, at the line adjusted for residency integration. Only Nkonya (among the higher ratios) maintains a mixed living pattern with its locally resident Ewes. "Residence Location," the next line, shows that the Ewes live mainly in the farm villages at Nkonya where only a few of Nkonya's predominantly town dwelling populace receive the benefits of extensive contact.

The integration ratios of Buem and Santrokofi point to situations which possibly explain the low Ewe comprehension scores of these language communities. There are few Ewes living in a mixed environment with the local speakers. Even the final line of ratios show these communities as having little potential "home-town" contact with Ewe speakers. A language community like Bowiri, however, or Nkonya seems to be having more contact with Ewes. They mix freely with Ewes and presumably could increase their Ewe comprehension scores in the future.

The typical pattern from line four, "Residence Location," shows that the town centers are basically local-language centers. The ratio of Ewe speakers to 100 local-language speakers only exceeds 20 in one language community - Bowiri

	Nk	Bu	Bo	A/L	Li	Sa	Lo	Av	Ta	Ny
No. of Ewe speakers* present per 100 local language speakers	26	22	80	26	27	5	124	9	58	33
No. adjusted according to										
a. Residence Duration (Permanent or Temporary)	26	21	78	15	15	2	124	6	56	5
b. Residence Integration (Mixed or Isolated)	24	1	57	10	6	1	64	6	17	8
c. Residence Location (Town or Farm)	13	7	28	8	12	5	19	4	17	7
d. Duration, Integration, and Location	21	10	47	11	11	3	69	5	30	28

\*Figures are based on survey enquiries into non-local language population totals. 1980 estimates were used for local language totals.

Table 3.20 Language Contact Environment

(the skewing effect of Kwamikrom, a predominantly Ewe town, is in part responsible for this).

The major part of the immigrant Ewe populations are farmers renting the land on a share-cropping basis. Some of the land has passed into native Ewe hands, through purchase, as was mentioned often by the Buem people, but most of the Ewes are expected to move on after the land they are now using wears out.

Those Ewes who live in the towns (the 20%) are mainly teachers. Others include traders from the North, carpenters, medical workers, postal agents and cocoa produce buyers. Few of these are permanent residents.

### 5.5 Summary of Questionnaire Results

The following information was evident from the questionnaire results.

1. High church membership correlated with high Ewe scores in Logba, Likpe, and Tafi. The two highest communities under church membership, Akpafu/Lolobi and Buem, were fifth and last in Ewe comprehension scores.
2. Educational levels were high for the first two scorers on the Ewe Comprehension Test, Logba and Likpe. The statistics also showed an overall pattern of extensive educational coverage among these ten language communities.
3. Occupation results showed farming to be the chief activity in each community with nearly 40% claiming it as their chief occupation. Farming proved to be neither a help nor a hinderance in acquiring Ewe comprehension ability. Both Logba, the high scorer and Buem, the lowest scorer, had the same farming percentage at 48%. Bowiri and Avatime, both of which averaged 61% on the Ewe Test, had the highest and lowest farming percentages.
4. Percentages in the Commerce column of the statistics on "Occupation" showed a relationship between a community's involvement in trade and their Ewe comprehension ability.
5. The peoples' travel experience paralleled their Ewe comprehension scores in all but three communities. The three - Buem, Logba, and Likpe - were so divergent from the comprehension score patterns that it would prove fruitless to use "travel experience" as an indicator of a community's Ewe ability.
6. Individual's claims for 2nd language speaking ability were highest in Ewe, Twi, and English. Of these three languages all communities except Nkonya claimed their highest abilities in Ewe. Nkonya had its highest claims in Twi.
7. Besides Ewe, Twi, and English, the next most spoken languages were Ga (the major language of Accra) and Hausa (the trade language of northern Ghana).
8. The highest claims for speaking ability in the neighboring Central Volta Region languages fell into northern and southern groupings similar to the results of the Multilanguage Test. In the same way, only the Avatimes from the southern communities claimed any noticeable familiarity with the northern languages, and only Avatime was claimed as a language which northern communities knew to any extent.

9. Akpafu/Lolobi, Logba, and Likpe had the three highest claims for using Ewe to settle arguments. Nkonya had the highest claims for Twi useage in this matter.
10. Letter writing among the northern language communities is predominantly done in English (Bowiri was the only one to claim a higher Ewe use). Buem stands out because it claimed to use the local language nearly as much as English. The southern communities all rated Ewe as the language they use most in writing.
11. The languages used in counting money or goods also followed a northern/southern grouping pattern. After the general mention of their own counting systems, Ewe was named as the preferred counting system in the south and English in the north. Only Avatime in the south mentioned English more than Ewe, while Bowiri from the north claimed more Twi useage.
12. Few individuals said they found any languages other than their mother-tongue entering into their dreams.
13. The highest scorers on the Ewe Test from the northern six language communities claimed to learn Ewe mainly at school. The highest scorers from the southern communities claimed to learn Ewe mainly in the market.
14. Claimants nearly all agreed that traditional rites (or customs) were carried out exclusively in their local language. Activities of public cultural expression (such as singing, plays, or storytelling) could be done in either Ewe or the local language. Externally introduced activities were mainly done in Ewe.
15. Claims for the frequency of Ewe use paralleled the communities claims for Ewe proficiency. Tafi was highest (as in the Ewe claims), claiming the Ewe useage of several times a day, and Buem was lowest, with an average claim of once a week.
16. Santrokofi stood out as the language community with the highest claim that Ewe is replacing their language. Logba followed with a 50% affirmative answer.
17. Buem expressed the most positive support for a literature program using their own language. Tafi, the community with the highest Ewe ability claims, had the lowest positive support claim.
18. The town site claims for "Language Use During Public Functions" pointed to the fact that teachers in some language communities resort to using the local language more than others when working with children in the primary classes 1 to 5. The statistics on this subject followed the averages for Ewe comprehension quite closely.
19. During a public function where the message of an activity was in focus and not just its function (e.g., in a church sermon or church announcement as opposed to the church liturgy), many communities showed a marked dependance on the local language rather than Ewe.

20. The use of the local language during political rallies patterned in a way similar to the Ewe Ability Claims of Table 5.5. Fati claimed a complete use of Ewe (100%) while Buem (at 51%) claimed a major dependance on its own language.
21. The highest residence ratio of Ewes per 100 local-language speakers was in Logba, where the Ewes outnumbered the local people 1.24 to 1. "In-town" residence figures show, however, that not even 20 Ewes per 100 local people reside in the average Logba town. Nearly all resident Ewes live in farm cottages (or villages) outside the towns of these ten language communities.
22. Integration residence figures show that Beum and Santrokofi have as few as one Ewe-speaking person per 100 local residents living in a "mixed" living pattern in their town sites.

#### 5.6 Conclusions from Questionnaire Results

It was clear from the results in this third section that the local languages are actively used and that each language community feels like a viable entity. Ewe does have a place, however, in the language activities of most of the communities and is readily acknowledged by most individuals as a language which they can speak with proficiency.

The residence patterns of our study show that few of the communities have any extensive contact with Ewe speakers on a day-to-day basis. Of the northern language communities (where Ewe scores were low), only Bowiri and Nkonya mentioned a mixed living pattern with Ewes among them. The southern communities seem to have developed a rather stable situation with Ewe used in certain activities and the local language used in others. More likely than not, this situation will persist unless integration patterns change and a factor such as intermarriage (not really focused on in this survey) becomes more prevalent.

Another question which might have proved helpful in evaluating the language use attitudes in this area would be, "What language(s) would you like to know better?". Though I doubt it would have given us any further insight into the relationship between the local language and Ewe, it may have given us an idea about people's preferences for languages of wider communication, say among Ewe, Twi, English, and French.

#### 4. IMPLICATIONS: WHAT DOES THIS SURVEY TELL US?

Hopefully the information from this study will be clear enough to answer questions that officials and executives have about the sociolinguistic picture in this portion of the Volta Region.

Some of the relevant facts that stand out about each language community, and which give a cohesive view of the people in their present position with regard to their use of Ewe, are presented below in alphabetical order.

##### 4.1 Correlating Factors

Akpafu/Lolobi: Group averages show relatively low Ewe comprehension (66%). The men, however, in the 51 to 50 year age group demonstrated full fluency with an average of 94%. Ewe is used in all of the public functions mentioned except the performance of customary rites. It is also used on a daily basis by individuals. Though relatively few Ewes live among the, the factors mentioned above and the community's close proximity to Hohoe (the major commercial center) suggest that Akpafu and Lolobi people will attain full bilingualism with Ewe in their lifetime.

Avatime: Like Akpafu/Lolobi, Avatime group averages are low in Ewe comprehension (61%). Their male averages do not, however, rise to full fluency (75 - 100%) in the 31 - 50 age range. There are extremely few resident Ewes among the mountain towns of this language community. Commercially, Avatimes seem more oriented to the northern language community areas, preferring English to an Ewe counting system. It does not seem likely that Ewe comprehension will increase among the Avatimes in the future; but because of its popular use during most public functions, Ewe use will probably not decrease either.

Bowiri: Group averages in Ewe comprehension for the Bowiri are the same as that of Avatime (61%). Male averages in the 31 - 50 age range are higher than in Avatime at 81%. Ewe resident populations are high in the Bowiri area. Bowiri claims also state that the two language populations are living in a mixed pattern. This plus the fact that Ewe is used during all public events except Bowiri customs suggests that Ewe comprehension should increase in the future among the Bowiris.

Buem: Of the ten language communities, Buem registered the lowest Ewe comprehension score with a 40% average. Their claims for Ewe ability (also the lowest at 56%) were nearly equaled by their claims for English ability. The local language is dominant in nearly all public functions, this being facilitated by the fact that so few Ewes live among the Buems in their town centers. Frequency claims here limit the average use of Ewe to "Once a Week", the lowest of the ten groups. Though many of the people claimed to travel, this does not seem to be a big factor in helping the Buems achieve a high level of bilingualism. The Buem reported the greatest amount of support for a local language literature program.

Likpe: The second highest group average for Ewe comprehension was recorded by the Likpe people at 75%. Men in the 31 - 50 age range, at 83%, were topped by the women of that same age range as well as the men of the next range (51 and upwards). (Though it was not reported in Table 2.2, these senior men - 12 of them - averaged 100%.) Ewe is also used at every public function except the performance of local customs. There is some indication that English is rising in its popularity among the youth even surpassing Ewe claims among the males 21 - 30 years old (Table 3.2). "School" is the main environment in which most Likpes claimed to have learned Ewe.

Logba: The highest Ewe comprehension scores were posted by Logba (87%). Male scores in the 31 - 50 age range reached 99%. 91% of those tested claimed to speak Ewe "Very Well". Public functions (except customary rites) are all carried out in Ewe, and at least half (50%) of the people felt Ewe was replacing their mother tongue. The number of Ewes who share Logba land now outnumber the Logba and are possibly the main reason Logbas speak Ewe so well.

Nkonya: Nkonya had the third lowest Ewe comprehension score at 48%. Their highest ability claims were in Twi at 63%. The local language dominates most public functions with translations into Twi and Ewe for the fair number of non-local-language speakers who live among them. The second largest positive response to a local-language literature program came from the Nkonya people with 98%.

Nyangbo: The Nyangbo group averaged 72% in Ewe comprehension with males in the 31 - 50 age range going up to 87%. They, along with the Logbas, claimed to learn Ewe mainly in the market environment. Ewe dominates the "Externally Introduced" public activities, and the number of resident Ewes are relatively high compared to the other language communities (28 per 100 local people). The level of bilingualism appears quite steady among the Nyangbo.



Santrokofi: Ewe scores for Santrokofi were low (47%). Males in the 31 - 50 age range scored the surprising low of 50%. Ewe ability claims were higher at 77% as was the frequency with which they claimed to use it ("Once a Day"), but the number of Ewes resident among the Santrokofi people seem to bear out the actual comprehension scores. Only 5 Ewes per 100 Local people are resident on Santrokofi land (the lowest of all the communities). Santrokofi also reported the highest opinion that Ewe is replacing the Santrokofi language. Perhaps the small number of towns (3) and the close proximity to Hohoe (3 miles) contribute to this feeling. Further studies concerning the number of people who have moved to surrounding Ewe centers and those who remain would help verify whether this sample was representative or not of the abilities of the Santrokofi people.

Tafi: The third highest group averages on the Ewe Comprehension Test were recorded by Tafi at 73%. Their claims in Ewe ability were much higher at 97%, as were the number of people who claimed "Very Good" speaking ability in it (90%). Tafi led the language communities in claims for their frequency of Ewe use with an average response of "Several Times a Day". The Tafis do not, however, feel that Ewe is replacing their language. They led all of the language communities with a negative response of 95% to this question. "In-town" residence figures show that the numerous Ewes living on Tafi land (58 per 100 Tafis) live primarily in separate farm settlements, leaving the Tafis full freedom to use their own language for local Tafi affairs. The use of Ewe has become accepted for "Externally Introduced Activities", and the data suggests that Ewe is satisfactorily used as the language of literature (Tafi gave the lowest positive response to the question of support for a local language literature program).

#### 4.2 Conclusions

I have tried to **cover** as much as possible in this survey: the results could be taken much further in their analysis, yielding a more complete picture. The fact is that these language communities are in contact with Ewes and each other. The natural result will be change. As each of these various communities continue on their road toward bi- (even multi-) lingualism we all hope that the road will be one of comfortable **adjustment**. I trust care will be taken by those in authority to afford these people every opportunity to grow in their knowledge of other languages and yet to retain their own heritage.

## Footnotes

1. The government policy for instruction in the schools in eight of these ten central Volta Region language communities is to use Ewe in primary school with a gradual change over into English as the medium of instruction from Class 4 going on. Buem towns use either Twi or Ewe, while Nkonya towns use both (i.e. Catholic school use Ewe, Presbyterian schools use Twi, and the Local Authority schools use a mixture.)

2. A discussion of text types can be found in E. Casad's work, Dialect Intelligibility Testing, 1974.

3. I am grateful to Prof. Christian Baeta, chairman of the Ewe Project for the Ghana Bible Society, and Mr. George Kom, head of the Ewe Project under Living Bible International, for their permission to test with these early drafts of their work. The express aim of both translators was to convey the meaning of the Greek text into the idiom of the Ewe population, colloquial Ewe. When we played the tape recorded versions of the texts for mother-tongue Ewe speakers, the response was quite favorable. Not only were the texts easy to understand (test scores are presented elsewhere), but they were acclaimed as tremendous improvements over the former versions.

Of interest is the fact that native Ewe speakers chose one text over the other as being the most eloquent. Though both were considered "standard", they said the first had been read by a southerner. The other text they claimed was read by a Ewe from the north of the Volta Region. In fact, both had been read by the same man, a native of Dzodze but resident at Hohoe, Mr. S.K. Dewotor. Each new pair of survey assistants from the non-Ewe language groups chose the text written in the northern style (not the most eloquent) as the one their people would most easily understand. Simplicity and clarity, they claimed, were its strengths.

4. When the Ewe Test results were tabulated without the third paragraph, the abstract hortatory one, all ten language communities showed a slight rise in their average scores. (The greatest increase was 4%.) This illustrates the increase in complexity which the test was designed to include.

5. Two "control" tests were run; one to check the validity of our sample size (10 people per town), and a second to determine the averages of native Ewe speakers on the Ewe Comprehension Test. The first test showed us that the average score from a forty member sample did not vary significantly (statistically) from the average scores of two separate groups of ten chosen from the same community. Still, to guard against the possible skewing effects of gathering a non-representative sample, we took test samples from every population center (an average of 7 towns per language group).

The second control test gave us an average score of 9.25 (92.5%) out of 10 on the Ewe Comprehension test for a sample group of 40 Ewes (chosen equally from the five age ranges). To adjust the non-Ewe scores using the Ewe score as 100% would mean adding 7.5% to each group average. The range of scores would then be from 9.45 to 47.5 for Logba and Buem respectively. This would make it awkward, however, when comparing scores from the questionnaires (e.g. claims of Ewe ability, etc.), since no comparable data was taken on the Ewe group. To maintain uniformity I will continue to quote the raw scores throughout the text.

6. The totals reported in Table 3 and the upcoming tables are representative of the people whose Ewe comprehension scores were reported here earlier. The survey results do not claim to represent all speakers of these languages, but only those resident in their traditional areas from whom the sample was taken.

7. Why is there such a discrepancy in the correlation of high church membership and high Ewe Comprehension among the Akpafu/Lolobi and Buem? The discrepancy is not quite so radical for Akpafu/Lolobi which actually lies second to Likpe among the northern communities for Ewe comprehension. But for Buem we must look elsewhere for an explanation. Certainly the high interest among Buems in church activity can be attributed, to a great extent, to the policy of local language use in the dominant R. C. church and the practiced pattern of Ewe/Local Language translation found in the Evangelical Presbyterian church throughout Eastern Buem (see Table 3.19 for figures on the dominant use of the local language during church activities in Buem as compared to the other language communities). It was the work of Rev. Fa. A. O. Dougli, Africa's first Catholic Priest (and a Buem man), that brought written Biblical material to the Buem area. The Catholic Missal (1956) is still in use throughout Eastern Buem.

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